Mr. NEAL's HISTORY

OF THE

PURITANS,

OR

Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts,

A NEW EDITION,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED,

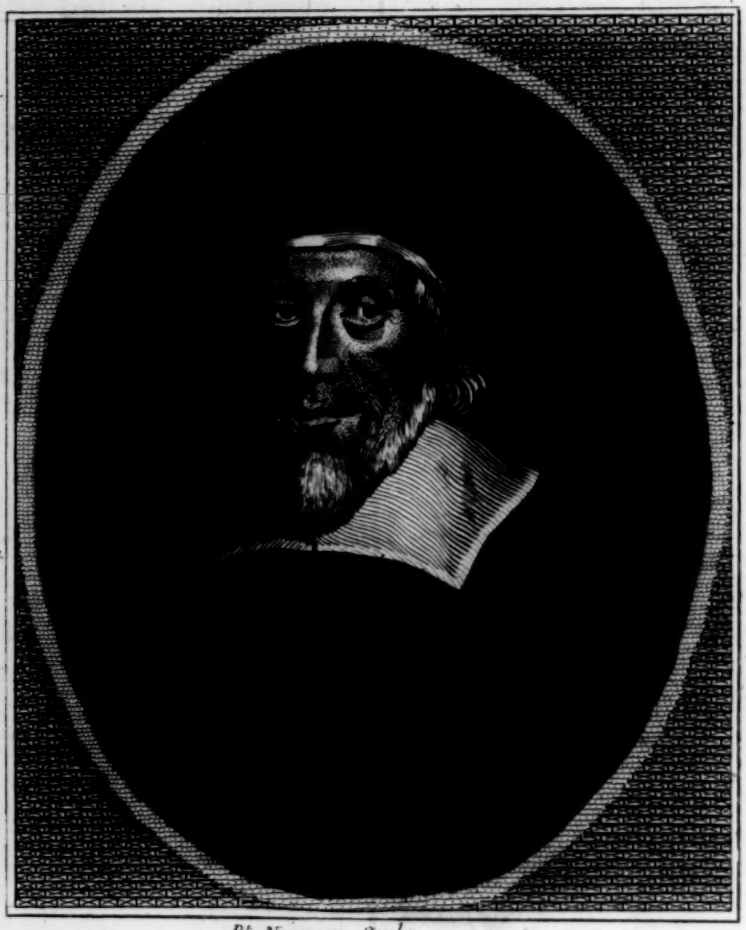
BY

JOSHUA TOULMIN, D. D.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. IV.





R.t Newman Sculp.

REV.d HENRY JESSEY, M.A.

1021

THE

HISTORY OF THE PURITANS,

OR,

Proteſtant Non-Conformiſts,

FROM THE

DEATH OF KING CHARLES I.

TO THE

DEATH OF KING CHARLES II.

IN THE YEAR 1684-5.

CONTAINING AN ACCOUNT OF

Their Principles; their Attempts for a further Reformation in the Church; their Sufferings; and the Lives and Characters of their principal Divines.

VOLUME IV.

By DANIEL NEAL, *M. A.*

A NEW EDITION,

REVISED, CORRECTED, AND ENLARGED,

By JOSHUA TOULMIN, D. D.

TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,

Some Memoirs of the Life and Writings of the Author.

This know alſo, that in the laſt Days perilous Times ſhall come.
2 Tim. iii. 1.

They ſhall put you out of the Synagogues: yea, the Time cometh, that whoſoever killeth you will think that he doeth God Service.
John xvi. 2.

BATH, PRINTED BY R. CRUTTWELL;

AND SOLD BY

C. DILLY, POULTRY; AND J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, LONDON; AND J. LLOYD, BRISTOL.

M DCC XCVI.

9. 37. 22.
26.



THE

PREFACE.

THIS volume brings the *Hiſtory of the Sufferings of the Puritans* down to its period;* for though the *proteſtant diſſenters* have ſince complained of ſeveral difficulties and diſcouragements, yet moſt of the penal laws have been ſuſpended; the proſecutions of the *ſpiritual courts* have been conſiderably reſtrained by the kind interpoſition of the civil powers, and liberty of conſcience enjoyed without the hazard of fines, impriſonments, and other terrors of this world.

The times now in review were ſtormy and boiſterous; upon the death of king *Charles* I. the conſtitution was diſſolved: the men at the helm had no legal authority to change the government into a *commonwealth*, the protectorſhip of *Cromwell* was an *uſurpation*, becauſe grafted only on the military power, and ſo were all the miſhapen forms into which the adminiſtration was caſt till the reſtoration of the king. In order to paſs a right judgment upon theſe extraordinary revolutions, the temper and circumſtances of the nation are to be duly conſidered; for thoſe actions which in ſome circumſtances are highly criminal, may in a different ſituation of affairs become neceſſary. The parties engaged in the civil wars were yet living, and their reſentments againſt each other ſo much inflamed, as to cut off all hopes of a reconciliation; each dreaded the other's ſucceſs, well knowing they muſt fall a ſacrifice to thoſe who ſhould prevail. All preſent views of the king's recovering his father's throne

* The reader will obſerve that the period here referred to is the paſſing the *act of toleration*, with which Mr. *Neal*'s Fourth volume concludes. But the additions to the original work, by notes and ſupplements in this edition, have neceſſarily extended it to a Fifth volume, which comprehends the Author's two laſt chapters, the papers that form the Appendix to each of his volumes, and other papers. ED.

were defeated at the battle of Worceſter, the loyaliſts being then entirely broken and diſperſed; ſo that if ſome ſuch extraordinary genius as *Cromwell*'s had not undertaken to ſteer the nation through the ſtorm, it had not been poſſible to hold the government together till Providence ſhould open a way for reſtoring the conſtitution, and ſettling it on its legal baſis.

The various forms of government (if they deſerve that name) which the officers of the army introduced after the death of *Cromwell*, made the nation ſick of their frenzies, and turned their eyes towards their baniſhed ſovereign; whoſe reſtoration, after all, could not be accompliſhed without great imprudence on one part, and the moſt artful diſſimulation on the other. The *Preſbyterians*, like weak politicians, ſurrendered at diſcretion, and parted with their power on no other ſecurity than the *royal word*, for which they have been ſufficiently reproached; though I am of opinion, that, if the king had been brought in by a treaty, the ſucceeding parliament would have ſet it aſide. On the other hand, nothing can be more notorious than the deep hypocriſy of general *Monk*, and the ſolemn aſſurances given by the biſhops and other loyaliſts, and even by the king himſelf, of burying all paſt offences under the foundation of the Reſtoration; but when they were lifted into the ſaddle, the haſte they made to ſhew how little they meant by their promiſes, exceeded the rules of decency as well as honour. Nothing would ſatisfy, till their adverſaries were diſarmed, and in a manner deprived of the protection of the government; the terms of conformity were made narrower and more exceptionable than before the civil wars, the penal laws were rigorouſly executed, and new ones framed almoſt every ſeſſions of parliament for ſeveral ſucceſſive years; the non-conformiſt miniſters were baniſhed five miles from all the corporations in England, and their people ſold for ſums of money to carry on the king's unlawful pleaſures, and to bribe the nation into popery and ſlavery; till the Houſe of Commons, awakened at laſt with a ſenſe of the threatening danger, grew intractable, and was therefore diſſolved.

His

His majeſty, having in vain attempted ſeveral other repreſentatives of the people, determined ſome time before his death to change the conſtitution, and govern by his ſovereign will and pleaſure; that the miſchiefs, which could not be brought upon the nation by conſent of parliament, might be introduced under the wing of the prerogative; but the *Roman catholicks*, not ſatisfied with the ſlow proceedings of a *diſguiſed Proteſtant*, or apprehending that the diſcontents of the people and his own love of eaſe might induce him ſome time or other to change meaſures, reſolved to have a prince of their own religion, and more ſanguine principles, on the throne, which haſtened the criſis of the nation, and brought forward that GLORIOUS REVOLUTION of king WILLIAM and queen MARY, which put a final period to all their projects.

The nature of my deſign does not admit of a large and particular relation of all the civil tranſactions of theſe times, but only of ſuch a ſummary as may give light to the affairs of religion; and I could have wiſhed that the memory of both had been entirely blotted out of the records of time, if the animoſities of the ſeveral parties, and their unchriſtian principles, had been buried with them; but as the remembering them may be a warning to poſterity, it ought to give no offence to any denomination of chriſtians of the preſent age, who are no ways anſwerable for the conduct of their anceſtors, nor can otherwiſe ſhare in a cenſure of it, than as they maintain the ſame principles, and imitate the ſame unchriſtian behaviour. At the end of each year I have added the characters of the principal *non-conformiſt miniſters* as they died, partly from the hiſtorians of thoſe times, but chiefly from the writings of the late reverend doctor *Calamy*, whoſe integrity, moderation, and induſtry, deſerve a peculiar commendation. My deſign was to preſerve the memory of the reverend *aſſembly of divines* at *Weſtminſter*, as well as of the little *army of confeſſors*, who afterwards ſuffered ſo deeply in the cauſe of *non-conformity*.

In paſſing a judgment on the ſeveral parties in church and ſtate, I have carefully diſtinguiſhed between thoſe who

went into all the arbitrary meaſures of the court, and ſuch as ſtood firm by the *proteſtant religion and the liberties of their country*; for it muſt be allowed, that in the reign of king *Charles* II. there were even among the clergy ſome of the worſt as well as beſt of men, as will appear to a demonſtration in the courſe of this hiſtory; but I deſire no greater ſtreſs may be laid upon *facts* or characters than the quality of the *vouchers* in the margin will ſupport. Where *theſe* have been differently related, I have relied on the beſt authorities, and ſometimes reported from both ſides, leaving the reader to chooſe for himſelf: for if *facts* are fairly repreſented, the hiſtorian is diſcharged. I am not ſo vain as to imagine this hiſtory free frome rrors; but if any miſtakes of conſequence are made to appear, they ſhall be acknowledged with thankfulneſs to thoſe who ſhall point them out in a civil and friendly manner; and as I aim at nothing but truth, I ſee no reaſon to engage in a warm defence of any parties of chriſtians who paſs before us in review, but leave their conduct to the cenſure of the world. Some few *remarks* of my own are here and there interſperſed, which the reader will receive according as he apprehends them to follow from the premiſes; but I flatter myſelf, that when he has carefully peruſed the ſeveral volumes of this hiſtory, he will agree with me in the following concluſions:

First, *That* UNIFORMITY *of ſentiments in religion is not to be attained among chriſtians; nor will a* COMPREHENSION *within an eſtabliſhment be of ſervice to the cauſe of truth and liberty without a* TOLERATION *of all other dutiful ſubjects.* Wiſe and good men, after their moſt diligent ſearches after truth, have ſeen things in a different light, which is not to be avoided as long as they have liberty to judge for themſelves. If *Chriſt* had appointed an infallible judge upon earth; or men were to be determined by an implicit faith in their ſuperiors, there would be an end of ſuch differences; but all the engines of human policy that have been ſet at work to obtain it have hitherto failed of ſucceſs. Subſcriptions, and a variety of oaths and other teſts, have occaſioned great miſchiefs to the church; by theſe means men of weak morals, and ambitious views, have

have been raiſed to the higheſt preferments, while others of ſtricter virtue, and ſuperior talents, have been neglected and laid aſide; and *power* has been lodged in the hands of thoſe who have uſed it in an unchriſtian manner, to force men to an agreement in ſounds and outward appearances, contrary to the true conviction and ſenſe of their minds; and thus a laſting reproach has been brought on the chriſtian name, and on the genuine principles of a proteſtant church.

2dly. *All parties of chriſtians, when in power, have been guilty of perſecution for conſcience ſake.* The annals of the church are a moſt melancholy demonſtration of this truth. Let the reader call to mind the bloody proceedings of the *popiſh biſhops* in queen *Mary*'s reign; and the account that has been given of the *Star Chamber* and *High Commiſſion Court* in later times; what numbers of uſeful miniſters have been ſequeſtered, impriſoned, and their families reduced to poverty and diſgrace, for refuſing to wear a *white ſurplice*, or to comply with a *few indifferent ceremonies!* What havock did the *Preſbyterians* make with their covenant uniformity; their *jure divino* diſcipline, and their rigid prohibition of reading the old ſervice book. And though the *Independants* had a better notion of the rights of conſcience, how defective was their inſtrument of government under *Cromwell!* how arbitrary the proceedings of their tryers! how narrow their liſt of fundamentals! and how ſevere their reſtraints of the preſs! And though the rigorous proceedings of the Puritans of this age did by no means rival thoſe of the prelates before and after the civil wars, yet they are ſo many ſpecies of perſecution, and not to be juſtified even by the confuſion of the times in which they were acted.

3dly. *It is unſafe and dangerous to intruſt any ſort of clergy with the power of the ſword*; for our Saviour's kingdom is not of this world, *if it were* (ſays he) *then would my ſervants fight, but now is my kingdom not from hence.* The church and ſtate ſhould ſtand on a diſtinct baſis, and their juriſdiction be agreeable to the nature of their crimes; thoſe of the church *purely ſpiritual*, and thoſe of the ſtate *purely civil*; as the king is *ſupreme* in the ſtate, he is alſo

head,

head, or guardian, of the *church* in thoſe ſpiritual rights that Chriſt has intruſted it with. When the church in former ages firſt aſſumed the ſecular power, it not only rivalled the ſtate, but in a little time lifted up its head above *emperors* and *kings*, and all the *potentates* of the earth: the thunder of its anathemas was heard in all nations, and *in her ſkirts was found the blood of the prophets and ſaints, and of all that were ſlain upon the earth.* And whenever it recovers the wound that was given it at the Reformation, it will undoubtedly reſume the ſame abſolute coercive dominion. It is therefore the intereſt of all ſovereign *princes* to keep their clergy within the limits that Chriſt has preſcribed them in the *New Teſtament*, and not to truſt them with the power of inflicting corporal pains or penalties on their ſubjects, which have no relation to the chriſtian methods of converſion,

4thly. *Reformation of religion, or a redreſs of grievances in the church, has not in fact ariſen from the clergy.* I would not be thought to reflect upon that *venerable order*, which is of great uſefulneſs, and deſerved honour, when the ends of its inſtitution are purſued; but ſo ſtrange has been the infatuation, ſo inchanting the luſt of dominion, and the charms of riches and honour, that the propagation of piety and virtue has been very much neglected, and little elſe thought of but how they might riſe higher in the authority and grandeur of this world, and fortify their ſtrong holds againſt all that ſhould attack them. In the dawn of the *reformation* the clergy maintained the *pope's ſupremacy* againſt the king, till they were caſt in a *præmunire*. In the reign of queen ELIZABETH there was but one of the whole bench who would join in the conſecration of a *proteſtant biſhop*; and when the reformation was eſtabliſhed, how cruelly did thoſe *proteſtant biſhops*, who themſelves had ſuffered for religion, vex the *Puritans*, becauſe they could not come up to their ſtandard! How unfriendly did they behave at the Hampton-court *conference!* At the *reſtoration* of king *Charles* II. and at the late *revolution* of king *William* and queen *Mary!* when the moſt ſolemn promiſes were broken, and the moſt hopeful opportunity of accommodating differences among proteſtants loſt, by the

the perverſeneſs of the clergy towards thoſe very men who had ſaved them from ruin. So little ground is there to hope for an union among chriſtians, or the propagation of truth, peace, and charity, from *councils, ſynods, general aſſemblies,* or *convocations of the clergy* of any ſort whatſoever.

5thly. Upon theſe principles, it is evident *that freedom of religion, in ſubordination to the* civil power, *is for the benefit of ſociety, and no ways inconſiſtent with a publick eſtabliſhment.* The king may create *dignitaries,* and give ſufficient encouragement to thoſe of the *publick religion,* without invading the liberties of his diſſenting ſubjects. If religious eſtabliſhments were ſtripped of their *judicial proceſſes* and *civil juriſdiction,* no harm could be feared from them. And as his majeſty is defender of the faith in Scotland as well as England, and equally the guardian of *both churches,* he will, no doubt, hold the balance, and prevent *either* from riſing to ſuch a pitch of greatneſs as to act independantly on the ſtate, or become formidable and oppreſſive to their neighbours; the former would create *imperium in imperio*; and *there is but one ſtep between the church's being independant on the* STATE, *and the* STATE *becoming dependant on the church.* Beſides, as freedom of religion is for the true honour and dignity of the CROWN, it is no leſs for the ſervice of the *community*; for the example of the neighbouring nations may convince us, that *uniformity in the church will always be attended with abſolute and deſpotick power in the* STATE. The *meetings of diſſenting proteſtants* were formerly called *ſeditious,* becauſe the peace of the publick was falſly ſuppoſed to conſiſt in *uniformity of worſhip*; but long experience has taught us the contrary; for, though the *non-conformiſts* in thoſe times gave no diſturbance to the adminiſtration, the nation was far from being at peace; but when things came to a criſis, their joining with the church, againſt a corrupt court and miniſtry, ſaved the religion and liberties of the nation. It muſt therefore be the intereſt of a free people to ſupport and encourage liberty of conſcience, and not to ſuffer any one great and powerful religious body to oppreſs, devour, and ſwallow up the reſt.

Finally,

Finally, *When proteſtant diſſenters recollect the ſufferings of their fathers in the laſt age for the freedom of their conſciences, let them be thankful that their lot is caſt in more ſettled times.* The liberties of England are the price of a great deal of blood and treaſure; wide breaches were made in the conſtitution in the four reigns of the male line of the STUARTS; perſecuti onand arbitrary power went hand in hand; the conſtitution was often in convulſive agonies, when the patrons of liberty appeared boldly in the noble cauſe, and ſacrificed their eſtates and lives in its defence. The *Puritans* ſtood firm by the *proteſtant religion*, and by the liberties of their country in the reigns of king *Charles* II. and king *James* II. and received the fire of the enemy from all their batteries, without moving ſedition, or taking advantage of their *perſecutors*, when it was afterwards in their power. Some amendments, in my humble opinion, are ſtill wanting to ſettle the cauſe of liberty on a more equal baſis, and to deliver wiſe and good men from the fetters of *oaths, ſubſcriptions, and religious teſts of all ſorts.* But whether ſuch deſirable bleſſings are in reſerve for this nation, muſt be left to the determination of an all-wiſe providence. In the mean time, may *proteſtant diſſenters* expreſs their gratitude for the protection and eaſe they enjoy at preſent, by an undiſſembled piety towards God! By a firm and unſhaken loyalty to his majeſty's perſon, and wiſe adminiſtration! By avoiding every thing that tends to perſecution or cenſoriouſneſs for mere differences in religion! and by the integrity of their own lives and manners! And while they think it their duty to ſeparate from the *national eſtabliſhment*, may they diſtinguiſh themſelves by the exerciſe of all ſocial virtues, and ſtand faſt in the liberty wherewith the providence of God has made them free! By ſuch a conduct they will preſerve their characters with all ſober perſons, and will tranſmit the bleſſings of the preſent age to their lateſt poſterity.

DANIEL NEAL

LONDON, *March* 1, 1737-8.

THE

THE

EDITOR's ADVERTISEMENT.

THE volume of Mr. *Neal*'s "Hiſtory of the Puritans" now preſented to the publick, beſides the additions made to it in the form of Notes, is conſiderably enlarged by Supplements to the different chapters. Theſe comprize the continued hiſtory of the Engliſh BAPTISTS and QUAKERS; and furniſh the reader with the ſubſtance of Mr. *Croſby*'s hiſtory of the former, and a full abſtract of Mr. *Gough*'s work concerning the latter Sect. The Editor hopes, that in this part of his undertaking he has not only done juſtice, and ſhewed reſpect, to two denominations who, in the laſt century, were treated neither with humanity or equity, but affrded the reader information and entertainment.

Where he has ſeen reaſon to animadvert on and correct Mr. *Neal*, it were ſufficient to reſt his juſtification on the plea of impartiality and the love of truth. But to the honour of his author he can add, he has only done what was wiſhed by him; who, in his preface to the firſt volume has ſaid,* "I ſhall be always thankful to any "that will convince me of my miſtakes in a friendly man-"ner;" and in that to the third volume has more fully expreſſed himſelf in this manner: "In hiſtorical debates, "nothing is to be received on *truſt*, but *facts* are to be "be examined, and a judgment formed upon the autho-"rity by which thoſe *facts* are ſupported; by this method "we ſhall arrive at truth, and if it ſhall appear that, in "the courſe of this long hiſtory, there are any conſider-"able miſtakes, the world may be aſſured, I will take "the firſt opportunity to retract or amend them."†

* P. xiv. † P. xxiv, xxv.

The

The Editor can declare, that it has been his own aim to do full juſtice to the ſects and characters of thoſe who have, in this work, come before him in review, and he can boldly appeal to his pen itſelf to prove the ſincerity of his declaration. He ſcarcely would have thought of making this appeal, if in an early ſtage of his undertaking it had not been inſinuated, that it was his deſign to make this work a vehicle for conveying particular opinions in theology, and that his own ſentiments made him an unfit perſon for the taſk. He has, indeed, ſentiments of his own; but he can eſtimate goodneſs and worth wherever they are found. He has ſentiments of his own, but he rejoices in the conſciouſneſs of a diſpoſition to grant to others a full liberty to avow, defend, and diſſeminate *their* ſentiments, though oppoſite to his own; and can give them the praiſe due to their abilities and characters.

It is a pleaſure to him, that the examination of the writers, who have cenſured Mr. *Neal* with ſeverity, has eventually eſtabliſhed the authenticity of the hiſtory, and the candour and impartiality of the author, in all the main parts of his work. It reflects high and laſting honour on this eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, that if the author were convicted by a *Warburton*, a *Maddox*, and a *Grey*, of partiality, it could be only ſuch a partiality as might ariſe from a zeal againſt tyrants and oppreſſors. The work has, on the whole, a *liberal* caſt; it is on the ſide of civil and religious liberty; it is in favour of the rights of *Engliſhmen*, againſt unconſtitutional prerogative; it is in favour of the rights of *conſcience*, againſt an imperious and perſecuting hierarchy, whether *epiſcopal* or *preſbyterian*; it is in favour of the great intereſts of mankind; and, to adopt the words of a moſt able and liberal writer;* "A "hiſtory that is written without any regard to the chief "privileges of human nature, and without feelings, eſpe- "cially of the moral kind, muſt loſe a conſiderable part "of its inſtruction and energy."

* Dr. *Kippis:* Preface to the firſt volume of the 2d edition of the Biographia Britannica, p. 21.

CONTENTS

CONTENTS OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

From the Death of King *Charles* I. to the Coronation of King *Charles* II. in *Scotland*.

THE monarchy turned into a commonwealth. Remarks. Oppoſed by the levellers, and by the Scots. *Cromwell* reduces Ireland: his rapid ſucceſs. Summary account of the ſtate of Ireland. Conduct of the preſbyterians towards the new government, *Cromwell* and the army petition for a toleration. The engagement enforced: to be taken by the whole nation: the preſbyterians refuſe it. Cavaliers and ſectarians take the oath. Reaſons againſt it and for it. Meaſures of the parliament to ſupport their authority. Scots declaration againſt the Engliſh. Parliament vindicate their proceedings. Scots treaty with the king in Holland. They will include the Engliſh preſbyterians. Augmentation of the poor livings by tithes and firſt-fruits. Preſbyterian government eſtabliſhed. Propagation of the goſpel in Wales and in Ireland. A corporation for the propagation of the goſpel among the Indians. Ordinances againſt ſeditious libels. Miniſters forbid to meddle in politicks. Remarks. Marquis of *Montague* executed. Conditions of the Scots treaty with the King. He arrives in Scotland. *Cromwell* marches againſt the Scots. Battle of Dunbar. Scots miniſters invited to return to their churches. *Cromwell*'s letter to the governor of the caſtle. Scots miniſters reply. *Cromwell*'s anſwer. The governor's complaint. *Cromwell*'o reply. Remarks. Proceedings againſt the preſbyterians in England. *Cromwell* choſen chancellor of Oxford. Penal laws taken away. Ordinances againſt vice and profaneneſs; againſt blaſphemous opinions; for ſtrict obſervation of the ſabbath; for maintenance of ſuch clergymen belonging to cathedrals whoſe offices were aboliſhed. Laws to be tranſlated into Engliſh. Riſe of the *quakers*, and of *George Fox*: he is joined by others. They are firſt called *quakers*; their behaviour; their doctrines.

A SUPPLEMENT.

The *quakers* called *Friends*, and the grounds of the name. Riſe of the *Muggletonians*, and hiſtory of *Lodowick Muggleton*.

CHAPTER

CHAPTER II.

From the Coronation of King *Charles* II. in Scotland, to the Protectorſhip of *Oliver Cromwell.*

Coronation of king *Charles*. He ſigns the covenant and a declaration. Remarks. Preſbyterian plot. Mr. *Love*'s trial. The evidence. A remarkable incident. Mr. *Love*'s ſpeech at his execution. The progreſs of the Engliſh army in Scotland. The king marches into England with the Scots army. Preparations of the parliament. The king at Worceſter. Battle of Worceſter. Low condition of the king and church of England. He neglects the preſbyterians, and turns his eyes towards the papiſts. Low condition of the kirk in Scotland. Engliſh commiſſioners ſettle liberty of conſcience in that kingdom. The kirk inſulted. State of Scotland. Act of indemnity, and a new counſel of ſtate. Death of Lt. Gen. *Ireton*, of Mr. *Woodcock*, of Mr. *George Walker*, and of Mr. *Wilſon*. Low terms of conformity. Petition againſt tithes. Attempts to regulate law-ſuits. Propagation of the goſpel in Wales. State of the commonwealth. War with the Dutch. Quarrel between the parliament and army. Remarks. Debates about a new form of government. *Cromwell*'s ambitious deſigns. *Cromwell* diſſolves the long parliament, and diſmiſſes the council of ſtate. Character of the commonwealth. Remarks on the change of government. *Cromwell* and the council of officers aſſume the government. The *little parliament*; their proceedings. Liberty of conſcience. Ordinance for marriages. *Oliver Cromwell* declared PROTECTOR by a council of officers. Abſtract of the new inſtrument of government. New model of a parliament. Articles relating to religion. Inſtalment of the protector. Remarks on the inſtrument of government. Epiſcopalians tolerated. Protector's council. State of the preſbyterians. Copies of Teſtimonials. Aſſociation of the miniſters in the country, not countenanced by the LONDON preſbyterians. The death of Dr. *George Gouge*, and of Dr. *Hill*.

CHAPTER III.

From the Beginning of the Protectorſhip of *Oliver Cromwell* to his Death.

State of the nation. The protector gives peace to the Dutch. His high reputation among foreign nations. French ambaſſador's ſpeech. The protector's domeſtick enemies; of the cavaliers, the preſbyterians, and the republicans. His friends. Remarks. Scotland and Ireland incorporated with England. Plot of the royaliſts. Portugueze ambaſſador's brother executed. A new parliament. The protector's ſtate: his ſpeech. Proceedings of the houſe. Protector's ſpeech.

ſpeech. The recognition. The protector diſſolves the parliament. Plot of the republicans and of the royaliſts: the protector's vigilance and ſeverity againſt them by decimation. Affairs of religion. Attempts to ſettle fundamentals. Committee to draw up the fundamentals of religion. The articles. Remarks. Protector for univerſal liberty. Ordinance appointing commiſſioners for approbation of publick preachers. Their inſtructions. Remarks. Additional ordinance. Complaints againſt the *Tryers*. Objections to their management. Their proceedings. Remarks. Mr. *Baxter*'s opinion of them. New ordinance for ejecting ſcandalous miniſters. Their inſtructions. Objections againſt it. Dr. *Pordage* ejected, and Mr. *Buſhnel*. Commiſſioners for Wales: ſad ſtate of that principality. Ordinance for propagating the goſpel in Wales. Numbers ejected. Their crimes. Their method of ſupplying the vacancies. Petitions againſt the commiſſioners. Further complaints againſt them. Ordinance for uniting ſmall livings, and dividing the greater. Protector for encouraging learning. Viſitors for the univerſities. Their influence. The protector's zeal for the proteſtant religion. State of the royal family. Death of Mr. *Selden*, of the Rev. Mr. *Gataker*, Mr. *Strong*, Mr. *Pern*, Dr. *Samuel Bolton*, Mr. *Whitaker*, and Mr. *Richard Vines*. The protector appoints major-generals. Enters into an alliance with France, and ſends admiral *Blake* to the Mediterranean. Jamaica taken from the Spaniards. Proceedings of the provincial aſſembly. Account of Mr. *Biddle* the *Socinian*. A ſevere ordinance againſt the old ſequeſtered clergy. Protector is willing to diſpenſe with the ordinance. Reaſons of his ſeverity againſt the papiſts. He is for encouraging the Jews. Arguments for and againſt it. Remarks. He aſſiſts the proteſtants in the valleys. Original of the ſociety for the ſons of the clergy. Death of archbiſhop *Uſher*; of Mr. *Marſhall*. The protector calls for a new parliament. They are obliged to recognize the government. Their acts. *Syndercombe*'s plot. Spaniſh Plate fleet taken. Hiſtory of the *quakers* continued; their extravagancies. Hiſtory of *James Naylor*, and of his ſufferings. Ordinance for the better obſervation of the ſabbath; againſt papiſts; their oath. The protector aſſiſts the proteſtants of Niſmes. The death of Dr. *Hall*, biſhop of Norwich, and of Mr. *Capel*. Debates about the title of king, and the protector's reaſons for declining it. Remarks. Parliament's petition and advice. Article relating to religion. The protector's new title. Remarks. The protector's ſecond inſtalment. His grandeur and wiſe adminiſtration. The protector's treaty with France. Admiral *Blake* deſtroys the Spaniſh galleons. His death and character. The protector conſtitutes an upper houſe of parliament; bad conſequences of it. The protector's ſpeech at the diſſolution of the parliament. He purges the army, and projects an union of the whole reformed intereſt. *Biblia Polyglotta*. The protector reſigns his chancellorſhip, and appoints his ſon *Henry*, lieutenant

lieutenant of Ireland. Original of the *Royal Society*. Death of Mr. *Langley*, Mr. *Sedgwick*, Mr. *Corbet*, and of Mr. *Cranford*. Dunkirk delivered to the Engliſh. Plot of the fifth-monarchy men and of the cavaliers. Dr. *Hewet*'s trial. Confeſſion of faith by the *Independents*; their aſſembly; abſtract of their confeſſion; of their diſcipline; their ſentiments of liberty. Remarks. Danger of the *hierarchy*. Addreſs of the *Anabaptiſts*. The protector's ſickneſs and death. His character, as a ſoldier, as a ſtateſman; his publick character; his religious and moral character; his enthuſiaſm. Objections againſt him conſidered. His diſſimulation, ambition, and cruelty. Sum of his character. Death of Dr. *John Harris*, of Mr. *Sydrach Sympſon*, of Dr. *Robert Harris*, and of Mr. *William Carter*.

CHAPTER IV.

Richard, protector, ſummonſes a parliament. Wallingford-houſe party. *Richard* depoſed by the army. Rump parliament reſtored. *H. Cromwell*'s letter from Ireland. Letter to Lieut. Gen. *Fleetwood*. Petition of the army. *Richard* reſigns the protectorſhip. Preſbyterians for reſtoring the king. Inſurrection of Sir *George Booth*. Parliament attempt to reduce the army, and are turned out. Committee of ſafety. Gen. *Monk* marches into England, for a free parliament. The army reſtores the parliament, but *Monk* continues his march, and enters the city. The controverſy between the city and parliament. *Monk* pulls down their gates, but is reconciled to them. He reſtores the ſecluded members of 1648. Proceedings of parliament. Preſbytery reſtored. Preſbyterians in full poſſeſſion of the nation. Character of general *Monk*. State of epiſcopacy and of the king. Debates about filling the vacant ſees. Difficulties that attended it. Sundry expedients propoſed. Remarks. The king abjures the proteſtant religion at the Pyrennees. Proofs of his being a papiſt before, but denies it to foreign proteſtants. The king's letter to Mr. *Cawton*. French miniſters employed to write that the king is a proteſtant. *Monk*'s letter to the independents. He courts the preſbyterians and the Scots kirk. Behaviour of the independents. Their riſe and reſolute progreſs through the war, and of the officers of the army. Death of biſhop *Brownrigge*, of Mr. *Herle*, and of Mr. *Thomas Cawton*. The reſtoration of king *Charles* II. Preſbyterians in full power. Terms on which the Scots and preſbyterians would reſtore the king. Remarks. Of their vain expectations from the court. G. *Monk* correſponds with the king. Convention parliament meets. King's declaration from Breda. The parliament invites the king home without any terms, owing in part to lord *Clarendon*. A deputation of lords and commons, with ſome miniſters, wait on the king. The miniſter's addreſs and reception. The biſhops ſend to the king with inſtructions. Forwardneſs of the clergy. *Richard Cromwell* reſigns his chancellorſhip, and abſconds. His character.

The

The king lands, and rides through the city to Whitehall. They avow the juſtice of the civil war. They give up every thing the court deſires. Remarks. Preſbyterian miniſters made the king's chaplains. The liturgy reſtored. The ſequeſtered clergy reſtored, and heads of colleges and fellows. Reformation of the univerſity of Cambridge. New creations in the univerſities. Vacancies in cathedrals filled up. The old ſurviving biſhops. Tranſlation of biſhops. New biſhops created. Of the independants, anabaptiſts, and papiſts. Of the times before the reſtoration. Of the times after the reſtoration. Death of Mr. *Taylor*.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAP. III. AND IV.

The ſituation of the Quakers under the protector. The grounds on which they were perſecuted. The ſufferings of ſome of them as vagrants, and of others under the pretence of breaking the ſabbath. The quakers oftenviolently aſſaulted by the mob on the ſabbath-day. Mr. *Gough*'s reflections on this. The ſufferings of *George Fox* at Carliſle; his anſwer to the requiſition of colonel *Hacker*. *Cromwell*'s meſſage to him, converſes with him, and ſets him at liberty. *Fox*'s ſufferings at St. Ives, in Cornwall. His journies to Wales. Some aſſaulted by the mob, others puniſhed as vagabonds. The perſecution of *Richard Hubberthorn*. The cruelties of jailers, eſpecially in the caſe of *James Parnel*. The ſufferings of the quakers by fines and diſtraints, and the numbers impriſoned. Their temper and conſolations. Their mutual kindneſs and charity. Their moral conduct and integrity. They interfere not in political tranſactions. The increaſe of their numbers, and ſpread of their doctrine. An obſervation of *Hugh Peters*. The moderation of the mayor of Oxford. The ſufferings of *Elizabeth Heavens* and *Elizabeth Fletcher*. The protection afforded to the quakers by general *Monk*. A general reflection. An act of the Scotch preſbytery againſt the Baptiſts. Their publications. The baptiſts diſmiſſed from his army by *Cromwell*. A remonſtrance on this meaſure. Their numbers. Independents friends to liberty; particularly Dr. *John Owen*. *John Hale*'s Tract on Schiſm. The perſecution and writings of Mr. *John Biddle*. A vote againſt the *Racovian* catechiſm.

CHAPTER V.

From the Reſtoration of King *Charles* II. to the Conference at the Savoy.

Views of the court and of the biſhops: and of the king and duke of *York*. The preſbyterians addreſs for a comprehenſion. Abſtract of their firſt paper of propoſals. Their reception. Abſtract of the biſhops' reply. Abſtract of the preſbyterians' defence of their propoſals.

ſals. The beginning of the ſufferings of the preſbyterians, who apply to the king. An aſſembly of divines to peruſe the king's declaration. Abſtract of his declaration. Abſtract of the ſecond paper of exceptions and requeſts of the preſbyterians. Opinion of ſome of the churchmen concerning the declaration, acceptable to moſt of the preſbyterians. Some accept of preferments. Declaration rejected by the houſe of commons. Remarks. Preſbyterians in deſpair. Behaviour of the court and biſhops. The beginning of the perſecution of the non-conformiſts. Methods for that purpoſe. Act for reſtoring the ſequeſtered clergy. For confirming marriages in the late times. Attainder of the king's judges. *Cromwell* and others that were dead, taken out of their graves. Trials of the king's judges. Their execution. Remarks. An act for an anniverſary obſervation of the 29th of May. *Milton* and *Goodwin*'s books burnt. Popery revives in England and in Ireland. Inſurrection of the fifth-monarchy men. Conſequences of *Venner*'s inſurrection; diſowned by the independents, by the baptiſts, and by the quakers. The preſbyterians in trouble. Biſhop *Stillingfleet*'s "Irenicum."

An account of Dr. *Henry Hammond*.

The king's marriage. The king's and lord *Clarendon*'s ſpeech. The king's ſecond ſpeech to parliament. Sham plots fathered on the preſbyterians. *Yarrington*'s plot. Corporation-act. Remarks.

CHAPTER VI.

From the Conference at the Savoy, to the Act of Uniformity.

Conference at the Savoy. Opening it. Hardſhips of the preſbyterians. Proceedings of the commiſſioners. A diſputation propoſed. The ſubject of the diſpute. The preſbyterians deſcend to intreaties. Behaviour of the commiſſioners; Dr. *Morley*, and biſhop *Gauden*. Of the diſputants. Of the auditors. Account of archbiſhop *Tillotſon*. Cenſures of the conference. A convocation. They are ordered to review the liturgy. Alterations in it. Other additions. Liturgy amended, ſent up to the king and council, and houſe of peers. Epiſcopacy reſtored in Scotland, againſt the king's mind. Mr. *Guthrie* executed. Character of the old Scotch preſbyterians, and of the Scots biſhops and new clergy. Epiſcopacy reſtored in Ireland. Conduct of the French proteſtants. The king's pretended zeal for the hierarchy. In favour of the papiſts, who declare their principles. The dead bodies of the moſt conſiderable perſons in the late times dug up. Act againſt the quakers. State of religion. Extravagancies of the court and nation. Queen-mother at Somerſet-houſe. Sale of Dunkirk. Execution of more of the king's judges. Trials of colonel *Lambert* and Sir *H. Vane*. Execution of Sir *H. Vane*. The act of uniformity brought into parliament and paſſed. An abſtract of

of it. Remarks. Terms of conformity. Higher than before the civil wars. *Rapin*'s remarks. Reflections on biſhop *Kennet*'s remarks. Mr. *Collyer*'s remarks. Authors or promoters of this act. Biſhop *Sheldon*; other biſhops and clergymen. Conduct of the *preſbyterians*. Their difficulties. Remarks. Some of them quit their livings. Miniſters ejected by the act of uniformity. Their hardſhips greater than the papiſts at the reformation, or the loyaliſts in the time of the civil wars. Difficulty of filling the vacancies. The condition of others. Dr. *Bates*' account of the act of uniformity. Sufferings of the ejected miniſters. Mr. *Baxter*'s account. Other accounts. Death of Mr. *Ley*, Mr. *Jeanes*, Dr. *Chambers*, Mr. *Aſh*, and of Mr. *Edward Bowles*. Acts for regulating the preſs. Licenſers. Objections to *Milton*'s Paradiſe Loſt.

CHAPTER VII.

From the Act of Uniformity, to the Baniſhment of the Earl of *Clarendon*.

Views of the ſeveral parties; of the king and court; of the parliament; of the clergy and biſhops; of the inferior clergy, high-church and low-church. Remarks, and thoſe of biſhop *Burnet*. The *Nonconformiſts*' petition for indulgence. The king's declaration concerning it, ſupported by his ſpeech to the parliament. Addreſs of the *commons* againſt it. Remarks. Riſe of occaſional conformity. The Rev. Mr. *Calamy* ſent to Newgate. Sham plot in the North. An act for relief of non-ſubſcribing miniſters. Conventicle act, and ſad conſequences of it to miniſters and people. Their cautious conduct. Sufferings of the *quakers* and others. War with the Dutch.

The charter for incorporating a ſociety for the propagating the goſpel in New England. Death and character of biſhop *Juxon*. An account of Mr. *Henry Jeſſey*.

The plague. The ejected miniſters venture to preach publickly, which brings them under farther hardſhips. Lord *Clarendon*'s ſpeech for it. The Oxford five-mile act. The oath. Some few take it, but the generality refuſe and go into baniſhment. Names of the nonconformiſt miniſters regiſtered in the biſhops' courts. Death of Dr. *Burges*, and of Dr. *Cheynell*.——An account of Mr. *Samuel Fiſher*.

The fire of London produces a ſort of liberty to the *nonconformiſts*. Death of Mr. *Calamy*, of Mr. *Arthur Jackſon*, and of Dr. *Spurſtow*. The fall of the earl of *Clarendon*; his character.

CHAPTER VIII.

From the Baniſhment of the Earl of *Clarendon* to the King's Declaration of Indulgence in the year 1672.

The king moves for a general toleration. The parliament petition to put the penal laws in execution. The ill behaviour of the biſhops and clergy. The death of Dr. *Seaman*, and of Mr. *George Hughes*. Unhappy ſtate of the nation. Project of a comprehenſion. Abſtract

of the propoſals. Alterations in the liturgy. An indulgence for ſuch as could not be comprehended. They are quaſhed by the biſhops, and the perſecution revived. Mr. *Baxter* and others impriſoned, not agreeable to the king's inclinations. Debates without doors. Various publications. Licentiouſneſs of the court and city, and univerſity. A letter from Mr. *John Wallis* to the Hon. *Robert Boyle*, in a note. Death of Mr. *Newcomen* and of Mr. *Joſeph Allein*. The conventicle act revived. The additional clauſes. Remarks. Methods of perſecution. Archbiſhop *Sheldon*'s letter to the biſhops. Zeal of biſhop *Gunning* and others. Diſtreſs of the *non-conformiſt* miniſters. Courage of the *quakers*. The trial of *Wm. Penn* and *Wm. Mead*. Injuſtice and cruelty of the court. The jury threatened. *Penn* and *Mead* acquitted. The king's deſign of governing abſolutely. Character of the CABAL. Death of Dr. *Tuckney*, and of Mr. *Wm. Bridge*. Cauſes of the growth of popery. Remedies propoſed by the parliament. Conduct of the court. The duke of *York* abjures the proteſtant religion. Project of the *Cabal* to make the king abſolute. Exchequer ſhut up. War with the Dutch. Project of a general indulgence: how it was reſented. A new declaration of indulgence. *Non-conformiſts* not forward to accept it by the diſpenſing power. A royal licence to a *non-conformiſt* miniſter, in a note. Death of Dr. *Staunton*, and of Mr. *Vavaſor Powel*.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTERS V. VI. VII. AND VIII.

SECT. I.

THE HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS.

THE ſhare the *Baptiſts* had in the viciſſitudes of government. *Cromwell* endeavours to ſuppreſs them. Mr. *Baxter* charges them with growing inſolent. Their petitions to *Charles* II. complaining of their ſufferings. The ill-treatment received by Mr. *Helme*, Mr. *Warren*, and Mr. *Fletcher*. The *baptiſts* excepted in an act for confirming all miniſters in their benefices. They are perſecuted at Reading, Newport, London, and Dover. The ſufferings of Dr. *Griffith* and Mr. *Grantham*. A circumſtance which aggravated the the proceedings againſt the *baptiſts*. Repeated outrages committed on them at the meeting-houſe in Whitechapel. Other religious aſſemblies diſturbed with violence. Inſult and abuſe offered to thoſe who were in the priſons. The ſevere proceedings of the juſtices in Buckinghamſhire, particularly on the act of the 35th of *Eliz.* The caſe of ten men and two women ſentenced to death. The *baptiſts* are refuſed the benefit of the common burying-places, and ſome are taken out of their graves. Their ſufferings at Lewes and other places, particularly by fines and diſtreſſes. A libel publiſhed to fix a ſtigma on this party. The ſtory of Mr. *Joſiah Baxter*. The proſecution of Mr. *John James*; the king's reply to the petition for his life. Mr. *Keach*'s ſufferings. His "New and eaſy Primmer." Particular inſtances

ſtances of calamities befalling their perſecutors. Dr. *Jortin* quoted. The conſolations and temper of the perſecuted: *e.g.* of ſome in Reading gaol; of ſome whoſe goods were ſeized; of Mr. *John James*, and of Mr. *Keach*. The publications of the *baptiſts* in their own defence, and their petitions to the higher powers. A declaration of ſome on the ſide of the principles of paſſive obedience. An addreſs to the king and parliament in a defence of the rights of conſcience. The authors of it, and their liberal deſign. An account of ſome of them, viz. Mr. *Wright*, Mr. *George Hammon*, Mr. *William Jeffery*, and Mr. *Francis Stanley*. The publication of a piece entitled "A "complaint of the oppreſſed againſt the oppreſſors, and of a plea for "toleration." Mr. *Atkins'* letter to the magiſtrates of Dover. A pamphlet entitled "Behold! a Cry." The hiſtory of *Robert Wright*; the challenge given him by the *baptiſts*. A narrative of the proceedings of ſome juſtices and ſome others, in execution of the act againſt conventicles.

SECT. II.

THE HISTORY OF THE QUAKERS.

THE *Quakers* rejoice in the reſtoration of *Charles* II. and, by Mr. *Hubberthorn*, lay before him a ſtate of their ſufferings. The king promiſes them protection. The perſecution of them ſoon renewed. Great numbers caſt into priſon. Old laws revived, and on them they are proceeded againſt. The caſe of *Thomas Goodyear* and *Benjamin Staples*. The juſtices reſtrained in a degree by higher authority. The ſevere hardſhips and cruel treatment to which this people were expoſed.

A Caſe, on which the coroner's jury declined giving a verdict. The king's declaration. The author of a narrative of their ſufferings proſecuted. Many die in Newgate. A guard placed at the entrance of the Bull-and-Mouth meeting-houſe. A ſevere perſecution at Colcheſter. A generous ſpeech of a *quaker*. The operation of the conventicle act of 1664. The privileges of the ſubject violated. The priſons, in the time of the plague, crowded by new commitments. A temporary mitigation of the proceedings againſt this ſociety. New ſcenes of perſecution opened by the third conventicle act, in 1670. Appeals ineffectual. The word *conventicle*, arbitrarily miſconſtrued. Unfair methods of fining the preacher. The honourable conduct of ſome juſtices, particularly of the lord-mayor of London. An order from the king and council for demoliſhing the meeting-houſe in Horſly-down. The cruelty with which it was executed. The meeting-houſe at Ratcliffe pulled down. *George Fox* committed to the gaol at Lancaſter, and diſcharged by an habeas-corpus. His forgiving temper. His fortitude. He is again committed to priſon. The rigour and ſeverities of his impriſonment. His life threatened. The effect of his patience and innocence on his keepers, particularly on the governor of Scarborough caſtle. Mrs. *Margaret Fell* cited before

before the juſtices: her magnanimity; committed to Lancaſter gaol; tried, and recommitted to priſon. The ſufferings of *Francis Howgill* and his deportment under them. The caſe of *Hannah Trigg*. The impriſonment of *Joſeph Face*. The exertions of the *quakers* in defence of their cauſe, and of their ſuffering brethren; namely, the applications to the king by *Margaret Fell*, *Burrough*, *Hubberthorn*, and *Whitehead*. The letters of the *Foxs* to the king. *George Fox*'s addreſs to the king. A narrative of the ſufferings of the *quakers*. *George Fox*'s teſtimony againſt plots. Remonſtrances by *Whitehead* and *Coale*. *William Penn* joins the ſociety. His publications. Mr. *Vincent* inveighs againſt the quakers; a publick diſputation with him. A piece of *George Fox*. The meeting-houſe in Gracechurch-ſtreet built. *George Fox*'s labours; eſtabliſhes a regular diſcipline. Quarterly-meetings; their object. Monthly meetings. The annual meeting. The ſubjects of the meetings of diſcipline. Reflections on the diſcipline of the quakers. The travels and hiſtory of *Catharine Evans* and *Sarah Cheevers*, into Italy; and of *John Philly* and *William Moore*, into Hungary. General character of the *quakers*; their patience: their charity, eſpecially in the time of the plague; their extenſive benevolence. Character and death of *Richard Hubberthorn*, of *Edward Burrough*, of *William Ames*, of *John Audland*, of *Richard Farnſworth*, of *Thomas Loe*, *Joſiah Coale*, and *Francis Howgill*.

CHAPTER IX.

From the King's Declaration of Indulgence to the Popiſh Plot.

The French declare war with the Dutch and overrun their country. The prince of *Orange* ſtadtholder, and the *De Wits* murdered. Proclamation againſt ſpreading falſe news. The beginning of the merchants' lecture at Pinner's-hall. Death of biſhop *Wilkins*, of Mr. *Joſeph Caryl*, and of Mr. *Philip Nye*. The parliament awakened. Arguments for and againſt the diſpenſing power. The houſe of commons vote againſt it. Alderman *Love*, in the name of the diſſenters, renounces the diſpenſing power. The king gives up his indulgence. *Shaftſbury* deſerts the *Cabal*. Bill for the eaſe of proteſtant diſſenters. It miſcarries. The commons addreſs againſt the papiſts. The teſt-act brought into the houſe. Debates about it. It receives the royal aſſent. The act itſelf. Remarks. Summary of the penal laws. Conſequences of them. The duke of *York*'s ſecond marriage. Further fruitleſs attempts for a comprehenſion. Death of Mr. *William Whitaker*, and of Mr. *Janeway*. Severity of the court againſt the diſſenters revived. Others plundered, impriſoned, and ruined. Peace with the Dutch. Parliament proſecute the papiſts and the cabal. Death of Mr. *John Milton*. Archbiſhop *Sheldon*'s circular letter againſt the diſſenters. Attempts for an accommodation fruſtrated by the biſhops. People begin to compaſſionate the ſufferings of *non-conformiſts*. Proceedings of the court to eſtabliſh arbitrary

arbitrary power. A bill in the houſe of lords for that purpoſe. It is dropt. Remarks. Inſolence of the papiſts, produces another attempt for toleration. Duke of *Buckingham*'s ſpeech for it. Cry of the danger of the church. Of Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*. *Corbet*'s principles and practices of the *non-conformiſts*. Pamphlets in favour of ſeparate meetings. Of the informers. Their method. Their infamous lives and deaths. They are encouraged by the court and the biſhops. Death of biſhop *Reynolds*. Dangerous ſtate of the nation. Marriage of the prince of *Orange* with the princeſs *Mary*. Death of archbiſhop *Sheldon*, and promotion of *Compton*. Death of Dr. *Manton*. Biographical account of Mr. *John Tombes*. Death of Mr. *John Rowe*.

CHAPTER X.

From the *Popiſh* Plot, to the Death of King *Charles* II.

Peace of Nimeguen. The popiſh plot alarms the nation: not credited at court. Act to qualify papiſts to ſit in parliament. Occaſion of diſſolving the long parliament. Remarks on the popiſh plot. Death of Mr. *Thomas Vincent* and of Mr. *Gale*. A new parliament. Meal-tub plot. Death of Mr. *Matthew Poole*, and of Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*. Of the *petitioners* for the ſitting of the parliament, and of the *Abhorrers:* which gave riſe to *Whig* and *Tory*. Of the *Whigs*. Of the *Tories*. Proceedings of the parliament. Bill of excluſion brought in a ſecond time. Attempts for a comprehenſion. Speeches againſt it. Others in favour of it. It is loſt, and a bill for toleration, or eaſing them from the penalties of the 35th of *Elizabeth*, introduced: withdrawn by the clerk of the crown. Votes of the commons. Dr. *Stilling fleet* writes againſt the diſſenters. Various anſwers to his ſermon. Death of Mr. *Charnock*.

A biographical account of Mr. *John Corbet*.

The Oxford parliament. They revive the bill of excluſion. Their proceedings about withdrawing the toleration bill. *Fitz-Harris*' ſham plot deſigned againſt the diſſenters. His libel. He is executed. Sudden diſſolution of the parliament. The king's declaration of reaſons for it. Addreſs from the univerſities of Cambridge. Treatiſes publiſhed in favour of diſſenters. The conduct of the High-church clergy. Sufferings of the *non-conformiſts*, and of the *quakers*. Death of Mr. *Thomas Gouge*. Conteſts about election of magiſtrates. Charter of the city of London forfeited. Remarks. Death of Mr. *Caſe*. Mr. *Baxter* and others ſeverely proſecuted. Rye-houſe plot. Lord *Ruſſel* beheaded. The *non-conformiſts* charged with the Rye-Houſe plot. The *Quakers* purge themſelves, and declare their ſufferings. The Oxford decree. Sufferings of Mr. *Delaune*, and of Mr. *Bampfield*; of Mr. *Ralphſon*, and of Mr. *Salkeld*. London caſes publiſhed. Death of Dr. *John Owen*.

A biographical account of Dr. *Benjamin Whichcote*.

Further ſufferings of the *Whigs*. The conſtitution of England given up and deſtroyed. Mr. *Baxter* again in priſon. Trial of Mr. *Roſewel*.

Roſewel. He is condemned. Sufferings and death of Mr. *Jenkyn*, and of Mr. *Benjamin Woodbridge*. Summary of the perſecution in Scotland. Character of the Scotch biſhops and clergy, and of the people. Proceedings of the government: occaſion an inſurrection. Of houſe and field conventicles. Effects of the perſecution. King *Charles* II's death and character.

SUPPLEMENT TO CHAPTERS IX. AND X.

SECT. I.

THE HISTORY OF THE BAPTISTS.

CONTROVERSY about *laying on of hands*. A diſpute with the *Quakers*. *Hicks*'s and *Penn*'s publications: a meeting to hear the charges againſt *Hicks*; a ſecond meeting for the ſame purpoſe. The iſſue of theſe meetings. The confeſſion of faith publiſhed in 1677. The hiſtory of it, and of its impreſſions. Other confeſſions of faith publiſhed, particularly one in 1678. An account of Mr. *William Dell* and of Mr. *Francis Cornwell*; the effect of his viſitation ſermon. Mr. *Blackwood*'s change of ſentiment on the queſtions relative to baptiſm. Mr. *Cornwell*'s piece written againſt the ordinance of parliament. An account of Mr. *Blackwood* and of Mr. *Benjamin Cox*. Effect of Mr. *Tombe*'s being appointed a *trier* of candidates for the miniſtry: and reſolution of the *triers* to own the *baptiſts* as brethren.

SECT. II.

THE HISTORY OF THE QUAKERS.

THE quakers avail themſelves of the declaration of indulgence; procure the releaſe of their friends in priſon, and aſſiſt the other diſſenters. A generous declaration of *George Whitehead*. Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*'s generoſity. The *quakers* a bulwark to the other diſſenters. Perſecution of them renewed. Particular inſtances. The eccleſiaſtical laws enforced. The penal ſtatutes rigiorouſly executed. The caſe of a poor man, with a wife and five children. Fines levied by diſtraints. Violences of the mobs. Appeals ineffectual. Sufferings in Glouceſterſhire, at Plymouth, and other places. The pariſh-officers inſtigated to ſeverity. A perſecution at Briſtol. Women inſulted. The priſons crouded. Religious meetings held in priſon; kept up by women and youth. Perſecutions at Cheſter, in Somerſetſhire, and London. Aſſemblies held in the open air at the ſevereſt ſeaſons. Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave*'s reflection. The ſufferings of ſeveral diſtinguiſhed individuals; viz. *George Fox* and *Thomas Lower*; the generoſity of the latter; removed by an *habeas corpus*; tried at the aſſizes in 1674; recommitted to priſon; bailed; appears to traverſe the indictment; impriſoned again: ſeized with a ſevere ſickneſs; his fortitude; is removed by an *habeas corpus*; honourably diſcharged. Sir *Matthew Hale*'s upright conduct. *Fox* ſued for ſmall tithes; a ſequeſtration obtained; his diſintereſted conduct with regard to his wife's eſtate. The ſufferings of *George Whitehead*

Whitehead and *Thomas Burr*, at Norwich; the former fined ſeveral times. The injuſtice of the diſtrainers. Two friends proſecuted for a riot. The amount of the fines levied on the *quakers*. The caſe of *Richard Vickris*. The application of the *quakers* to the judges. An account of ſufferings by confiſcations laid before the parliament. The application of *Fox* and others for relief; unſucceſsful in England, though he had been heard in Ireland. *Robert Barclay*'s interceſſion for friends proſecuted in Scotland. *George Fox* publiſhes a declaration in defence of himſelf and friends. The *quakers* exert themſelves to promote liberty of conſcience. The grant to *William Penn*; the conſequences of it. The prognoſtications of *Penn* verified.

THE CONTENTS OF THE NOTES.

CHAP. I. page 1. The origin of the name *Rump Parliament*. p. 2. The motto on the arms of the commonwealth. p. 3. Anecdotes concerning Dr. *Doriſlaus*, and the reſpect ſhewn to his memory by the parliament. p. 4. Mr. *Neal* defended, and the reſentment of the death of Dr. *Doriſlaus* expreſſed by the ſtates of Holland. p. 5. Mr. *Neal*'s account of the number of the duke of *Ormond*'s army conſidered. The cruelties of *Cromwell*'s army. p. 6. The cruelty of *Cromwell*'s orders, and his vindication of himſelf. p. 7. Mr. *Neal*'s veracity impeached. p. 10. The neglect with which national thankſgivings and faſts were treated. p. 14. The amount of the ſale of dean and chapter lands. p. 19. Hiſtory and character of *John Lilburne*. An inaccuracy of Mr. *Neale* corrected. p. 20. An eulogium on the marquis of *Montroſe*. p. 21. Articles of repentance enacted of *Charles* II. p. 23. *Charles* II's joy in the defeat of the Scots. The freedom with which Mr. *Derham* treated *Oliver* to his face, and the remark of the latter. p. 31. The character of the parents of *George Fox*, and the virtues of his youth. p. 33. The boldneſs of *George Fox* accounted for. Mr. *Neal* corrected. p. 34. His impriſonment at Nottingham. p. 35. The ſevere treatment he met with at Mansfield. p. 35, 36. Mr. *Neal* cenſured, and the nature of the mittimus on which *Fox* was impriſoned at Derby. p. 37. The origin of the term *quakers*, and on the agitations aſcribed to them. p. 37, 38. Mr. *Neal* and Mr. *Baxter* cenſured, and the *quakers* defended. p. 39. The opinions of the *quakers*, and their ſyſtem. p. 39, 40. An inaccuracy corrected, and the ſtrain of *George Fox*'s preaching.

Chap. II. p. 43. Mr. *Baxter*'s cenſure of the Scots. p. 45. The poſitions in Mr. *Jenkins*'s petition. p. 50. By whom Mr. *Love*'s petition was ſigned. p. 52. Brief hiſtory of Mr. *Love*. p. 56. The poverty of the queen dowager, and the penſion given to *Charles* II. p. 60. Biographical account of general *Ireton*. p. 63. The reception given

given to the ambaſſadors of the parliament by the Dutch. p. 67. Two inſtances of the forgiving temper of the *quakers*. p. 68, 69. Mrs. *Macaulay*'s reflection on the government of the Rump parliament. p. 72. The reſpectability of the Little parliament. p. 72, 73. A liſt of the names of a Suſſex jury. p. 85. Particulars concerning Dr. *William Gouge*.

Chap. III. p. 91. Lord *Clarendon*'s account of the dying behaviour of *Vowel* and *Gerhard*. p. 101. A reference to Dr. *Harris*, to prove that *Cromwell* was not a bigot. p. 112. Mr. *Neal* corrected in his account of Dr. *Pordage*. p. 113. Ground of Mr. *Buſhnel*'s being ejected from his living. p. 116. The uſes to which the tithes were applied. p. 118. *Vavaſor Powel*'s character vindicated. p. 121. *Cromwell*'s patronage of *Walton*'s *Polyglott*, and of Dr. *Seth Ward*. p. 124. Duke of *Glouceſter*'s dereliction of *proteſtantiſm*. p. 125. *Grotius*'s eulogium on *Selden*. *Selden*'s dying words. *Le Clerc*'s reflections on the treatment which *Selden* received. p. 127. Mr. *Gataker*'s works, &c. p. 130. Mr. *Vines*'s character; anecdotes concerning him. p. 134, 135, Mr. *Biddle*'s character and catechiſm. Mr. *Neal* corrected, and Mr. *Biddle* vindicated. p. 136. Dr. *Harris*'s reflection on *Cromwell*'s ordinance againſt the clergy. p. 137. That ordinance reprobated, and *Cromwell*'s breach of his promiſe to archbiſhop *Uſher*. p. 138. *Cromwell*'s preſent to the Jewiſh rabbi. p. 143. Anecdotes concerning archbiſhop *Uſher*. p. 144, 5. His amiable virtues and dying prayer. *Cromwell*'s reſpect for him; the value of his library. p. 146. Mr. *Marſhall*'s character as a preacher. p. 151. The preaching of the *quakers* vindicated. p. 152. A defence of the *quakers*. p. 153. The unfair treatment *James Naylor* met with, and the injuſtice of the reflections caſt on the *quakers* on his account. p. 154. The illiberal conduct of thoſe who attempted his conviction. p. 155. The ſeverity of the ſentence paſſed on him. Mr. *Neal* cenſured. The conduct of ſome miniſters towards *James Naylor*. His Dying ſentiments; his repentance, and farther remarks on the ſentence againſt him. p. 160. *Cromwell*'s conduct towards the French proteſtants. p. 161. The hiſtory of a tumult at Abingdon. p. 163. Biſhop *Hall*'s poetry. p. 164, 165. A biographical account of Mr. *John Hales*. p. 167. *Cromwell*'s wiſhes to be king, and his converſation with *Fleetwood* and *Deſborough*. p. 172. A reference to Dr. *Grey*. The ſtate of the nation under *Cromwell*. p. 174. The age of admiral *Blake*. p. 175. An anecdote of *Blake*. The inſult offered to him and others after they had been buried. p. 176. A reference to Dr. *Grey*. p. 180. A particular concerning *Walton*'s Polyglot. p. 181. A reference to Dr. *Grey*. p. 183. The character of Mr. *Langley*. p. 184. A reference to Dr. *Grey*. p. 185. The merit of the Engliſh army in the ſiege of Dunkirk. A ſtory relative to the ſurrender of it, and to the conduct of cardinal *Mazarine* confuted. p. 186. An hiſtory of the origin of various churches of the *Independents* in Norfolk and Suffolk. p. 192.

p. 192. A practice of the *Independents* at the first formation of their churches. The covenant of the church at *Wattesfield*. p. 197. The address of the *baptists* to the protector. p. 198. The flights of *Goodwin* and *Sterry*. Date of the battle of Marston-Moor. p. 199. Reflections on the storms on the day of *Cromwell*'s death, and of his body being taken up out of the grave. Expences of his funeral and the pomp of it. p. 200. Sir *John Reresby*'s description of *Cromwell*. His biographers. p. 203. *Cromwell*'s disinterestedness. Sincerity of his religion at first. p. 205. *Cromwell*' s sensibility. p. 207. Dr. *Robert Harris*' charity.

Chap. IV. p. 209. Addresses to *Richard Cromwell*. p. 215. Character of *Fleetwood*. p. 216. Dr. *Harris*'s reflections on *Richard Cromwell*'s resignation of the protectorship. p. 217. Resolutions to pay the debts of *Richard Cromwell*, and to settle on him an annuity. p. 218. Chester disfranchised. p. 223. A reference to Dr. *Grey*. p. 225. Mr. *Neal* corrected. p. 229. Account of Dr. *Barwick*. p. 242. Character of Dr. *Brownrigge*. p. 243. The fame, and an anecdote of it. p. 245. Character of Mr. *Thomas Cawton*. p. 251. Compliments paid to Sir *John Grenville*, and lord *Mordaunt*. p. 254. Mr. *Daniel Dyke's* discernment and judgment on the conduct of *Charles* II. p. 257. *Richard Cromwell*'s retirement. p. 266. An account of Dr. *Frewen*. Charities and benefactions of Dr. *Duppa*. p. 270. A story authenticated, and Mr. *Selden*'s reply to a certain alderman. p. 271. An account of Mr. *Francis Taylor*'s son. p. 283. The cruel treatment of *Eliz. Heavens* and *Eliz. Fletcher*. p. 287. A quotation from *Milton*.

Chap. V. p. 300. The framers of *Charles* II's declaration. p. 310. The terms on which the bishops renewed their leases. p. 311. The generosity and munificence of the bishops stated. p. 313. Who drew up the service for the 30th of January. The error of the parliament's proceeding against *Charles* I. The case of colonel *Ingoldsby*. p. 315. Mr. *Granger*'s reflection on the deportment of the regicides at their execution. p. 316. Mr. *Horace Walpole*'s reflection on the execution of a king. p. 317. A query from Dr. *Grey*. p. 318. His censure of *Milton*, and the cause of *Milton*'s being included in the act of indemnity. p. 320. The ORIGIN OF A STANDING ARMY. p. 321. The injustice of the proclamation issued out in consequence of *Venner*'s insurrection. p. 322. The apology of the *baptists*. *Venner*'s acquittal of them. p. 323. Sufferings of the *baptists*, particularly of Mr. *Vavasor Powel*, and Mr. *John Bunyan*. p. 324. The address of the *quakers*. p. 325. Mr. *Neal* vindicated: favour shewn to the *quakers*. p. 326. A conciliatory and liberal design of Mr. *Boyle* and Sir *Peter Pett*. p. 329. Bishop *Stillingfleet*'s change of sentiment. p. 330. The date of *Charles* II's marriage; the influence of lord *Clarendon* in that event, and other circumstances concerning it. p. 331. The chancellor's advice previous to the general election. The pomp with which the king went to open the sessions of parliament.

ment. p. 332. Acts of *Charles* II's first parliament. p. 335. Remarks on the oath of non-resistance.

Chap. VI. p. 337. The number of bishops at the Savoy conference. p. 338. No *baptists* admitted to that conference. p. 339. The effect of the numerous demands of the *presbyterians*. p. 341. The questions concerning baptism involved in the debates of the Savoy. p. 345. Moderation and liberality of the *baptists*. The *episcopalians* and *presbyterians* perplexed by a proposal from the lord chancellor. p. 350. Reflections on the infallibility of princes in religious matters. p. 351. The directions of the rubrick, in king *James*'s review, concerning the lessons. A mistake of bishop *Kennet*. p. 353. Mr. *Neal* corrected. 353, 354. Additions to the liturgy. p. 356. Mistakes of Mr. *Neal* and Dr. *Grey*. p. 362. Some account of *Oliver Cromwell*'s mother, of *Thomas May*, and Col. *Meldrum*. p. 365. A severe act passed against the *quakers*. p. 366. Sufferings of the *quakers*. p. 367, 68. An account of Mr. *Thomas Lushington*, and of Mr. *Denne*. p. 368. The duke of *York*'s great argument for adhering to popery. The sale of Dunkirk, and lord *Clarendon*'s share in it. p. 371. A mistake of Mr. *Neal*. The principle on which the act of uniformity included schoolmasters. p. 374. The influence of the corporation-act and the act of uniformity, on the state of the *quakers*. p. 375. The limitation of the time allowed for subscription. p. 377. The proviso for the aid of the ejected ministers. References to bishop *Kennet*. p. 379. Bishop *Sanderson*'s sentiments concerning the act of uniformity. p. 383. Dr. *Walker*'s work, and the answers to it. p. 384. The sequestered clergy deprived of their fifths. p. 386. Bishop *Kennet*'s opinion of the ejected ministers. p. 387. The amount of his pleas to extenuate their calamities. p. 388. An observation of Mr. *Philip Henry*.

Chap. VII. p. 402. The duty of members of parliament. p. 402. Remarks on the address of the commons on *Charles* II's proposal of indulgence. p. 406. The design of subscription fixed by the legislature. p. 413. An incident that happened in the time of the plague. p. 416. A design to impose the oath in the Oxford five-mile act on the whole nation. p. 417. A reflection on that act. p. 419. The character of Dr. *Cornelius Burgess*. p. 420. Dr. *Johnson*'s life of Dr. *Cheynel*. p. 423. An anecdote of *Hubert*. p. 424. Character of Mr. *Edmund Calamy*; the freedom with which he treated general *Monk*; his imprisonment and discharge. p. 425. Anecdotes of Mr. A. *Jackson*. p. 426. Lord *Clarendon* vindicated; his reflection on the palace built for him. p. 427, 8. True cause of lord *Clarendon*'s fall. His leaving the kingdom. His employment and greatness in his exile. His character drawn by *Carte* and Dr. *Grey*. An anecdote concerning him.

Chap. VIII. p. 432. Dr. *Seaman*'s library. Anecdote of Mr. *Hughes*'s mother. p. 443. The writer of the Assembly's catechism. An inaccuracy corrected. p. 446. Reflections on the conventicle act, p. 447.

p. 447. Mr. *Neal* defended. p. 449. Biſhop *Henſhaw*'s perſecuting ſpirit. p. 451. Biſhop *Burnet* cenſured, and the principles of the *quakers* ſtated. p. 454. The recorder's of London ſpeech on the trial of *William Penn*. The conduct and character of Sir *John Vaughan*. p. 455. Anecdotes of Dr. *Tuckney*. p. 457. Mr. *William Bridges*'s influence and ſentiments on religion. p. 459. The ducheſs of *York* dies a papiſt. p. 461. The biſhops alarmed; the clergy preach againſt popery. Dr. *Tillotſon*'s anſwer to archbiſhop *Sheldon*. p. 465. Dr. *Staunton*, where a fellow. p. 467. An account of Mr. *Vavaſor Powel*.

Chap. IX. p. 532. *Caryl*'s expoſition of *Job*. p. 534. Mr. *Gough*'s reflections on the conduct of parliament with reſpect to the king's declaration. p. 545. An aſſociation for the opening of ſchools, and the diſtribution of books in Wales. p. 548. The cauſe of the diſſolution of parliament. The bill for the new teſt. p. 552. The authors of Foxes and Firebrands. Character of Sir *Roger Le Strange*'s writings. p. 553. *Wood*'s character of *Corbett*. p. 554. Death and character of *Richard Cromwell*'s wife. p. 555. A quotation from *Sewel*. p. 557. Account of biſhop *Reynolds*. p. 560. The number of *non-conformiſts*. p. 561. The ground of the repeal of the act *de heretico comburendo*. The ſpirit and power of the church. p. 561, 62. The character of archbiſhop *Sheldon*; his advice to young noblemen. Dr. *Grey*'s cenſure of Mr. *Neal*. Character of biſhop *Henchman*. p. 564. An account of Dr. *Manton*, and an anecdote of lord *Bolingbroke*. p. 565. Mr. *Rowe*'s learning.

Chap. X. p. 567. Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*'s death and funeral. Great alarm occaſioned by the popiſh plot. p. 568. Sir *Roger Le Strange*. p. 569. The excluſion bill negatived by two votes only. Effects of that alarm about the popiſh plot. A lecture ſet up by the diſſenters. p. 570. The king's converſation with Sir *John Rereſby* on the plot. p. 571. An account of Mr. *Vincent*, and a work of his. Anecdotes of Mr. *Theophilus Gale*. p. 574, 5. Anecdotes of Mr. *Matthew Poole*; his method of ſtudy; a liberal ſcheme formed by him. His "*Synopſis Criticorum*." The continuators' of his annotations. p. 575. Particulars concerning Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*. p. 576. The duke of *York* recalled. The petitions of the *Abhorrers*. p. 580. Lord *Halifax*'s influence in throwing out the bill of excluſion, and the duke of *York*'s ingratitude. p. 585. Letters of the French preſbyterians, relative to epiſcopacy. Mr. *Claude*'s remonſtrance with biſhop *Compton*. p. 568. A particular concerning Mr. *Charnock*. p. 590. The king's declaration in 1681. p. 596. Mr. *Thomas Gouge*'s character and charity. p. 597. A diſpute at Oſweſtree between biſhop *Lloyd* and Mr. *James Owen*. p. 599. Particulars concerning Mr. *Caſe*. His exhortation to the court-martial. p. 600. Mr. *Samuel Clarke*'s publications; the good effect of his labours at Alceſter. p. 601. Mr. *Shower*'s travels and converſation with *Turretin*, concerning

cerning the *non-conformiſts*. p. 602. *Spratt*'s hiſtory of the Rye-houſe plot. The earl of *Eſſex*'s death. p. 603. The nature of the manuſcript for which *Algernon Sydney* was condemned. 603, 604. An epitaph for him. p. 604. Characters of Dr. *Owen* and Mr. *Mead* vindicated. p. 606. The effect of the *quakers* addreſs. The decree of the univerſity of Oxford in favour of paſſive-obedience. p. 607. The treatment Dr. *Whitby* met with on account of his "Proteſtant "Reconciler." p. 608, 9. Hiſtory of Mr. *Delaune*; Dr. *Calamy*'s conduct towards him, and his character. p. 610. The fate of *Delaune*; a reflection on the *diſſenters*. Sufferings of the diſſenters. An account of Mr. *Francis Bampfield*. p. 611. Mr. *Salkeld*'s impriſonment. The demand for Mr. *Delaune*'s "Plea." p. 613, 14. Mr. *Wood*'s character of Dr. *Owen*. Mr. *Granger*'s remarkss on it. Particulars concerning Dr. *Owen*; his converſations with the duke of *York* and the king. The preſent of the latter to the *diſſenters*. p. 616. The charter of Cheſter given up. The diſintereſted conduct of the diſſenters of that city. p. 617. The ſpeech of the publick orator at Cambridge to the king. p. 619. Sir *John Talbot*'s interference for Mr. *Roſewel*, and *Jefferies*'s conduct at and after the trial. p. 620. Particulars concerning Mr. *Jenkyn*. p. 625. Dr. *Warner*'s character of *Charles* II. Dr. *Sharpe*'s reflection on his death. p. 626. A ſaying concerning *Charles* II. A deſign to place a biſhop in Virginia.

ERRATA IN VOL. III.

Page 134. Note, l. 2, after *important*, read *truth*.
175. Note, l. 13, for *Boſcaewn*'s, read *Boſcawen*'s.
185. 2d note, l. 16, for *we*, read *I*.
229. Note, l. 17, for *attainment*, read *attainments*.
557. Should be 555.
562. Note, l. 14, for *ſupuorted*, read *ſupported*.

ERRATA IN VOL. IV.

Page 262. l. 13, before *verſities*, put "
265. l. 10, for *Doctor*, read *Doctors*.
266. l. 20, for *dextrous*, read *dexterous*.
268. l. 17, for *meer*, read *mere*.
273. l. 17, for *Hubberton*, read *Hubberthorn*.
275. l. 3, from the bottom, for *profeſs*, read *poſſeſs*.
276. l. 23, dele *to*, before *go*.
285. l. 7 from the bottom, for *in full*, read *at full*.
286. l. 4, dele *of ſpirit*.

THE HISTORY OF THE PURITANS.

CHAP. I.

From the Death of King CHARLES I. *to the Coronation of King* CHARLES II. *in Scotland.*

1648.

UPON the death of the late king, the legal conſtitution was diſſolved, and all that followed till the reſtoration of king *Charles* II. was no better than an *uſurpation* under different ſhapes; the houſe of commons, if it may deſerve that name, after it had been purged of a third part of its members,* relying upon the *act of continuation*, called themſelves the *ſupreme authority of the nation*, and began with an act to diſinherit the prince of *Wales*, forbidding all perſons to proclaim him king of *England*, on pain of high treaſon. The houſe of lords was voted uſeleſs; and the office of a king unneceſſary, burthenſome, and dangerous. The form of government for the future was declared to be a free com-

* According to *Eachard*, not above a fifth part of the commons were left. On account of the reduced and mutilated ſtate of the houſe, they were called the *Rump Parliament*. This name was firſt given to them by *Walker*, the author of the Hiſtory of Independency, by way of deriſion, in alluſion to a fowl, all devoured but the rump; and they were compared to a man "who would never ceaſe to whet and whet his knife, till there was no "ſteel left to make it uſeful." Dr. *Grey*, and *Rapin*. ED.

mon-wealth; the executive power lodged in the hands of a *council of ſtate* of forty perſons,† with full powers to take care of the whole adminiſtration for one year; new keepers of the *great ſeal* were appointed, from whom the judges received their commiſſions, with the name, ſtile, and title of, *cuſtodes libertatis Angliæ authoritate parliamenti*; i. e. *keepers of the liberties of England by authority of parliament.* The coin was ſtamped on one ſide with the arms of England between a *laurel* and a *palm*, with this inſcription, *the commonwealth of England*; and on the other, a *croſs* and *harp*, with this motto, *God with us.** The oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy were aboliſhed, and a new one appointed, called the ENGAGEMENT, which was, *to be true and faithful to the government eſtabliſhed, without king or houſe of peers.* Such as refuſed the oath were declared incapable of holding any place or office of truſt in the commonwealth; but as many of the excluded members of the houſe of commons as would take it, reſumed their places.

Such was the foundation of this new conſtitution, which had neither the conſent of the people of England, nor of their repreſentatives in a free parliament. "And if ever "there was an uſurped government, mutilated, and founded "only in violence, (ſays *Rapin*§) it was that of this par-"liament." But though it was unſupported by any other power than that of the army, it was carried on with the moſt conſummate wiſdom, reſolution, and ſucceſs, till the ſame military power that ſet it up, was permitted by divine providence with equal violence to pull it down.

The new commonwealth in its infant ſtate met with oppoſition from divers quarters: the *levellers* in the army gave out, that the people had only changed their yoke, not ſhaken it off; and that the RUMP's little finger (for ſo the houſe of commons was now called) would be heavier than the king's loins. The agitators therefore petitioned the houſe to diſſolve themſelves, that new repreſentatives might be choſen.

† According to *Whitlocke*, who gives their names, the council conſiſted of thirty-eight perſons only. ED.

* On which a man of wit obſerved, "that God and the commonwealth "were not both on a ſide." Dr. *Grey*. ED.

§ Vol. ii. p. 573, folio.

The

The commons, alarmed at theſe proceedings, ordered their general officers to caſhier the petitioners, and break their ſwords over their heads, which was done accordingly. But when the forces paſſed under a general review at Ware, their friends in the army agreed to diſtinguiſh themſelves by wearing ſomething white in their hats;† which *Cromwell* having ſome intelligence of beforehand, commanded two regiments of horſe who were not in the ſecret, to ſurround one of the regiments of foot; and having condemned four of the ring-leaders in a council of war, he commanded two of them to be ſhot to death by their other two aſſociates, in ſight of the whole army; and to break the combination, eleven regiments were ordered for Ireland; upon which great numbers deſerted, and marched into Oxfordſhire; but general *Fairfax* and *Cromwell*, having overtaken them at Abingdon, held them in treaty till colonel *Reynolds* came up, and after ſome few ſkirmiſhes diſperſed them.

The Scots threatened the *commonwealth* with a formidable invaſion, for upon the death of king *Charles* I. they proclaimed the prince of *Wales* king of Scotland, and ſent commiſſioners to the Hague, to invite him into that kingdom, *provided he would renounce popery and prelacy, and take the ſolemn league and covenant.* To prevent the effects of this treaty, and cultivate a good underſtanding with the Dutch, the parliament ſent Dr. *Doriſlaus*§ an eminent civilian, concerned in the late king's trial, agent to the *States-General*; but the very firſt night after his arrival, May 3, 1649, he was murdered in his own chamber by twelve deſperate cavaliers in diſguiſe, who ruſhed in upon him while he was at ſupper, and

† Whitlocke, p. 387, 389.

§ This perſon was a native of Holland, and doctor of the civil law at Leyden. On his coming to England he was patroniſed by *Fulk* lord *Brook*, who appointed him to read lectures on hiſtory in Cambridge. But, as in the opening of his courſe he decried monarchy, he was ſilenced; he then reſided ſometime near to Maldon in Eſſex, where he had married an Engliſh woman. He was, afterwards, a judge advocate firſt, in the king's army, and then in the army of the parliament, and at length one of the judges of the court of admiralty. The parliament ordered 250l. for his funeral; ſettled on his ſon 200l. per annum for his life, and gave 500l. a-piece to his daughters. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 228, and Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 390. ED.

with their drawn ſwords killed him on the ſpot.† Both the parliament and ſtates of Holland reſented this baſe action‖ ſo highly, that the young king thought proper to remove into France; from whence he went to the Iſle of Jerſey, and towards the latter end of the year fixed at Breda; where the Scots commiſſioners concluded a treaty with him, upon the foot of which he ventured his royal perſon into that kingdom the enſuing year.

But to ſtrike terror into the *cavaliers*, the parliament erected another *high court of juſtice*, and ſentenced to death three illuſtrious noblemen, for the part they had acted in the laſt civil war; duke *Hamilton*, the earl of *Holland*, and lord *Capel*, who were all executed March 9, in the Palace-Yard at Weſtminſter: duke *Hamilton* declared himſelf a preſbyterian; and the earl of *Holland* was attended by two miniſters of the ſame perſuaſion; but lord *Capel* was a thorough loyaliſt, and went off the ſtage with the courage and bravery of a Roman.

But the chief ſcene of great exploits this year was in Ireland, which *Cromwell*, a bold and enterprizing commander, had been appointed to reduce; for this purpoſe he was made lord-lieutenant for three years, and having taken leave of the parliament, ſailed from Milford-haven about the middle of Auguſt, with an army of fourteen thouſand men of reſolute principles, who before the embarkation obſerved a day of faſting and prayer; in which, Mr. *Whitlocke* remarks, after three miniſters had prayed, lieutenant-general *Cromwell* himſelf, and the colonels *Gough* and *Harriſon*, expounded ſome parts of ſcripture excellently well, and pertinently to the oc-

† Whitlocke, p. 386.

‖ Dr. *Grey* cannot eaſily believe that the murder of Dr. *Doriſlaus* was reſented by the ſtates of Holland: becauſe they had bravely remonſtrated by their two ambaſſadors againſt the king's death: he cannot, therefore, be eaſily induced to think, that, after this, they could reſent the death of one of his execrable murderers. But Dr. *Grey* does not conſider what was due in this caſe to the honour of their own police and to the reputation and weight of their own laws. Mr. *Neal* is juſtified in *his* repreſentations by *Whitlocke*; who ſays, "that letters from the Hague reported, that the ſtates "cauſed earneſt enquiſition to be made after the murderers of Dr. *Doriſlaus*; "promiſed 1000 guilders to him who ſhould bring any of them; and "publiſhed it death to any who ſhould harbour any one of them." Memorials, p. 390. Ed.

caſion.

caſion. The army was under a ſevere diſcipline; not an oath was to be heard throughout the whole camp, the ſoldiers ſpending their leiſure hours in reading their bibles, in ſinging pſalms, and religious conferences.

Almoſt all Ireland was in the hands of the royaliſts and Roman catholicks, except Dublin and Londonderry; the former of theſe places had been lately beſieged by the duke of Ormond with twenty thouſand men,* but the garriſon being recruited with three regiments from England, the governor colonel *James*, ſurprized the beſiegers, and after a vigorous ſally ſtormed their camp, and routed the whole army, which diſperſed itſelf into Drogheda, and other fortified places. CROMWELL upon his arrival, was received with the acclamations of a vaſt concourſe of people, to whom he addreſſed himſelf from a riſing ground, with hat in hand, in a ſoldier-like manner, telling them "he was come to cut "down and deſtroy the barbarous and blood-thirſty Iriſh, "with all their adherents;§ but that all who were for the "proteſtant religion, and the liberties of their country, ſhould

* Dr. *Grey* controverts Mr. *Neal*'s account of the number of the duke of *Ormond*'s army, on the authority of lord *Clarendon* and Mr. *Carte*: the former ſays, that *Jones* ſallied out with a body of 6000 foot and 1900 horſe, and that the army encamped at Rathmines was not ſo ſtrong in horſe and foot: the latter, that *Jones*'s forces amounted to only 4000 foot and 1200 horſe, which was a body nearly equal to the whole Iriſh army, if it had been all engaged. Theſe authorities are ſet againſt Mr. *Neal*. On the other hand, *Whitlocke* informs us that, previouſly to this defeat, letters from Ireland repreſented the duke of *Ormond* as approaching Dublin with 12000 foot and 2400 horſe; and letters from Cheſter reported him 40,000 ſtrong before Dublin. *Ludlow* ſays, that his forces were double in number to thoſe of *Jones*. *Borlaſe* ſays, that *Jones* with very few forces, comparatively, fell on the beſiegers, killed 4000, and took 2517 priſoners. The plunder of the field, we are told, was ſo rich, that the camp was like a fair, preſenting for ſale cloth, ſilk, and all manner of cloaths. The parliament ſettled 1000l. per annum in land on *Jones*, for his ſervices. Whitlocke's Memoirs, p. 393, 401, 404. Ludlow's Memoirs, p. 101, 4to. ed. And Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 228. ED.

§ Dr. *Grey* ſpends here more than ten pages in detailing, from lord *Clarendon*, various acts of oppreſſion, cruelty, and murder, perpetrated by individuals of *Cromwell*'s army; to ſhew that they were not leſs barbarous and bloodthirſty than the inhuman wretches concerned in the Iriſh maſſacre. Such deeds, undoubtedly, ſhock humanity; and ought to ſhock every party. But the guilt lieth originally at the door of thoſe who were the *firſt* aggreſſors; whoſe conduct furniſhed the *precedent* and provoked *retaliation*. ED.

"find

"find ſuitable encouragement from the parliament of Eng-
"land and himſelf, in proportion to their merits." Having refreſhed his forces he marched directly to Drogheda, which was garriſoned with 2500 foot and 300 horſe, and was therefore thought capable of holding out a month; but the general neglecting the common forms of approach, battered the walls with his cannon, and having made two acceſſible breaches, like an impetuous conqueror, entered the town in perſon at the head of colonel *Ewer*'s regiment of foot, and put all the garriſon to the ſword. From thence he marched to Wexford, which he took likewiſe by ſtorm, and after the example of Drogheda, put the garriſon to the ſword; the general declaring, that *he would ſacrifice all the Iriſh papiſts to the ghoſts of the Engliſh proteſtants whom they had maſſacred in cold blood.*‖ The conqueſt of theſe places ſtruck ſuch a terror into the reſt, that they ſurrendered upon the firſt ſummons; the name of *Cromwell* carrying victory on its wings before himſelf appeared, the whole country was reduced by the middle of May, except Limerick, Galway, and one or two other places, which *Ireton* took the following ſummer. Lord *Inchequin* deſerted the remains of the royal army, and *Ormond* fled into France. Lieutenant-general *Cromwell* being called home to march againſt the Scots, arrived at London about the middle of May, and was received by the parliament and city with diſtinguiſhed reſpect and honour, as a ſoldier who had gained more laurels, and done more wonders in nine months, than any age or hiſtory could parallel.

‖ Great reproach, on this account, has fallen on the name of *Cromwell*. He reconciled himſelf to the execution of ſuch ſevere orders, for putting to the ſword and giving no quarter, by conſidering them as neceſſary to prevent the effuſion of blood for the future, and as the inſtrument of the righteous judgment of God upon thoſe barbarous wretches who had imbrued their hands in ſo much innocent blood. If ever ſuch meaſures are juſtifiable, "it is in ſuch a caſe as this," obſerves Dr. *Harris*, "where the known "diſpoſition and behaviour of the ſufferers are remarkably barbarous, in-"human, and cruel." Such horror, we are told, had the barbarities committed by the Iriſh, in the beginning of the rebellion and during the courſe of the war, impreſſed on every Engliſh breaſt, that even the humane and gentle *Fairfax* expreſſed in warm and ſevere terms his diſapprobation at granting them quarter. Harris's Life of Cromwell, p. 229, and Macaulay's Hiſtory of England, vol. v. p. 15, note, 8vo. ed. Ed.

It

It is a remarkable account the lieutenant-general gives in one of his letters, of the behaviour of the army after their arrival in Ireland; "their diligence, courage, and behaviour "is ſuch, (ſays he) through the providence of God, and "ſtrict care of the chief officers, that never men did obey "orders more chearfully, nor go upon duty more courage-"ouſly. Never did greater harmony and reſolution appear "to proſecute this cauſe of God, than in this army. Such "a conſent of heart and hands; ſuch a ſympathy of affec-"tions, not only in carnal but in ſpiritual bonds, which tie "faſter than chains of adamant! I have often obſerved a "wonderful conſent of the officers and ſoldiers upon the "grounds of doing ſervice to God, and how miraculouſly "they have ſucceeded. The mind of man being ſatisfied, "and fixed on God, and that his undertaking is for God's "glory, it gives the greateſt courage to thoſe men, and proſ-"perity to their actions."*

To put the affairs of Ireland together: the roman catholicks charged the ill ſucceſs of their affairs upon the duke of *Ormond*, and ſent him word, "that they were determined "not to ſubmit any longer to his commands, it not being fit "that a catholick army ſhould be under the direction of a "proteſtant general; but that if he would depart the king-"dom, they would undertake of themſelves to drive *Ireton* "out of Dublin." After this they offered the kingdom to the duke of *Lorrain*, a bigotted papiſt, who was wiſe enough to decline the offer,‖ and then quarrelling among themſelves they were ſoon driven out of all the ſtrong holds of the kingdom, and forced to ſubmit to the mercy of the conqueror. All who had borne arms in the late inſurrection, were ſhipped away into France, Spain, or Flanders, never to return on pain of death. Thoſe who had a hand in murdering the proteſtants at the time of the maſſacre, were brought from ſeveral parts of the country, and after conviction upon a fair trial were executed. The reſt of the natives, who were called

* Whitlocke, p. 434.

‖ Dr. *Grey* inſinuates here a reflection on Mr. *Neal*'s veracity; by remarking that he produces no authority for the aſſertion. But that Ireland was offered to the guardianſhip of the duke of *Lorrain* has been ſince mentioned, as an incontrovertible fact, by Dr. *Harris* and Mrs. *Macaulay*. Ed.

Tories,

Tories, were ſhut up in the moſt inland counties, and their lands given partly in payment to the ſoldiers who ſettled there, and the reſt to the firſt adventurers.‖ Lord *Clarendon* relates it thus: "Near one hundred thouſand of them were tranſ-"ported into foreign parts, for the ſervice of the kings of "France and Spain; double that number were conſumed by "the plague, famine, and other ſeverities exerciſed upon "them in their own country; the remainder were by *Crom-*"*well* tranſplanted into the moſt inland, barren, deſolate, and "mountainous part of the province of Connaught, and it "was lawful for any man to kill any of the Iriſh, that were "found out of the bounds appointed them within that cir-"cuit. Such a proportion of land was allotted to every man, "as the *protector* thought competent for them; upon which "they were to give formal releaſes of all their titles to their "lands in any other provinces; if they refuſed to give ſuch "releaſes, they were ſtill deprived, and left to ſtarve within "the limits preſcribed them; out of which they durſt not "withdraw; ſo that very few refuſed to ſign thoſe releaſes, "or other acts which were demanded. It was a conſiderable "time before theſe Iriſh could raiſe any thing out of their "lands to ſupport their lives; but neceſſity was the ſpring "of induſtry." Thus they lived under all the infamy of a conquered nation till the reſtoration of king *Charles* II. a juſt judgment of God for their barbarous and unheard-of cruelties to the Iriſh proteſtants!

To return to England: the body of the preſbyterians acted in concert with the Scots, for reſtoring the king's family upon the foot of the covenant; ſeveral of their miniſters carried on a private correſpondence with the chiefs of that nation, and inſtead of taking the engagement to the preſent powers, called them *uſurpers*, and declined praying for them in their churches; they alſo declared againſt a general toleration, for which the army and parliament contended.

When lieutenant-general *Cromwell* was embarking for Ireland, he ſent letters to the parliament, recommending the removal of all the penal laws relating to religion; upon which the houſe ordered a committee to make report concerning a method for the eaſe of tender conſciences, and an act to be

‖ Carrington's Life of Cromwell, p. 155. Clarendon, p. 153.

brought

brought in to appoint commiſſioners in every county, for the approbation of able and well-qualified perſons to be made miniſters, who cannot comply with the preſent ordinance for *ordination of miniſters.**

Aug. 16, General *Fairfax* and his council of officers preſented a petition to the ſame purpoſe, praying "that all penal ſtatutes formerly made, and ordinances lately made, whereby many conſcientious people were moleſted, and the propagation of the goſpel hindered, might be removed. "Not that they deſired this liberty ſhould extend to the ſetting up popery, or the late hierarchy; or to the countenancing any ſort of immorality or prophaneneſs; for they earneſtly deſired, that drunkenneſs, ſwearing, uncleanneſs, and all acts of prophaneneſs, might be vigorouſly proſecuted in all perſons whatſoever."‖ The houſe promiſed to take the petition into ſpeedy conſideration, and after ſome time paſſed it into a law.

But to bring the preſbyterian clergy to the teſt, the *engagement* which had been appointed to be taken by all civil and military officers within a limited time, on pain of forfeiting their places, was now required to be ſworn and ſubſcribed by all miniſters, heads of colleges and halls, fellows of houſes, graduates, and all officers in the univerſities; and by the maſters, fellows, ſchool-maſters, and ſcholars of Eton college, Weſtminſter, and Wincheſter ſchools; no miniſter was to be admitted to any eccleſiaſtical living, no clergyman to ſit as member of the aſſembly of divines, nor be capable of enjoying any preferment in the church, unleſs he qualified himſelf by taking the *engagement* within ſix months, publickly in the face of the congregation.†

Nov. 9, it was referred to a committee, to conſider how the *engagement* might be ſubſcribed by all the people of the nation of eighteen years of age and upwards. Purſuant to which a bill was brought in, and paſſed, Jan. 2, to debar all who ſhould refuſe to take and ſubſcribe it, from the benefit of the law; and to diſable them from ſuing in any court of law or equity.

This was a ſevere teſt on the preſbyterians, occaſioned by the *apprehended rupture* with the Scots; but their clergy in-

* Whitlocke, p. 405. ‖ Ibid. p. 404. † Walker, p. 146.

veighed

veighed bitterly againſt it in their ſermons, and refuſed to obſerve the days of humiliation appointed by authority for a bleſſing upon their arms. Mr. *Baxter* ſays,† that he wrote ſeveral letters to the ſoldiers, to convince them of the unlawfulneſs of the preſent expedition: and in his ſermons declared it a ſin to force miniſters to pray for the ſucceſs of thoſe who had violated the covenant, and were going to deſtroy their brethren. That he both ſpoke and preached againſt the *engagement*, and diſſuaded men from taking it. At Exeter, ſays Mr. *Whitlocke*, the *miniſters* went out of town on the faſt-day, and ſhut up the church doors; and *all the magiſtrates* refuſed the *engagement*. At Taunton the faſt was not kept by the preſbyterian miniſters; and at Cheſter they condemned the *engagement* to the pit of hell; as did many of the London miniſters, who kept days of private faſting and prayer, againſt the preſent government. Some of them (ſays *Whitlocke*) joined the royaliſts, and refuſed to read the ordinances of parliament in their pulpits, as was uſual in thoſe times; nay, when the Scots were beaten, they refuſed to obſerve the day of thankſgiving,‡ but ſhut up their churches and went out of town; for which they were ſummoned before the committee and reprimanded; but the times being unſettled no further notice was taken of them at preſent.

Moſt of the ſectarian party (ſays Mr. *Baxter**) ſwallowed the *engagement*; and ſo did the king's old cavaliers, very few of them being ſick of the diſeaſe of a ſcrupulous conſcience: ſome wrote for it, but the moderate epiſcopal men and preſbyterians generally refuſed it. Thoſe of Lancaſhire and Cheſhire publiſhed the following reaſons againſt it:

(1.) "Becauſe they apprehended the oath of allegiance, "and the ſolemn league and covenant, were ſtill binding.

(2.) "Becauſe the preſent powers were no better than "*uſurpers*.

† Life, p. 64, 66.

‡ Lord *Grey*, at the deſire of ſome who were zealouſly attached to the parliament, complained, in a letter to the lord preſident of the council of ſtate, of the neglect of the miniſters, in Leiceſterſhire and another county, in this inſtance: and urged the importance of noticing their contempt of the thankſgiving day, expreſſed by their non-obſervance of it. Dr. *Grey*'s Appendix, No. 8. Ed.

* Life, p. 64, 65.

(3.) "Becauſe

(3.) "Becauſe the taking of it was a prejudice to the right "heir of the crown, and to the ancient legal conſtitution."

To which it was anſwered, "that it was abſurd to ſup- "poſe the oath of allegiance, or the ſolemn league and co- "venant to be in force after the king's death; for how could "they be obliged to preſerve the king's perſon, when the "king's perſon was deſtroyed, and the kingly office aboliſh- "ed; and as to his ſucceſſor, his *right* had been forfeited "and taken away by parliament." With regard to the *preſent powers*, it was ſaid, "that it was not for private perſons "to diſpute the rights and titles of their ſupreme governors. "Here was a government *de facto*, under which they lived; "as long therefore as they enjoyed the protection of the go- "vernment, it was their duty to give all reaſonable ſecurity "that they would not diſturb it, or elſe to remove." The body of the common people being weary of war, and willing to live quiet under any adminiſtration, ſubmitted to the engagement, as being little more than a promiſe not to attempt the ſubverſion of the preſent government, but many of the preſbyterian clergy choſe rather to quit their preferments in the church and univerſity, than comply; which made way for the promotion of ſeveral independant divines, and among others, of Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, one of the diſſenting brethren in the aſſembly, who by order of parliament, Jan. 8, 1749-50, was appointed preſident of Magdalen college, Oxford, with the privilege of nominating fellows and demies in ſuch places as ſhould become vacant by death, or by the poſſeſſors refuſing to take the *engagement*.*

The parliament tried ſeveral methods to reconcile the preſbyterians to the preſent adminiſtration; perſons were appointed to treat with them, and aſſure them of the protection of the government, and of the full enjoyment of their eccleſiaſtical preferments according to law; when this could not prevail, an order was publiſhed, that miniſters in their pulpits ſhould not meddle with ſtate affairs. After this the celebrated *Milton* was appointed to write for the government, who rallied the ſeditious preachers with his ſatyrical pen in a ſevere manner; at length, when all other methods failed, a committee was choſen to receive informations againſt ſuch miniſters as in their pulpits vilified and aſperſed the au-

* Whitlocke, p. 453.

thority

thority of parliament, and an act was paſſed, that all ſuch ſhould be ſequeſtered from their eccleſiaſtical preferments.‡

The preſbyterians ſupported themſelves under theſe hardſhips by their alliance with the Scots, and their hope of a ſpeedy alteration of affairs by their aſſiſtance; for in the remonſtrance of the general aſſembly of that kirk, dated July 27, they declare, that "the ſpirit which has acted in the "councils of thoſe who have obſtructed the work of God, "deſpiſed the covenant, corrupted the truth, forced the par-"liament, murdered the king, changed the government, and "eſtabliſhed ſuch an unlimited toleration in religion, cannot "be the ſpirit of righteouſneſs and holineſs. They there-"fore warn the ſubjects of Scotland againſt joining with them, "and in caſe of an invaſion to ſtand up in their own defence. "The Engliſh have no controverſy with us, (ſay they) but "becauſe the kirk and ſtate have declared againſt their un-"lawful *engagement*; becauſe we ſtill adhere to our covenant, "and have borne our teſtimony againſt their *toleration*, and "taking away the king's life."* But then they warn their people alſo againſt *malignants*, "who value themſelves upon "their attachment to the young king, and if any from that "quarter ſhould invade the kingdom, before his majeſty has "given ſatisfaction to the parliament and kirk, they exhort "their people to reſiſt them, as abettors of an abſolute and "arbitrary government."

About two months after this, the parliament of England publiſhed a declaration on their part, wherein they complain of the revolt of the Engliſh and Scots preſbyterians, and of their taking part with the enemy, becauſe their diſcipline was not the exact ſtandard of reformation. "But we are ſtill "determined (ſay they‖) not to be diſcouraged in our endea-"vours to promote the purity of religion, and the liberty "of the commonwealth; and for the ſatisfaction of our "preſbyterian brethren, we declare, that *we will continue all "thoſe ordinances which have been made for the promoting a "reformation of religion, in doctrine, worſhip, and diſcipline, "in their full force*; and will uphold the ſame, in order to "ſuppreſs popery, ſuperſtition, blaſphemy, and all kinds of "prophaneneſs. Only we conceive ourſelves obliged *to take*

‡ Whitlocke, p. 387. * Vol. Pamph. No. 34, p. 6. ‖ Ibid. No. 34.

"away

" *away all ſuch acts and ordinances as are penal and coercive* " *in matters of conſcience.* And becauſe this has given ſo " great offence, we declare as in the preſence of God, that " by whomſoever this liberty ſhall be abuſed, we will be " ready to teſtify our diſpleaſure againſt them, by an effec- " tual proſecution of ſuch offenders."

The Scots commiſſioners were all this while treating with the king in Holland, and inſiſting on his ſubſcribing the ſolemn league and covenant; his eſtabliſhing the Weſtminſter *confeſſion*, the directory, and the preſbyterian government in both kingdoms. The king being under diſcouraging circumſtances, conſented to all their demands with regard to Scotland, and as to England referred himſelf to a free parliament: but the Scots not ſatisfied with his majeſty's exceptions as to England, replied, that " ſuch an anſwer as this would grieve " the whole kirk of Scotland, and all their covenanting bre- " thren in England and Ireland, who under pain of the moſt " ſolemn perjury ſtand bound to God and one another, to " live and die by their *covenant*, as the chief ſecurity of their " religion and liberties, againſt popiſh and prelatical malig- " nants. *Your majeſty's father* (ſay they) *in his laſt meſſage* " *to our kirk offered to ratify the ſolemn league and covenant.* " *He offered likewiſe at the Iſle of Wight to confirm the direc-* " *tory, and the preſbyterial government in England and Ire-* " *land, till he and his parliament ſhould agree upon a ſettled* " *order of the church.* Beſides, your majeſty having offered " to confirm the aboliſhing of epiſcopacy, and the ſervice " book in Scotland, it cannot certainly be againſt your con- " ſcience to do it in England." But the king would advance no farther till he had heard from the queen mother, who ſent him word, that it was the opinion of the council of France, that he ſhould agree with the Scots upon the beſt terms he was able, which he did accordingly, as will be related the next year.

The fifth provincial aſſembly of London met the beginning of May [1649] at Sion college, the reverend Mr. *Jackſon*, of St. Michael Wood-ſtreet, moderator. A committee was appointed to prepare materials for proof of the *divine right* of preſbyterial church government. The proofs were examined and approved by this, and the aſſembly that met in November following,

following, of which Mr. *Walker* was moderator, Mr. *Calamy* and Mr. *Jackſon* aſſeſſors, and Mr. *Blackwell* ſcribe. The treatiſe was printed, and aſſerts,

(1.) That there is a church government of divine inſtitution.

(2.) That the civil magiſtrate is not the origin or head of church government. And,

(3.) That the government of the church by ſynods and claſſes is the government that Chriſt appointed. It maintains ſeparation from their churches to be *ſchiſm*; that miniſters formerly ordained by biſhops need not be re-ordained: And for private chriſtians in particular churches to aſſume a right of ſending perſons forth to preach, and to adminiſter the ſacraments, is in their opinion inſufferable.

The parliament did all they could to ſatisfy the malecontent preſbyterians, by ſecuring them in their livings, and by ordering the dean and chapter lands to be ſold,* and their names to be extinct, except the deanry of Chriſt church, and the foundations of Weſtminſter, Wincheſter, and Eaton ſchools. The biſhops lands, which had been ſequeſtered ſince the year 1646, were now by an ordinance of June 8, 1649, veſted in the hands of new truſtees, and appropriated to the augmentation of poor livings in the church.§ The firſt-fruits and tenths of all eccleſiaſtical livings, formerly payable to the crown, were veſted in the ſame hands, free from all incumbrances, on truſt, that they ſhould pay yearly all ſuch ſalaries, ſtipends, allowances and proviſions, as have been ſettled and confirmed by parliament, for preaching miniſters, ſchool-maſters, or profeſſors in the univerſities; provided the aſſignment to any one do not exceed one hundred pounds. It is further provided, that the maintenance of all incumbents ſhall not be leſs than one hundred pounds a year, and the commiſſioners of the great ſeal are empowered to

* The money raiſed by the ſale of thoſe lands amounted to a very conſiderable ſum. The return of the value of the lands, contracted for to the 29th of Auguſt 1650, made to the committee for the ſale of them, fixed it at the ſum of 948,409l. 18s. 2¼d. of which, on the 31ſt of Auguſt, the total of the purchaſers' acquittances amounted to 658,501l. 2s. 9d. Dr. Grey, vol. iii: Appendix, p. 18. Ed.

§ Scobel, p. 41, 113.

enquire

enquire into the yearly value of all eccleſiaſtical livings, to which any cure of ſouls is annexed; and to certify into the court of Chancery, the names of the preſent incumbents who ſupply the cure, with their reſpective ſalaries; how many chapels belong to pariſh churches, and how the ſeveral churches and chapels are ſupplied with preaching miniſters; that ſo ſome courſe may be taken for providing for a better maintenance where it is wanting. Dr. *Walker* ſays,* the value of biſhops lands forfeited and ſold amounted to a million of money; but though they ſold very cheap, they that brought them had a very dear bargain in the end.

Upon debate of an ordinance concerning publick worſhip, and church government, the houſe declared, that the preſbyterial government ſhould be the eſtabliſhed government. And upon the queſtion, whether tithes ſhould be continued, it was reſolved, that they ſhould not be taken away, till another maintenance equally large and honourable ſhould be ſubſtituted in its room.

The inhabitants of the principality of Wales were deſtitute of the means of chriſtian knowledge, their language was little underſtood, their clergy were ignorant and idle; ſo that they had hardly a ſermon from one quarter of a year to another. The people had neither bibles nor catechiſms; nor was there a ſufficient maintenance for ſuch as were capable of inſtructing them. The parliament taking the caſe of theſe people into conſideration, paſſed an act, Feb. 22, 1649, *for the better propagation and preaching of the goſpel in Wales, for the ejecting ſcandalous miniſters and ſchool-maſters, and redreſs of ſome grievances*; to continue in force for three years. What was done in purſuance of this ordinance will be related hereafter; but the parliament were ſo intent upon the affair of religion at this time, that Mr. *Whitlocke* ſays, they devoted Friday in every week to conſult ways and means for promoting it.

Nor did they confine themſelves to England, but as ſoon as lieutenant-general *Cromwell* had reduced Ireland, the parliament paſſed an ordinance, March 8, 1649, for the encouragement of religion and learning in that country; "they "inveſted all the manors and lands late of the archbiſhop of

* P. 14.

"Dublin,

"Dublin, and of the dean and chapter of St. *Patrick*, to-
"gether with the parſonage of Trym belonging to the biſhop-
"rick of Meath, in the hands of truſtees, for the mainte-
"nance and ſupport of Trinity college in Dublin; and for
"the creating, ſettling, and maintaining another college in
"the ſaid city, and of a maſter, fellows, ſcholars, and pub-
"lick profeſſors: and alſo for erecting a free-ſchool, with
"a maſter, uſher, ſcholars, and officers, in ſuch manner as
"any five of the truſtees, with the conſent of the lord-lieu-
"tenant, ſhall direct and appoint. The lord-lieutenant to
"nominate the governor, maſters, &c. and to appoint them
"their ſalaries; and the truſtees, with the conſent of the lord-
"lieutenant, ſhall draw up ſtatutes and ordinances, to be
"confirmed by the parliament of England."

The univerſity of Dublin being thus revived, and put upon a new foot, the parliament ſent over ſix of their moſt accept-able preachers to give it reputation, appointing them two hundred pounds a year out of the biſhop's lands; and till that could be duly raiſed, to be paid out of the publick re-venues: and for their further encouragement, if they died in that ſervice, their families were to be provided for. By theſe methods learning began to revive, and in a few years religion appeared with a better face than it had ever done before in that kingdom.

A proſpect being opened for ſpreading the Chriſtian reli-gion among the Indians, upon the borders of New-England, the parliament allowed a general collection throughout Eng-land, and erected a corporation for this ſervice, who pur-claſed an eſtate in land of between five and ſix hundred pounds a year; but on the reſtoration of king *Charles* II. the charter became void, and colonel *Beding field*, a roman catholick of-ficer in the king's army, of whom a conſiderable part of the land was purchaſed, ſeized it for his own uſe, pretending he had ſold it under the real value, in hopes of recovering it upon the king's return. In order to defeat the colonel's deſign, the ſociety ſolicited the king for a new charter, which they obtained by the intereſt of the lord chancellor. It bears date Feb. 7, in the 14th year of his majeſty's reign, and dif-fers but little from the old one. The honourable *Robert Boyle*, eſq; was the firſt governor. They afterwards reco-

vered

vered colonel *Beding field*'s eſtate, and are at this time in poſſeſſion of about five hundred pounds a year, which they employ for the converſion of the Indians in America.

But all that the parliament could do was not ſufficient to ſtop the mouths of the loyaliſts and diſcontented preſbyterians; the pulpit and preſs ſounded to ſedition; the latter brought forth invectives every week againſt the government; it was therefore reſolved to lay a ſevere fine upon offenders of this kind, by an ordinance bearing date Sept. 20, 1649, the preamble to which ſets forth, that "Whereas divers "ſcandalous and ſeditious pamphlets are daily printed, and "diſperſed with officious induſtry by the malignant party "both at home and abroad, with a deſign to ſubvert the pre-"ſent government, and to take off the affections of the peo-"ple from it, it is therefore ordained,

"THAT the author of every ſeditious libel or pam-"phlet ſhall be fined ten pounds, or ſuffer forty days im-"priſonment. The printer five pounds, and his printing-"preſs to be broken. The bookſeller forty ſhillings; the "buyer twenty ſhillings, if he conceals it, and does not de-"liver it up to a juſtice of peace. It is further ordained, that "no news-paper ſhall be printed, or ſold without licence, "under the hand of the clerk of the parliament, or the ſe-"cretary of the army, or ſuch other perſon as the council of "ſtate ſhall appoint. No printing-preſſes are to be allowed "but in London, and in the two univerſities. All printers "are to enter into bonds of three hundred pounds, not to "print any pamphlet againſt the ſtate without licence, as "aforeſaid, unleſs the author's or licenſer's name, with the "place of his abode be prefixed. All importers of ſeditious "pamphlets are to forfeit five pounds for every ſuch book "or pamphlet. No books are to be landed in any other "port but that of London, and to be viewed by the maſter "and wardens of the company of *ſtationers*. This act to "continue in force for two years."*

But the pulpit was no leſs dangerous than the preſs; the preſbyterian miniſters in their publick prayers and ſermons, eſpecially on faſt-days, keeping alive the diſcontents of the

* Scobel, p. 88. Cap. 60.

people. The government therefore, by an ordinance, abolished the monthly faſt, which had ſubſiſted for about ſeven years, and had been in a great meaſure a faſt for ſtrife and debate; but declared at the ſame time, that they ſhould appoint occaſional faſts, from time to time for the future, as the providences of God ſhould require.*

In the midſt of all theſe diſorders, there was a very great appearance of ſobriety both in city and country; the indefatigable pains of the preſbyterian miniſters in catechizing, inſtructing, and viſiting their pariſhioners, can never be ſufficiently commended. The whole nation was civilized, and conſiderably improved in ſound knowledge, though biſhop *Kennet* and Mr. *Eachard* are pleaſed to ſay, *that hereſies and blaſphemies againſt heaven were ſwelled up to a moſt prodigious height.* "I know (ſays Mr. *Baxter*§) you may meet "with men who will confidently affirm, that in theſe times "all religion was trodden under foot, and that hereſy and "ſchiſm were the only piety; but I give warning to all ages, "that they take heed how they believe any, while they are "ſpeaking for the intereſt of their factions and opinions "againſt their real or ſuppoſed adverſaries." However, the parliament did what they could to ſuppreſs and diſcountenance all ſuch extravagancies; and even the officers of the army, having convicted one of their *quarter-maſters* of blaſphemy in a council of war, ſentenced him to have his tongue bored through with an hot iron, his ſword broke over his head, and to be caſhiered the army.

But biſhop *Kennet* ſays, *even the Turkiſh alcoran was coming in; that it was tranſlated into Engliſh, and ſaid to be licenſed by one of the miniſters of London.* Sad times! Was his lordſhip then afraid that the *alcoran* ſhould prevail againſt the bible? or that the doctrines of Chriſt could not ſupport themſelves againſt the extravagant follies of an impoſtor? But the book did no harm, though the commons immediately publiſhed an order for ſuppreſſing it; and ſince the reſtitution of *monarchy* and *epiſcopacy*, we have lived to ſee the life of *Mahomet* and his *Koran* publiſhed without miſchief or offence.

* Whitlocke, p. 383. § Life, p. 86.

His

His lordſhip adds, that the papiſts took advantage of the liberty of the times, *who were never more numerous and buſy*; which is not very probable, becauſe the parliament had baniſhed all papiſts twenty miles from the city of London, and excepted them out of their acts of indulgence and toleration; the ſpirit of the people againſt popery was kept up to the height; the mob carried the pope's effigies in triumph, and burnt it publickly on queen *Elizabeth*'s birth-day; and the miniſters in their pulpits pronounced him antichriſt; but ſuch is the *zeal* of this right reverend hiſtorian!‡

The beginning of this year, the marquis of *Montroſs* was taken in the north of Scotland by colonel *Straughan** with a ſmall

‡ In this place we may notice, that colonel *Lilburne*, who in the reign of *Charles* I. felt the ſevere effects of regal and epiſcopal anger, now incurred the diſpleaſure of a republican government. On October 26, 1646, he was tried for tranſgreſſing the new ſtatute of treaſons enacted by the commonwealth. He was acquitted by the jury; and Weſtminſter-hall, on the verdict being given, reſounded with the acclamations of the people. A print was ſtruck on the occaſion, repreſenting him, ſtanding at the bar on his trial: at the top of it was a medal of his head with this inſcription, "*John Lilburne*, ſaved by the power of the Lord, and the integrity of "his jury, who are judges of law as well as fact, October 6, 1646." On the reverſe were the names of the jury. He was a very popular character; as appears from the many petitions preſented to the houſe in his favour, during his impriſonment; one of which came from a number of women. When ſome were ſent to ſeize his books, he perſuaded them "to look to "their own liberties, and let his books alone;" and on his trial, he behaved with ſingular intrepidity. After he was diſcharged by the jury, he was, by the order of parliament, committed to the Tower. He ſeems to have been a bold and conſiſtent oppugner of tyranny, under whatever form of government it was practiſed. He died a quaker, at Eltham, Auguſt 28, 1658. The following character was given of him by Sir *Thomas Wortley*, in a ſong, at the feaſt kept by the priſoners in the Tower, in Auguſt 1647.

"*John Lilburne* is a ſtirring blade,
And underſtands the matter;
He neither will king, biſhops, lords,
Nor th' houſe of commons flatter.
John loves no power prerogative,
But that deriv'd from Sion;
As for the mitre and the crown,
Thoſe two he looks awry on."

Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 78, 8vo. Whitlocke's Mem. p. 383, 384, and 405. Dr. Grey, vol. i. p. 167, and vol. iii. p. 17. Ed.

* This is not accurate. Colonel *Straughan*'s forces in conjunction with others, fell on lord *Montroſs*'s party, routed them, and took 600 priſoners:

a ſmall body of troops, and hanged at Edinburgh on a gallows thirty feet high; his body was buried under the gallows, and his quarters ſet upon the gates of the principal towns in Scotland; but his behaviour was great and firm to the laſt. The marquis appeared openly for the king in the year 1643, and having routed a ſmall party of covenanters in Perthſhire, acquired conſiderable renown; but his little ſucceſſes were very miſchievous to the king's affairs, being always magnified beyond what they really were:† His vanity was the occaſion of breaking off the treaty of Uxbridge, and his fears leſt king *Charles* II. ſhould agree with the Scots, and revoke his commiſſion before he had executed it, now hurried him to his own ruin.

The young king being in treaty with the Scots covenanters at Breda, was forced to ſtifle his reſentments for the death of the marquis, and ſubmit to the following hard conditions:

(1.) "That all perſons excommunicated by the kirk "ſhould be forbid the court.

(2.) "That the king by his ſolemn oath, and under his "hand and ſeal, declare his allowance of the covenant.

(3.) "That he confirm thoſe acts of parliament which "enjoin the covenant. That he eſtabliſh the preſbyterian "worſhip and diſcipline, and ſwear never to oppoſe, or en-"deavour to alter them.

(4.) "That all civil matters be determined by parliament; "and all eccleſiaſtical affairs by the kirk.

but the marquis himſelf eſcaped, though with difficulty, for his horſe, piſtols, belt, and ſcabbard, were ſeized: and two or three days after the fight, he was taken ſixteen miles from the place of engagement, in a diſguiſe, and ſorely wounded: having been betrayed, ſome ſay by lord *Aſton*, but, according to biſhop *Burnet*, by *Mackland*, of Aſſin. Dr. Grey, and Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 438, 9. Ed.

† If his ſucceſſes were magnified beyond the truth, his character has alſo been handed down with the higheſt eulogiums. The marquis of *Montroſs*, "ſays Mr. *Granger*," was comparable to the greateſt heroes of antiquity. We meet with many inſtances of valour in this active reign; but *Montroſs* is the only inſtance of heroiſm. Amongſt other circumſtances of indignity, which accompanied his execution, the book of his exploits, a ſmall octavo written in elegant Latin, which is now very ſcarce, was tied appendant to his neck. Dr. Grey, and Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 245, 6. 8vo. Ed.

(5.) "That

(5.) "That his majeſty ratify all that has been done in "the parliament of Scotland in ſome late ſeſſions, and ſign "the covenant upon his arrival in that kingdom, if the kirk "deſired it."*

The king arrived in Scotland June 23, but before his landing the commiſſioners inſiſted on his ſigning the covenant, and upon parting with all his old counſellors, which he did, and was then conducted by the way of Aberdeen and St. Andrews to his houſe at Faulkland. July 11, his majeſty was proclaimed at the croſs at Edinburgh, but the ceremony of his coronation was deferred to the beginning of the next year. In the mean time the Engliſh commonwealth was providing for a war which they ſaw was unavoidable, and general *Fairfax* refuſing to act againſt the Scots, his commiſſion was immediately given to *Cromwell*, with the title of *Captain-general in chief of all the forces raiſed, and to be raiſed by authority of parliament, within the commonwealth of England.* Three days after, (viz.) June 29, he marched with eleven thouſand foot, and five thouſand horſe, towards the borders of Scotland, being reſolved not to wait for the Scots invading England, but to carry the war into their country. The Scots complained to the Engliſh parliament of this conduct, as a breach of the act of pacification, and of the covenant; but were anſwered, that they had already broken the peace by their treaty with *Charles Stuart*, whom they had not only received as their king, but promiſed to *aſſiſt in recovering the crown of England.* Their receiving the king was certainly their right as an independant nation; but whether their engaging to aſſiſt him in recovering the crown of England, was not declaring war, muſt be left to the reader.

July 22, the general croſſed the Tweed, and marched his army almoſt as far as Edinburgh without much oppoſition, the country being deſerted by reaſon of the terror of the name of *Cromwell*, and the reports that were ſpread of his

* Beſides taking the covenant, it was enacted of the king alſo to acknowledge twelve articles of repentance, in which were enumerated the ſins of his father and grandfather, and the idolatry of his mother; and in which were declarations, that he ſought the reſtitution of his rights for the ſole advantage of religion, and in ſubordination to the kingdom of Chriſt. Mrs. Macaulay's Hiſtory of England, vol. v. p. 62, 8vo. ED.

cruelty

cruelty in Ireland. Not a Scotſman appeared under ſixty, nor a youth above ſix years old, to interrupt his march. All proviſions were deſtroyed, or removed, to prevent the ſubſiſtence of the army, which was ſupplied from time to time by ſea; but the general having made proclamation, that no man ſhould be injured in his perſon or goods who was not found in arms, the people took heart and returned to their dwellings.

The Scots army, under the command of general *Leſley*, ſtood on the defenſive, and watched the motions of the Engliſh all the month of Auguſt; the main body being intrenched within ſix miles of Edinburgh, to the number of thirty thouſand of the beſt men that ever Scotland ſaw; general *Cromwell* did every thing he could to draw them to a battle, till by the fall of rain, and bad weather, he was obliged to retreat to Muſſelborough, and from thence to Dunbar, where he was reduced to the utmoſt ſtreights, having no way left but to conquer or die.‖ In this extremity he ſummoned the officers to prayer; after which he bid all about him take heart, for God had heard them; then walking in the earl of *Roxborough*'s gardens, that lay under the hill upon which the Scots army was encamped, and diſcovering by perſpective glaſſes that they were coming down to attack him, he ſaid *God was delivering them into his hands.* That night proving very rainy, the general refreſhed his men in the town, and ordered them to take particular care of their firelocks, which the Scots neglected, who were all the night coming down the hill. Early next morning Sept. 3, the general with a ſtrong party of horſe beat their guards, and then advancing with his whole army, after about an hour's diſpute, entered their camp and carried all before him; about four thouſand Scots fell in battle, ten thouſand were made priſoners, with fifteen hundred arms, and all their artillery and ammunition; the loſs of the Engliſh amounting to no more than about three hundred men.

It is an odd reflection lord *Clarendon*§ makes upon this victory: "Never was victory obtained (ſays his lordſhip) with "leſs lamentation; for as *Cromwell* had great argument of

‖ Life of Cromwell, p. 178. Burnet's Hiſt. vol. i. p. 74, Edinb. edit.

§ Vol. III. p. 377.

"triumph,

" triumph, ſo the king was glad of it, as the greateſt hap-
" pineſs that could befal him, in the loſs of ſo ſtrong a body
" of his enemies."‖ Such was the encouragement the Scots had to fight for their king!

Immediately after this action, the general took poſſeſſion of Edinburgh, which was in a manner deſerted by the clergy; ſome having ſhut themſelves up in the caſtle, and others fled with their effects to Sterling, the general, to deliver them from their fright, ſent a trumpet to the caſtle, to aſſure the governor that the *miniſters* might return to their churches, and preach without any diſturbance from him, for he had no quarrel with the Scots nation on the ſcore of religion.§ But the miniſters replied, that having no ſecurity for their perſons, they thought it their duty to reſerve themſelves for better times. Upon which the general wrote to the governor,

" THAT his kindneſs offered to the miniſters in the
" caſtle, was without any fraudulent reſerve; that if their
" maſter's ſervice was their principal concern, they would
" not be ſo exceſſively afraid of ſuffering for it. That thoſe
" divines had miſreported the conduct of his party, when
" they charged them with perſecuting the miniſters of Chriſt
" in England; for *the miniſters in England* (ſays he) *are*
" *ſupported, and have liberty to preach the goſpel, though not*
" *to rail at their ſuperiors at diſcretion*; *nor under a pretended*

‖ Dr. *Grey* adds the reaſon which lord *Clarendon* aſſigns for the king's rejoicing in this victory; which was, his apprehenſion that if the Scots had prevailed, they would have ſhut him up in priſon the next day: whereas, after this defeat, they looked upon the king as one they might ſtand in need of, gave him more liberty than they had before allowed, permitted his ſervants to wait on him, and began to talk of a parliament and of a time for his coronation. ED.

§ It is a proof of this, that while *Oliver Cromwell* was at Edinburgh, he attended divine worſhip in the great church there, when Mr. *William Derham* preached, and called *Oliver* an uſurper to his face. He was ſo far from reſenting this, that he invited Mr. *Derham* to viſit him in the evening, when they ſupped together in great harmony. *Oliver* obſerved, however, " that it was well known to him, how much he and his brethren diſ-
" liked him: but they might aſſure themſelves that, if any of the *Stewart*
" line came to the throne, they would find their little fingers greater than
" his loins." Dr. Gibbons's Account of the Cromwell Family, annexed to his Funeral Sermon for William Cromwell, eſq.—p. 47. ED.

" *privilege*

" *privilege of character to over-top the civil powers, or debaſe* " *them as they pleaſe.*—No man has been diſturbed in Eng-" land or Ireland for preaching the goſpel; nor has any mi-" niſter been moleſted in Scotland ſince the coming of the " army hither—ſpeaking truth becomes the miniſters of " Chriſt; but when miniſters pretend to a glorious reforma-" tion, and lay the foundation thereof in getting to them-" ſelves *power*, and can make worldly mixtures to accompliſh " the ſame, ſuch as the late agreement with their king; they " may know that the *Sion* promiſed is not to be built with " ſuch *untempered mortar.* And for the unjuſt invaſion they " [the miniſters] mention, time was when an army out of " Scotland came into England, not called by the ſupreme " authority—we have ſaid in our papers, with what hearts, " and upon what account we came, and the Lord has heard " us, though you would not, upon as ſolemn an appeal as " any experience can parallel—I have nothing to ſay to you, " but that I am,

" *Sir, your humble ſervant,*

" O. CROMWELL."‡

The Scots miniſters, in their reply to this letter, objected to the general *his opening the pulpit doors to all intruders, by which means a flood of errors was broke in upon the nation.* To which the general replied, " we look on miniſters as " helpers of, not lords over the faith of God's people: I " appeal to their conſciences, whether any denying of their " doctrines, or diſſenting from them, will not incur the cen-" ſure of a SECTARY; and what is this but to deny chriſtians " their liberty, and aſſume the infallible chair? where do " you find in ſcripture that preaching is included within your " function? though an approbation from men has order in " it, and may be well, yet he that hath not a better than " that, hath none at all.

" I hope he that aſcended up on high may give his gifts " to whom he pleaſes; and if thoſe gifts be the ſeal of miſ-" ſion, are not you envious, though *Eldad* and *Medad* pro-" pheſy? You know who has bid us covet earneſtly the beſt

‡ Life of Cromwell, p. 182.

" gifts,

" gifts, but chiefly, that we may *propheſy*; which the apoſtle " explains to be a ſpeaking to inſtruction, edification, and " comfort, which the inſtructed, edified, and comforted, can " beſt tell the energy and effect of.

" Now, if this be evidence, take heed you envy not for " your own ſakes, leſt you be guilty of a greater fault than " *Moſes* reproved in *Joſhua*, when he envied for his ſake. " Indeed you err through miſtake of the ſcriptures. Ap- " probation is an act of convenience in reſpect of order, not " of neceſſity, to give faculty to preach the goſpel.

" Your pretended fear, leſt error ſhould ſtep in, is like " the man that would keep all the wine out of the country " leſt men ſhould be drunk. It will be found an unjuſt and " unwiſe jealouſy, to deny a man the liberty he hath by " nature, upon a ſuppoſition he may abuſe it. When he " doth abuſe it, then judge."§

The governor complained to the *general*, that *the parliament at Weſtminſter had fallen from their principles, not being true to the ends of the covenant.* And then adds with the miniſters, *that men of ſecular employments had uſurped the office of the miniſtry, to the ſcandal of the reformed churches.*

In anſwer to the firſt part of this expoſtulation, general *Cromwell* deſired to know, whether their bearing witneſs to themſelves, was a good evidence of their having proſecuted the ends of the covenant? " to infer this (ſays he) is to have " too favourable an opinion of your own judgment and " impartiality. Your doctrines and practice ought to be " tried by the word of God, and other people muſt have a " liberty of examining them upon theſe heads, and of giving " ſentence."‖

As to the charge of indulging the uſe of the pulpit to the laity, the *general* admits it, and adds, " are ye troubled that " Chriſt is preached? does it ſcandalize the reformed churches, " and Scotland in particular? is it againſt the covenant? away " with the covenant if it be ſo. I thought the *covenant* and " theſe men would have been willing, that any ſhould ſpeak " good of the name of Chriſt; if not, it is no covenant of " God's approving; nor the kirk you mention ſo much the " ſpouſe of Chriſt."

§ Whitlocke, p. 458. Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, p. 863.

‖ Collier's Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, p. 864. The

The *general*, in one of his letters, lays conſiderable ſtreſs upon the ſucceſs of their arms, after a moſt ſolemn appeal to God on both ſides. To which the Scots governor replied, *we have not ſo learned Chriſt, as to hang the equity of a cauſe upon events.* To which *Cromwell* anſwers, "We "could wiſh that blindneſs had not been upon your eyes "to thoſe marvellous diſpenſations which God has lately "wrought in England. But did not you ſolemnly appeal and "pray? Did not we do ſo too? And ought not we and you "to think with fear and trembling on the hand of the great "God in this mighty and ſtrange appearance of his, and not "ſlightly call it an event? Were not your expectations and "ours renewed from time to time, whilſt we waited on God "to ſee how he would manifeſt himſelf upon our appeals? "And ſhall we after all theſe our prayers, faſtings, tears, ex-"pectations, and ſolemn appeals, call theſe bare events? The "Lord pity you—"

From this correſpondence the reader may form a judgment of the governing principles of the Scots and Engliſh at this time; the former were ſo inviolably attached to their covenant, that they would depart from nothing that was inconſiſtent with it. The Engliſh, after ſeeking God in prayer, judged of the goodneſs of their cauſe by the appearance of providence in its favour; moſt of the officers and ſoldiers were men of ſtrict devotion, but went upon this miſtaken principle, that God would never appear for a bad cauſe after a ſolemn appeal to him for deciſion. However, the Scots loſt their courage, and ſurrendered the impregnable caſtle of Edinburgh into the hands of the conqueror December 24, the garriſon having liberty to march out with their baggage to Burnt-Iſland in Fife; and ſoon after the whole kingdom was ſubdued.

The provincial aſſembly of London met this year as uſual, in the months of May and November, but did nothing remarkable; the parliament waited to reconcile them to the *engagement*, and prolonged the time limited for taking it; but when they continued inflexible, and inſtead of ſubmitting to the preſent powers were plotting with the Scots, it was reſolved to clip their wings, and make ſome examples, as a terror to the reſt. June 21, the committee for regulating the

the univerſities was ordered to tender the *engagement* to all ſuch officers, maſters, and fellows, as had neglected to take it, and upon their refuſal to diſplace them. Accordingly in the univerſity of Cambridge, Mr. *Vines*, Dr. *Rainbow*, and ſome others, were diſplaced, and ſucceeded by Mr. *Sydrach Sympſon*, Mr. *Jo. Sadler*, and Mr. *Dell*. In the univerſity of Oxford, Dr. *Reynolds* the vice-chancellor refuſed the engagement, but after ſome time offered to take it, in hopes of ſaving his deanery of Chriſt church; but the parliament reſenting the example, took advantage of his forfeiture, and gave the deanery to Dr. *John Owen* an independant divine, who took poſſeſſion of it March 18, 1650-1.§

Upon the reſignation of the vice-chancellor, Dr. *Daniel Greenwood*, principal of Brazen-Noſe college, and a preſbyterian divine, was appointed his ſucceſſor, October 12, and on the 15th of January following, OLIVER CROMWELL, now in Scotland, was choſen unanimouſly, in full convocation, *chancellor of the univerſity* in the room of the earl of *Pembroke* lately deceaſed.‡ When the doctors and maſters who were ſent to Edinburgh, acquainted him with the choice, he wrote a letter to the univerſity, in which after a modeſt refuſal of their favour, he adds, "if theſe arguments prevail not, "and that I muſt continue this honour till I can perſonally "ſerve you, you ſhall not want my prayers, that piety and "learning may flouriſh among you, and be rendered uſeful "and ſubſervient to that great and glorious kingdom of our "Lord Jeſus Chriſt; of the approach of which, ſo plentiful "an effuſion of the holy ſpirit upon thoſe hopeful plants "among you is one of the beſt preſages—." When the general's letter was read in convocation, the houſe reſounded with chearful acclamations. Dr. *Greenwood* continued vice-chancellor two years, but was then diſplaced for his diſaffection to the government, and the honour was conferred on Dr. *Owen*. Thus by degrees, the preſbyterians loſt their influence in the univerſities, and delivered them up into the hands of the independants.

To ſtrengthen the hands of the government yet further, the parliament, by an ordinance bearing date Sept. 20, took

§ Baxter's Life, p. 64.

‡ Wood's Faſti, p. 92, or Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 772.

away

away all the penal ſtatutes for religion.* The preamble ſets forth, " that divers religious and peaceable people, well-af-
" fected to the commonwealth, having not only been mo-
" leſted and impriſoned, but brought into danger of abjuring
" their country, or in caſe of return to ſuffer death as felons,
" by ſundry acts made in the times of former kings and
" queens of this nation, againſt recuſants not coming to
" church, &c. they therefore enact and ordain,

" THAT all the clauſes, articles, and proviſo's, in the
" enſuing acts of parliament, viz. 1ſt *Eliz.* 23d *Eliz.* 35th
" *Eliz.* and all and every branch, clauſe, article, or proviſo,
" in any other act or ordinance of parliament, whereby any
" penalty or puniſhment is impoſed, or meant to be impoſed
" on any perſon whatſoever, for not repairing to their re-
" ſpective pariſh churches; or for not keeping of holy days;
" or for not hearing common-prayer, &c. ſhall be, and are
" hereby wholly repealed and made void.

" And to the end that no prophane or licentious perſons
" may take occaſion, by the repeal of the ſaid laws, to neg-
" lect the performance of religious duties, it is further or-
" dained, that all perſons not having a reaſonable excuſe,
" ſhall on every Lord's day, and day of publick thankſgiving
" or humiliation, reſort to ſome place of publick worſhip;
" or be preſent at ſome other place, in the practice of ſome
" religious duty, either of prayer or preaching, reading or
" expounding the ſcriptures—"

By this law the doors were ſet open, and the ſtate was at liberty to employ all ſuch in their ſervice as would take the oaths to the civil government, without any regard to their religious principles.

Sundry ſevere ordinances were made for ſuppreſſing of vice, error, and all ſorts of prophaneneſs and impiety. May 10, it was ordained, " that *inceſt* and *adultery* ſhould be
" made felony; and that *fornication* ſhould be puniſhed with
" three months impriſonment for the firſt offence; and that
" the ſecond offence ſhould be *felony* without benefit of cler-
" gy. Common *bawds*, or perſons who keep lewd houſes,
" are to be ſet in the pillory; to be whipped, and marked in

* Scobel, p. 131.

" the

" the forehead with the letter B, and then committed to the " houſe of correction for three years for the firſt offence; " and for the ſecond to ſuffer death, provided the proſecution " be within twelve months."§

June 28, it was ordained, " that every *nobleman* who ſhall " be convicted of prophane curſing and ſwearing, by the " oath of one or more witneſſes, or by his own confeſſion, " ſhall pay for the firſt offence thirty ſhillings to the poor of " the pariſh; a *baronet*, or *knight*, twenty ſhillings; an *eſquire* " ten ſhillings; a *gentleman* ſix ſhillings and eight pence; and " and all inferior perſons three ſhillings and four pence. For " the ſecond offence they are to pay double, according to " their qualities above-mentioned. And for the tenth of- " fence they are to be judged common ſwearers and curſers, " and to be bound over to their good behaviour for three " years. The like puniſhment for women, whoſe fines are " to be determined according to their own or their huſbands' " quality."‖

Auguſt 9, an ordinance was paſſed, for *puniſhing blaſphemous and execrable opinions*. The preamble takes notice, that " though ſeveral laws had been made for promoting re- " formation in doctrines and manners, yet there were divers " men and women who had lately diſcovered monſtrous opi- " nions, even ſuch as tended to the diſſolution of human ſo- " ciety; the parliament therefore, according to their decla- " ration of Sept. 27, 1649, in which they ſaid, they ſhould " be ready *to teſtify their diſpleaſure againſt ſuch offenders, by* " *ſtrict and effectual proceedings againſt them who ſhould abuſe* " *and turn into licentiouſneſs, the liberty given in matters of* " *religion*, do therefore ordain and enact,

" THAT any perſons not diſtempered in their brains, " who ſhall maintain *any meer creature to be God*, or to be " *infinite, almighty, &c.* or *that ſhall deny the holineſs of God*; " or *ſhall maintain, that all acts of wickedneſs and unrigh-* " *teouſneſs are not forbidden in holy ſcripture*; or *that God* " *approves them. Any one who ſhall maintain, that acts of* " *drunkenneſs, adultery, ſwearing, &c. are not in themſelves* " *ſhameful, wicked, ſinful, and impious*; or *that there is not*

§ Scobel, p. 121. ‖ Ibid. p. 123.

" *any*

" *any real difference between moral good and evil, &c.* all ſuch " perſons ſhall ſuffer ſix months impriſonment for the firſt " offence; and for the ſecond ſhall be baniſhed; and if they " return without licence ſhall be treated as felons."§

Though ſeveral ordinances had been made heretofore for the ſtrict obſervation of the Lord's day, the preſent houſe of commons thought fit to enforce them by another, dated April 19, 1650, in which they ordain, " that all goods cried, " or put to ſale on the Lord's day, or other days of humi- " liation and thankſgiving appointed by authority, ſhall be " ſeized. No waggoner or drover ſhall travel on the Lord's " day on penalty of ten ſhillings for every offence. No " perſons ſhall travel in boats, horſes, or coaches, except to " church, on penalty of ten ſhillings. The like penalty for " being in a tavern. And where diſtreſs is not to be made, " the offender is to be put into the ſtocks ſix hours. All " peace-officers are required to make diligent ſearch for diſ- " covering offenders; and in caſe of neglect, the juſtice of " peace is fined five pounds, and every conſtable twenty " ſhillings." Such was the ſeverity of theſe times.†

The parliament having ordered the ſale of biſhops lands, and the lands of deans and chapters, and veſted the money in the hands of truſtees, as has been related, appointed this year April 5, part of the money to be appropriated for the ſupport and maintenance of ſuch late biſhops, deans, prebendaries, ſinging men, choriſters, and other members, officers, and perſons deſtitute of maintenance, whoſe reſpective offices, places, and livelihoods, were taken away, and aboliſhed, diſtributing and proportioning the ſame according to their neceſſities. How well this was executed I cannot determine; but it was a generous act of compaſſion, and more than the church of England would do for the nonconformiſts at the reſtoration.*

A motion being made in the houſe about tranſlating all law books into the Engliſh language, Mr. *Whitlocke* made a learned ſpeech on the argument, wherein he obſerves, that " *Moſes* read the law to the Jews in the Hebrew language; " that the laws of all the Eaſtern nations were in their mo-

§ Scobel, p. 124. † Ibid. p. 119. * Ibid. p. 111.

" ther

"ther tongue; the laws of *Conſtantinople* were in Greek; at "Rome they were in Latin; in France, Spain, Germany, "Sweden, Denmark, and other places, their laws are pub- "liſhed in their native language. As for our own country, "(ſays he) thoſe who can read the Saxon character may "find the laws of our anceſtors in that language. Purſuant "to this regulation, *William* duke of *Normandy*, commonly "called the *Conqueror*, commanded the laws to be publiſhed "in Engliſh, that none might pretend ignorance. He ob- "ſerves further, that by 36 *Eliz. cap.* 3, it was ordered, "that all pleadings ſhould be in Engliſh; and even in the "reigns of thoſe princes, wherein our ſtatutes were enrolled "in French, the ſheriffs were obliged to proclaim them in "Engliſh, becauſe the people were deeply concerned to "know the laws of their country, and not to be kept in ig- "norance of the rule by which their intereſts and duty were "directed."§

The arguments in this ſpeech were ſo forcible, that the houſe agreed unanimouſly to a bill, wherein they ordain, "that all books of law be tranſlated into Engliſh; and all "proceedings in any court of juſtice, except the court of "*Admiralty*, after *Eaſter* term 1651, ſhall be in Engliſh "only; and all writs, &c. ſhall be in a legible hand, and "not in court-hand, on forfeiture of twenty pounds for the "firſt offence, half to the commonwealth, and the other half "to them that will ſue for the ſame."† And though this regulation ceaſed at the reſtoration, as all other ordinances did that were made in theſe times, the late parliament has thought fit to revive it.

From this time we may date the riſe of the people called QUAKERS, in whom moſt of the enthuſiaſts of theſe times centered: Their firſt leader was GEORGE FOX, born at Drayton in Lancaſhire 1624; his father being a poor weaver,‖ put

§ Whitlocke, p. 460. † Scobel, p. 155.

‖ It is to be wiſhed, that Mr. *Neal* had not uſed this epithet, poor. It is not in the author, whom he quotes, was needleſs, and has the appearance of contempt. The parents of *Fox* were *truly* reſpectable: his father, *Chriſtopher Fox*, of ſuch a virtuous life, that his neighbours called him *righteous Chriſter*; his mother, of the ſtock of martyrs, and a woman of qualifications ſuperior to the generality of her circumſtances in life: They were

put him apprentice to a country ſhoe-maker, but having a peculiar turn of mind for religion, he went away from his maſter, and wandered up and down the country like an hermit, in a leathern doublet; at length his friends hearing he was at London, perſuaded him to return home, and ſettle in ſome regular courſe of employment; but after he had been ſome months in the country, he went from his friends a ſecond time, in the year 1646, and threw off all further attendance on the publick ſervice in the churches: The reaſons he gave for his conduct were, becauſe it was revealed to him, that a learned education at the univerſity was no qualification for a miniſter, but that all depended on the anointing of the Spirit, and that God who made the world did not dwell in temples made with hands. In the year 1647, he travelled into Derbyſhire and Nottinghamſhire, walking through divers towns and villages, which way ſoever his mind turned, in a ſolitary manner. He faſted much, (ſays my author) and walked often abroad in retired places, with no other companion but his bible. He would ſometimes ſet in an hollow tree all day, and frequently walked about the fields in the night, like a man poſſeſſed with deep melancholy; which the writer of his life calls the *time of the firſt working of the Lord upon him.*‖ Towards the latter end of this year, he began firſt to ſet up for a teacher of others,

were both members of the national church, diſtinguiſhed by piety, and cheriſhed the religious turn of mind which their ſon diſcovered in his earlieſt years. Virtuous and ſober manners, a peculiar ſtayedneſs of mind and gravity of demeanor marked his youth. His chief employment under his maſter, who alſo dealt in wool and cattle, was to keep ſheep, which was well ſuited to his diſpoſition both for innocence and ſolitude. He acquitted himſelf with a fidelity and diligence, that conduced much to the ſucceſs of his maſter's affairs. It was a cuſtom with him to ratify his dealing with the word, *verily*; to which he ſo firmly and conſcientiouſly adhered, that thoſe who knew him would remark, "if *George* ſays *verily*, there is no altering." Mr. *Neal*'s expreſſion, "he went away from his maſter," may be underſtood as intimating a clandeſtine and diſhonourable leaving his maſter's ſervice: which was not the caſe. He did not begin his ſolitary travels, till after his apprenticeſhip was finiſhed, and he had returned home to his parents. The leathern dreſs was adopted by him, on account of its ſimplicity and its durableneſs, as it required little repairing, which was convenient to him in his wandering and unſettled courſe of life. Sewel's Hiſt. p. 6, 12; and Gough's Hiſtory of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 60. Ed.

‖ Sewel's Hiſtory of the Quakers, p. 6—12.

about

about Duckinfield and Mancheſter; the principal argument of his diſcourſe being, *that people ſhould receive the inward divine teachings of the Lord, and take that for their rule.*

In the year 1648, there being a diſſolution of all government both civil and eccleſiaſtical, *George Fox* waxed bold,* and travelled through the counties of Leiceſter, Northampton, and Derby, ſpeaking to the people in market-places, &c. about the *inward light of Chriſt within them.*‖ At this time (ſays my author†) he apprehended the Lord had forbid him *to put off his hat to any one*, high or low; he was required alſo to ſpeak to the people without diſtinction in the language of THOU and THEE. He was not to bid people good-morrow, or good-night; neither might he bend his knee to the chief magiſtrate in the nation; the women‖ that followed him would not make a courteſy to their ſuperiors, nor comply with the common forms of ſpeech. Both men and women affected a plain and ſimple dreſs, diſtinct from the faſhion of the times. They neither gave nor accepted any titles of reſpect or honour, nor would they call any man maſter on earth. They refuſed to take an oath on the moſt ſolemn occaſion. Theſe and the like peculiarities, he ſupported by ſuch paſſages of ſcripture as theſe, *Swear not at all*; *how can ye believe who receive honour one*

* The circumſtances of this period, as ſtated by *Gough*, will ſhew the propriety of our author's language here, and preclude the ſuſpicion that has fallen on him, of intending to inſinuate that the boldneſs of *George Fox* was criminal, and that the diſſolution of government had rendered him licentious. At this time the independants and republicans had accompliſhed their purpoſe: regal dominion, the peculiar privileges of the nobility, and the office of biſhops, were aboliſhed. Their profeſſed principles were in favour of civil and religious liberty. The places of publick worſhip ſeem, for a ſeaſon, to have been open to teachers of different denominations, and not uncommonly appropriated to theological diſcuſſion and diſputation between the teachers or members of various ſects. Theſe propitious circumſtances furniſhed *Fox* and others with opportunities of diſſeminating their opinions: and a fair opportunity, naturally, inſpirits and emboldens to any undertaking. Gough's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 72. ED.

† Hiſtory of the Quakers, p. 18.

‖ The words of *Sewel* are, "That every man was enlightened by the "divine light of Chriſt." The term uſed, by this hiſtorian, for the followers of *Fox*, is *fellow-believers*, without any reference to their ſex; nor does his narrative ſhew, that they conſiſted more of women than men; which Mr. *Neal*'s expreſſion ſeems to intimate. ED.

of another, and ſeek not the honour which comes from God only? But theſe marks of diſtinction which *George Fox* and his followers were ſo tenacious of, unhappily brought them into a great deal of trouble, when they were called to appear before the civil magiſtrate.

In the year 1649, he grew more troubleſome, and began to interrupt the publick miniſters in time of divine ſervice: His firſt eſſay of this kind was at Nottingham, where the miniſter preaching from theſe words of St. *Peter*, *We have a more ſure word of prophecy*, &c. told the people, that they were to try all doctrines, opinions, and religions, by the holy ſcriptures. Upon which *George Fox* ſtood up in the midſt of the congregation and ſaid, *Oh no! it is not the ſcripture, but it is the holy ſpirit, by which opinions, and religions, are to be tried; for it was the ſpirit that led people into all truth, and gave them the knowledge of it.* And continuing his ſpeech to the diſturbance of the congregation, the officers were obliged to turn him out of the church, and carry him to the ſheriff's houſe; next day he was committed to the caſtle, but was quickly releaſed without any other puniſhment.† After this he diſturbed the miniſter of Mansfield in

† Mr. *Neal*'s account of this impriſonment of *George Fox* is cenſured by a late hiſtorian, as not ſtrictly true, nor ſupported by his authority, *Sewel*, and through a partial biaſs a very palliative narration. The fact more exactly and fully ſtated is this: that *Fox* was not taken *immediately* from the church to the ſheriff's houſe, but to priſon, and put into a place ſo filthy and intolerably noiſome, that the ſmell thereof was very grievous to be endured. At night he was carried before the mayor, aldermen and ſheriffs of the town, and after examination was recommitted. But one of the ſheriffs, whoſe name was *Reckleſs*, being much affected with the ſentiments he had advanced, removed him to his own houſe. During his reſidence there, Mr. *Fox* was viſited by perſons of conſiderable condition; the ſheriff, as well as his wife and family, was greatly affected with his doctrine; inſomuch that he and ſeveral others exhorted the people and the magiſtrates to repentance. This provoked the latter to remove *Fox* back to the common priſon, where he lay till the aſſizes. When he was to have been brought before the judge, the officer was ſo dilatory in the execution of his buſineſs, that the court was broken up before he was conducted to it. He was, on this, again ordered into the common jail, and detained there ſome time longer. As far as appears, he was impriſoned, detained in priſon and releaſed at the mere will and pleaſure of the magiſtrates of Nottingham, without any legal cauſe aſſigned. "Such arbitrary exertion of power," well obſerves my author, "ill agrees with a regard for chartered privileges and equal liberty."—Gough's Hiſt. of the Quakers, vol. i. 83, 4. Sewel's Hiſt. p. 21, 22. Ed.

time

time of divine ſervice, for which he was ſet in the ſtocks, and turned out of the town.† The like treatment he met with at Market-Boſworth, and ſeveral other towns.§ At length the magiſtrates of Derby confined him ſix months in priſon, for uttering divers blaſphemous opinions,‖ purſuant to

† Mr. *Neal* is conſidered as paſſing over this treatment of *Fox* in too "curſory a manner:" and is blamed for placing his conduct in the moſt invidious light it would bear, diſturbing the miniſter. But, ſurely, if Mr. *Fox* ſpoke while the miniſter was preaching, without waiting till he had finiſhed his diſcourſe, it was *diſturbing* him by an unſeaſonable interruption. But this circumſtance is not to be clearly aſcertained by *Sewel*. The treatment which *Fox* met with was iniquitous and violent to an extreme degree. The hearers of the miniſter "converted the place of divine worſhip into a "ſcene of lawleſs riot, and the time ſet apart for the ſervice of God into "an enormous abuſe of a fellow-creature; manifeſting their religion to be "ſuch," obſerves Mr. *Gough* with great propriety, "at the time when it "ſhould moſt affect their minds, as admitted of injury, revenge, and vio-"lating the peace and order of ſociety. For they aſſaulted Mr. *Fox* in a "furious manner, ſtruck him down, and beat him cruelly with their hands, "bibles, and ſticks, whereby he was grievouſly bruiſed. After they had "thus vented their rage, they haled him out, and put him into the ſtocks, "where he ſat ſome hours: and then they took him before a magiſtrate, "who, ſeeing how groſsly he had been abuſed, after much threatning, ſet "him at liberty. But ſtill the rude multitude, inſatiate in abuſe, ſtoned "him out of the town, though hardly able to go, or well to ſtand, by rea-"ſon of their violent uſage." It ſhould be remarked here, that the magiſtrate's conduct was extremely culpable, in not inflicting a *puniſhment* on theſe diſturbers of the peace, for this unjuſt and violent attack on a man who had done them no harm, but meant to do them good; and in not affording to him his *protection*. Gough's Hiſt. vol. i. p. 84—86. ED.

§ Sewel, p. 22.

‖ This was the language of the mittimus, by which *Fox* and another were committed to the houſe of correction: we regret that Mr. *Neal* ſhould have adopted it, without giving his reader the grounds on which the ſevere epithet was applied to their opinions. After the ſervice of a lecture, at which Mr. *Fox* had attended, was finiſhed, he ſpoke what was on his mind, and was heard without moleſtation: when he had done, an officer took him by the hand, and carried him before the magiſtrates. Being aſked, "why "he came thither? he anſwered, that "God had moved him to it:" and added, that "God did not dwell in temples made with hands; and that all "their preaching, baptiſm, and ſacrifices, would never ſanctify them; but "that they ought to look unto Chriſt in them, and not unto men, for it is "Chriſt that ſanctifies." As they were very full of words ſometime diſputing, and ſometime deriding, he told them, "they were not to diſpute of "God and Chriſt, but to obey him." At laſt they aſked him, "if he "was ſanctified?" he replied, "yes:" "if he had no ſin?" his anſwer was, "Chriſt my Saviour hath taken away my ſin, and in him there is no

to a late act of parliament for that purpoſe. By this time there began to appear ſome other viſionaries, of the ſame make and complexion with *George Fox*, who ſpoke in places of publick reſort; being moved (as they ſaid) by the Holy Ghoſt; and even ſome women, contrary to the modeſty of their ſex, went about ſtreets, and entered into churches, crying down the *teachings of men*, and exhorting people to attend to the light within themſelves.

It was in the year 1650, that theſe wandering lights firſt received the denomination of QUAKERS, upon this ground, that their ſpeaking to the people was uſually attended with convulſive agitations, and ſhakings of the body. All their ſpeakers had theſe *tremblings*, which they gloried in, aſſerting it to be the character of a good man *to tremble before God*. When *George Fox* appeared before *Gervas Bennet*, eſq; one of the juſtices of Derby, October 30, 1650, he had one of his agitations, or fits of *trembling* upon him, and with a loud voice and vehement emotion of body, bid the juſtice and thoſe about him *tremble at the word of the Lord*; whereupon the juſtice gave him and his friends, the name of QUAKERS, which, being agreeable to their common be-

" ſin." To the next queſtion, " How he and his friends knew Chriſt was " in them?" he replied, " by his ſpirit, which he hath given us." Then they were aſked, " if any of them were Chriſt?" to which inſidious query he anſwered, " nay, we are nothing; Chriſt is all." He was next interrogated, " If a man ſteal, is it no ſin?" to which his reply was, " All un- " righteouſneſs is ſin." With what candour, with what propriety, with what truth, could the charge of *blaſphemy* be grounded on theſe declarations, eſpecially by the magiſtrates who examined and committed him? The names to the mittimus were *Ger. Bennet* and *Nath. Barton:* both of them were independants, the latter an officer and preacher: men whoſe own tenets implied a ſupernatural influence, and admitted no interference of the civil magiſtrate in ſpiritual concerns, but were pointed in favour of univerſal toleration: one of whom could himſelf have no commiſſion to preach but on the ground of *God's moving him to it*. Theſe were the men who accuſed *Fox* of *blaſphemy*, and impriſoned him: " a remarkable inſtance," obſerves Mr. *Gough*, " of the inconſiſtency of men with themſelves in different ſta- " tions of life:" a remarkable inſtance, it may be added, how the law may be wreſted and juſtice perverted by paſſion and prejudice. Mr. *Neal's* manner of relating this tranſaction, unhappily, conceals the criminal conduct of theſe magiſtrates, and is too much calculated to perpetuate the prejudice which miſled and governed them. Sewel's Hiſtory, p. 24, and Gough's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 90—94. ED.

haviour,

haviour, quickly became the diſtinguiſhing *denomination* of this people.*

At length they diſturbed the publick worſhip by appearing in ridiculous habits, with emblematical or typical repreſentations of ſome impending calamity; they alſo took the liberty of giving miniſters the reproachful names of *hirelings*, *deceivers of the people*, *falſe prophets*, *&c.* Some of them went through divers towns and villages *naked*, denouncing judgments and calamities upon the nation. Some have famiſhed and deſtroyed themſelves by deep melancholy; and others have undertaken to raiſe their friends from the dead. Mr. *Baxter* ſays,§ many *franciſcan friars* and other papiſts have been diſguiſed ſpeakers in their aſſemblies; but little credit is to be given to ſuch reports.† It

* The above paragraph has given great offence, and is ſeverely cenſured by Mr. *Gough*, as "an opprobrious deſcription approaching to ſcurrility." The plain fact, as it ſtands in *Sewel*, has none of thoſe circumſtances of agitations, a loud voice and vehement emotions, with which Mr. *Neal* has deſcribed it, and for which he has quoted no authority. *Fox*, according to *Sewel*, having bid the juſtice and thoſe about him to "tremble at the "word of the Lord," Mr. *Bennet* took hold of this weighty ſaying with ſuch an airy mind, that from thence he took occaſion to call him, and his friends, ſcornfully, QUAKERS. This name was eagerly taken up and ſpread among the people. As to the convulſive emotions with which, it is ſaid, the preaching of theſe chriſtians, was accompanied, it is but fair to hear their advocate. "We readily admit," ſays Mr. *Gough*, "theſe "promulgators of primitive chriſtianity had no univerſity education, were "not trained in ſchools of oratory. It was plain truth and righteouſneſs "they ſought to follow and recommend in a plain ſimple way, without "the ſtudied decorations of fine language, or the engaging attractions of "a graceful motion; they ſpoke not to the head, or to the eye, but to "the hearts of their auditors. Being themſelves animated, and deeply "affected in ſpirit with the inward feeling of the power of that truth, to "the knowledge of which they aimed to bring others, that thereby they "might be ſaved; an unaffected warmth of zeal in recommending righte-"ouſneſs, and teſtifying againſt vice and wickedneſs might produce a "warmth of expreſſion and action alſo, which to an invidious eye might "appear convulſive: but their convulſions did not bereave them of under-"ſtanding; they ſpake with the ſpirit and with the underſtanding alſo, "of things which they knew, and teſtified of things which they had ſeen. "And their doctrine was often effectual to open the underſtanding of "their hearers, to ſee clearly the ſtate of their minds, both what they were "and what they ought to be." Gough's Hiſt. vol. i. p. 96, note. EDS.

§ Baxter's Life, p. 77.

† If but little credit is to be given to ſuch reports, it may be aſked, why are they introduced: when, if not refuted, they tend to miſlead the reader,

It cannot be expected that ſuch an unſettled people ſhould have an uniform ſyſtem of rational principles. Their firſt and chief deſign, if they had any, was to reduce all revealed religion to allegory; and becauſe ſome had laid too great ſtreſs upon rites and ceremonies, theſe would have neither order nor regularity, nor ſtated ſeaſons of worſhip, but all muſt ariſe from the inward impulſe of their ſpirits. Agreeable to this rule, they declared againſt all ſorts of clergy, or ſettled miniſters; againſt people's aſſembling in *ſteeple houſes*; againſt fixed times‖ of publick devotion, and conſequently againſt the obſervation of the ſabbath. Their own meetings were occaſional,‖ and when they met, one or another ſpake as they were *moved from within*, and ſometimes they departed without any one's being moved to ſpeak at all.

reader, and to fix a reproach on an innocent people? Is it becoming the candour and dignity of an hiſtorian, by recording, to appear to give them a ſanction? As to the caſe in hand, Mr. *Baxter*, on whoſe authority Mr. *Neal* ſpeaks, though he was a great and excellent man, was not entirely exempt from the influence of prejudice and credulity. In general, ſtories to the diſcredit of a new, deſpiſed and hated ſect are, often, eagerly adopted and ſpread with circumſtances of aggravation. So it happened to the firſt chriſtians. This has befallen the methodiſts in our own times. And the quakers, being particular objects of prieſtly indignation, had reaſon to complain of this. They were often confounded with an ephemeron ſect, whoſe principles were totally incompatible with theirs, called *ranters*, and whoſe practices outraged all decency and order. An active preacher amongſt the quakers, Mr. *Edward Burroughs*, and the celebrated *Barclay*, wrote againſt the practices of theſe people. Gough's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 128, 9, note; and vol. iii. p. 15. Ed.

‖ This is not accurate, or is applicable only to the infancy of the ſect. For, though they did not eſteem one houſe more holy than another, and believed all times equally the Lord's, and that all days ſhould be ſabbaths or times of continual reſt and abſtinence from evil; yet as ſoon as their numbers were ſufficient for the purpoſe, they held fixed and regular meetings for worſhip, particularly on the firſt day of the week, which they choſe as more convenient, becauſe more generally accepted than any other. In 1654, meetings were ſettled in many places in the north, and alſo in the city of London, which were held in private houſes, till the body growing too large to be accommodated in them, a houſe known by the name of "Bull-and-Mouth, in Martin's-Le-Grand" near Alderſgate-ſtreet, was hired for a meeting-houſe. And no body of chriſtians were more open, ſteady, and regular, than they have been in their publick aſſociations for worſhip or diſcipline. Sewel's Hiſtory, p. 80, 84. Gough's Hiſt. vol. i. p. 144 and 509. Ed.

The

The doctrines they delivered were as vague and uncertain‖ as the principle from which they acted. They denied the holy ſcriptures to be the only rule of their faith, calling it a *dead letter*, and maintaining that every man had a *light* within himſelf, which was a ſufficient rule. They denied the received doctrine of the trinity and incarnation. They diſowned the ſacraments of baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper; nay, ſome of them proceeded ſo far as to deny a Chriſt *without them*; or at leaſt, to place more of their dependance upon a Chriſt *within*. They ſpake little or nothing (ſays Mr. *Baxter**) about the depravity of nature; about the covenant of grace; about pardon of ſin and reconciliation with God; or about moral duties.† But the diſturbance they gave

‖ The account which Mr. *Neal* gives of the ſentiments and practices of the quakers in this and the preceding paragraph, is not drawn up with the accuracy and preciſion, not to ſay, candour, which ſhould mark the hiſtorick page. It has too much the appearance of the looſe, deſultory repreſentation, which thoſe who had not inveſtigated their principles, nor looked into their writings, would exhibit of this ſect. It is, I think, introduced at an improper place, in too early a period of their hiſtory; when Mr. *Neal* himſelf has related only what concerned *George Fox*, and before his followers were formed into a body. At that time it was not to be expected, that their principles ſhould be made into a ſyſtem; and their doctrines being delivered as the aſſertions of individuals only, and deriving their completion from their different taſtes, capacities, and views, would to the publick eye wear the aſpect of variety and uncertainty. But long before Mr. *Neal* wrote, their principles had aſſumed a ſyſtematic form. *Penn* had publiſhed his key, and *Robert Barclay* his "Catechiſm and Confeſſion of Faith," and that elaborate work his "Apology." The propoſitions illuſtrated and defended in this treatiſe exhibit a conciſe view of the chief principles of the quakers; and that they may ſpeak for themſelves we will give them in the Appendix No. xii. ED.

* Baxter, p. 77.

† This quotation is not correct. Mr. *Baxter*'s words, concerning the ſtrain of their preaching, are theſe. "They ſpeak much for the dwelling "and working of the ſpirit in us; but little of juſtification, and the par"don of ſin, and our reconciliation with God through Jeſus Chriſt." Here is nothing ſaid about their neglecting to inſiſt on "moral duties." The great object of *Fox*'s zeal, we are told, was a heavenly temper and a life of righteouſneſs: and his endeavours to propagate true religion and righteouſneſs were not confined to publick or private meetings, but exerted in other places as occaſion offered; particularly, in courts of judicature, to admoniſh to juſtice, and caution againſt oppreſſion: In markets, to recommend truth, candour, and fair dealings, and to bear his teſtimony againſt fraud and deceitful merchandiſe: At publick houſes of entertainment,

gave to the publick religion for a courſe of years was ſo inſufferable, that the magiſtrates could not avoid puniſhing them as diſturbers of the peace; though of late they are become a more ſober and inoffenſive people; and by the wiſdom of their managers, have formed themſelves into a ſort of body politick, and are in general very worthy members of ſociety.

[Though Mr. *Neal*, here and in the ſequel of his hiſtory, calls that body of chriſtians, of whom he has written in the preceding pages, QUAKERS; and this is the denomination by which they are, to the preſent day, diſtinguiſhed from other religious ſocieties: yet it ſhould be noticed, that, as this name was given them in ſcorn, they do not aſſume it, but through neceſſity and for diſtinction's ſake. The name which they adopt amongſt themſelves, and by which they ſpeak of their own party, is that of *Friends*. A title undoubtedly to be preferred, as conveying no ludicrous idea in it, and expreſſive of union, affection, and a common intereſt. In the uſe of this term they think themſelves ſanctioned by the example of the primitive chriſtians; as Acts xxvii. 3; where it is ſaid, that "*Julius*, the centurion, courteouſly entreated *Paul*, and gave him liberty to go unto "the friends:" προς τους φιλους: and 3 John 14, "The "friends, οι φιλοι, ſalute thee and greet the friends, τους "φιλους, by name."‡

About this time aroſe a ſect, not noticed by Mr. *Neal*, called *Muggletonians*, from their founder *Lodowick Muggleton*, who was by trade a taylor. Mr. *Granger* calls him

ment, to warn againſt indulging intemperance, by ſupplying their gueſts with more liquor than would do them good: At ſchools and in private families, to exhort to the training up of children and ſervants to ſobriety, in the fear of their Maker; to teſtify againſt vain ſports, plays, and ſhews, as tending to draw people into vanity and libertiniſm, and from that ſtate of circumſpection and attentive conſideration, wherein our ſalvation is to be wrought out, forewarning all of the great day of account for all the deeds done in the body. This was certainly inſiſting on moral duties, and bringing home the principles of righteouſneſs to the various circumſtances of human life, with much propriety and energy. Gough's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 67, 75. ED.

‡ Sewel's Hiſtory, p. 696.

a noto-

a notorious ſchiſmatick. His pretenſions were, that he and one *John Reeves* were the two witneſſes ſpoken of Rev. xi. 3; and though the latter died ſoon after, the former ſtill advanced his claims to a prophetick character; aſſerting, in a paper which he publiſhed, "that he was the chief judge "in the world, in paſſing ſentence of eternal death and "damnation upon the ſouls and bodies of men: that in obe-"dience to his commiſſion he had already curſed and damned "many hundreds to all eternity: that, in doing this, he "went by as certain a rule as the judges of the land do "when they paſs ſentence according to law: and that no "infinite ſpirit of Chriſt, nor any God, could or ſhould be "able to deliver from his ſentence and curſe." *Richard Farnſworth*, a convert of *George Fox*, and an active, intelligent miniſter amongſt the *quakers*, remonſtrated with *Muggleton*, from the preſs, on the profaneneſs and criminality of theſe extravagant claims, but without effect. He is alſo ſaid to have regarded himſelf as above ordinances of every kind, not excepting prayer and preaching: to have rejected creeds and all church-diſcipline and authority; and to have acknowledged but one perſon in the godhead. He met with followers, who recorded many of his prophecies: but incurred the pillory and ſix months impriſonment by his writings, which were burnt by the common hangman. He died March 12, 1697, 8, aged 90.‖]

‖ Sewel's Hiſtory of the Quakers, p. 399, 400; and Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iv. p. 209, 10.

CHAP. II.

From the Coronation of King CHARLES II. *in Scotland, to the Protectorſhip of* OLIVER CROMWELL.

1651.

THE coronation of king *Charles* by the Scots, which had been deferred hitherto, being now thought neceſſary to give life to their cauſe, was ſolemnized at Scone on *New-years-day* 1651, with as much magnificence as their circumſtances would admit;§ when his majeſty took the following oath: "I *Charles*, king of Great-Britain, France, "and Ireland, do aſſure and declare by my ſolemn oath, in "the preſence of Almighty God, the ſearcher of all hearts, "my allowance and approbation of the national covenant, "and of the ſolemn league and covenant; and faithfully "oblige myſelf to proſecute the ends thereof in my ſtation "and calling; and that I myſelf and ſucceſſors, ſhall conſent "and agree to all the acts of parliament enjoining the na-"tional covenant, and the ſolemn league and covenant, and "fully eſtabliſh preſbyterian government, the directory of "worſhip, confeſſion of faith, and catechiſms, in the king-"dom of Scotland, as they are approved by the general "aſſembly of this kirk, and parliament of this kingdom; "and that I will give my royal aſſent to all acts of parlia-"ment paſſed, or to be paſſed, enjoining the ſame in my "other dominions; and that I ſhall obſerve theſe in my own "practice and family, and ſhall never make oppoſition to "any of theſe, or endeavour any change thereof." This oath was annexed to the covenant itſelf, drawn up in a fair roll of parchment, and ſubſcribed by him in the preſence of the nobility and gentry.*

His majeſty alſo ſigned a declaration, in which he acknowledged the ſin of his father in marrying into an idolatrous

§ The ceremonial of this coronation is given at length by Dr. *Grey*, vol. iii. p. 111—124. ED.

* Oldmixon's Hiſtory of the Stuarts, p. 391.

family;

family; and that the blood ſhed in the late wars lay at his father's door.† He expreſſed a deep ſenſe of his own ill education, and of the prejudices he had drunk in, againſt the cauſe of God, of which he was now very ſenſible. He confeſſed all the former parts of his life to have been a courſe of enmity to the word of God. He repented of his *commiſſion* to *Montroſs*. He acknowledged his own ſins, and the ſins of his father's houſe, and ſays, he will account them his enemies who oppoſe the *covenants*, both which he had taken without any ſiniſter intention of attaining his own ends. He declares his deteſtation and abhorrence of all popery, ſuperſtition, idolatry, and prelacy, and reſolves not to tolerate them in any part of his dominions. He acknowledges his great ſin in making peace with the Iriſh *rebels*, and allowing them the liberty of their religion, which he makes void, reſolving for the future rather to chooſe affliction than ſin; and though he judges charitably of thoſe who have acted againſt the covenant, yet he promiſes not to employ them for the future till they have taken it. In the concluſion, his majeſty confeſſes over again his own guilt; and tells the world, the ſtate of the queſtion was now altered, in as much as he had obtained mercy to be on God's ſide, and therefore hopes the Lord will be gracious, and countenance his own cauſe, ſince he is determined to do nothing but with advice of the kirk.

Our hiſtorians, who complain of the prevarication of *Cromwell*, would do well to find a parallel to this in all hiſtory; the king took the covenant three times with this tremendous oath, *by the Eternal and Almighty* GOD, *who liveth and reigneth for ever, I will obſerve and keep all that is contained herein.* Mr. *Baxter* admits,* that the Scots were in the wrong in tempting the young king to ſpeak and publiſh that, which

† Hiſtory of the Stuarts, p. 387. Burnet, vol. i. p. 78, Edingb. edit.

* "It ſeemed to me and many others," ſays Mr. *Baxter*, "that the "Scots miſcarried divers ways: 1. In impoſing laws upon their king, for "which they had no authority: 2. In forcing him to diſhonour the me-"mory of his father by ſuch confeſſions: 3. In tempting him to ſpeak "and publiſh that which they might eaſily know was contrary to his heart, "and ſo to take God's name in vain: 4. And in giving *Cromwell* occa-"ſion to charge them all with diſſimulation," Baxter's Life, p. 66. ED.

they

they might eaſily know was contrary to the thoughts of his heart; but ſurely his majeſty was no leſs to blame, to trample upon the moſt ſacred bonds of religion and ſociety. He complied with the rigours of the Scots diſcipline and worſhip: He heard many prayers and ſermons of great length. "I remember (ſays biſhop *Burnet**) in one faſt day, there "were ſix ſermons preached without intermiſſion. He was "not allowed to walk abroad on Sundays; and if at any "time there had been any gaiety at court, as dancing, or "playing at cards, he was ſeverely reproved for it, which "contributed not a little to beget in him an averſion to all "ſtrictneſs in religion." And the Scots were ſo jealous that all this was from *neceſſity*, that they would ſuffer none of his old friends to come into his preſence and councils, nor ſo much as to ſerve in the army.

While the Scots were raiſing forces for the king's ſervice, a private correſpondence was carried on with the Engliſh preſbyterians; letters were alſo written, and meſſengers ſent from London to the king and queen-mother in France, to haſten an accommodation with the Scots, aſſuring them, that the Engliſh preſbyterians would then declare for him the firſt opportunity. Conſiderable ſums of money were collected privately to forward an expedition into England; but the vigilance of the commonwealth diſcovered and defeated their deſigns. The principal gentlemen and miniſters concerned in the correſpondence, were ſome diſbanded officers who had ſerved the parliament in the late wars; as major *Adams*, *Alford*, and *Huntington*; colonel *Vaughan*, *Sowton*, *Titus*, *Jackſon*, *Bains*, *Barton*; captain *Adams*, *Potter*, *Far*, *Maſſey*, *Starks*; and Mr. *Gibbons*. The miniſters were Dr. *Drake*, Mr. *Caſe*, *Watſon*, *Heyrick*, *Jenkins*, *Jackſon*, *Jacquel*, *Robinſon*, *Cawton*, *Nalſon*, *Haviland*, *Blackmore*, and Mr. *Love*. Theſe had their private aſſemblies at major *Adams*'s, colonel *Barton*'s, and at Mr. *Love*'s houſe, and held a correſpondence with the king, who deſired them to ſend commiſſioners to Breda to moderate the Scots demands, which ſervice he would reward when God ſhould reſtore him to his kingdoms.

But ſo numerous a confederacy was hardly to be concealed from the watchful eyes of the new government, who had

* P. 73.

their

their ſpies in all places. Major *Adams*, being apprehended on ſuſpicion, was the firſt who diſcovered the conſpiracy to the *council of ſtate*. On his information warrants were iſſued out, for apprehending moſt of the gentlemen and miniſters abovementioned; but ſeveral abſconded, and withdrew from the ſtorm. The miniſters who were apprehended were Dr. *Drake*, Mr. *Jenkins*, *Jackſon*, *Robinſon*, *Watſon*, *Blackmore*, and *Haviland*, who after ſome time were releaſed on their petition for mercy, and promiſing ſubmiſſion to the government for the future; but Mr. *Love* and *Gibbons* were made examples, as a terror to others. Mr. *Jenkins*'s petition being expreſſed in very ſtrong terms* was ordered to be printed; it was entitled, *The humble petition of* William Jenkins, *priſoner, declaring his unfeigned ſorrow for all his late miſcarriages, and promiſing to be true and faithful to the preſent government; with three queries, being the ground of his late petition, and ſubmiſſion to the preſent powers.*

The reverend Mr. *Love* was brought before a new *high court of juſtice* erected for this purpoſe, as was the cuſtom of theſe times for *ſtate criminals*, when Mr. attorney-general *Prideaux*, June 20, exhibited againſt him the following charge of high treaſon; "that at ſeveral times in the years 1649, "1650, and 1651, and in ſeveral places, he, with the per-"ſons abovementioned, had maliciouſly combined, and con-"trived to raiſe forces againſt the preſent government—that "they had declared and publiſhed *Charles Stuart*, eldeſt ſon "of the late king, to be king of England, without conſent "of parliament—that they had aided the Scots to invade "this commonwealth—that the ſaid *Chriſtopher Love*, at di-"vers times between the 29th of March 1650, and the firſt "of June 1651, at London and other places, had traite-

* The moſt remarkable poſitions in this petition were: That the parliament, without the king, were the ſupreme authority of the nation: that God's providences are antecedent declarations of his will and approbation; and appeared as evidently in removing the king and inveſting their honours with the government, as in taking away and beſtowing any government in any hiſtory of any age of the world: that the refuſal of ſubjection to their authority was ſuch an oppoſing the government ſet up by the ſovereign Lord of heaven and earth, as none can have peace either in acting or ſuffering for: and that it was a duty to yield to this authority all active and chearful obedience, in the Lord, *for conſcience ſake*. Dr. *Grey*'s Remarks, vol. iii. p. 127. ED.

"rouſly

" rouſly and maliciouſly maintained correſpondence and in-
" telligence by letters and meſſages with *Charles Stuart*, ſon
" of the late king, and with the queen his mother, and with
" ſundry of his council—that he did likewiſe hold corre-
" ſpondence with divers of the Scots nation, and had aſſiſted
" them with money, arms, and other ſupplies in the preſent
" war, as well as colonel *Titus*, and others of the Engliſh
" nation, in confederacy with them, to the hazard of the
" publick peace, and in breach of the laws of the land.—"

To this charge Mr. *Love*, after having demurred to the juriſdiction of the court, pleaded *not guilty*. The witneſſes againſt him were eight of the above-mentioned gentlemen. The reverend Mr. *Jackſon* was ſummoned, but refuſed to be ſworn, or give evidence, becauſe he looked on Mr. *Love* to be a good man; ſaying, he ſhould have a hell in his conſcience to his dying day, if he ſhould ſpeak any thing that ſhould be circumſtantially prejudicial to Mr. *Love*'s life. The court put him in mind of his obligation to the publick, and that the very ſafety of all government depended upon it. But he refuſed to be ſworn, for which the court ſent him to the Fleet, and fined him five hundred pounds.

But it appeared by the other witneſſes, that Mr. *Love* had carried on a criminal correſpondence both with the king and the Scots. With regard to the king it was ſworn, that about a month after his late majeſty's death, ſeveral of them met at a tavern at Dowgate, and other places, to concert meaſures to forward the king's agreement with the Scots, for which purpoſe they applied by letters to the queen, and ſent over colonel *Titus* with one hundred pounds to defray his expences. The colonel, having delivered his meſſage, ſent back letters by colonel *Alsford*, which were read in Mr. *Love*'s houſe; with the copy of a letter from the king himſelf, Mr. *Love* being preſent. Upon theſe and ſuch like facts, the council for the commonwealth inſiſted, that here was a criminal correſpondence to *reſtore the king*, contrary to the ordinance of Jan. 30, 1648, which ſays, " that who-
" ſoever ſhall proclaim, declare, publiſh, or any ways pro-
" mote *Charles Stuart*, or any other perſon, to be king of
" *England*, without conſent of parliament, ſhall be adjudged
" a traytor, and ſuffer the pains of death as a traytor."

The

The other branch of the charge againſt Mr. *Love*, was his correſpondence with the Scots, and aſſiſting them in the war againſt the parliament. To ſupport this article, captain *Potter*, *Adams*, and Mr. *Jacquel*, ſwore, that letters came from Scotland to colonel *Bamfield* with the letter L upon them, giving a large narrative of the fight at Dunbar, and of the Scots affairs for three months after till Chriſtmas. There came alſo letters from the earl of *Argyle*, *Lothian*, and *Loudon*, who propoſed the raiſing ten thouſand pounds to buy arms, and to hire ſhipping, in order to land five thouſand men in England. The letters were read at Mr. *Love*'s houſe; but the propoſals being diſliked, only forty pounds was raiſed for the expences of the meſſenger. At another time a letter was read from general *Maſſey*, in which he deſires them to provide arms, and mentions his own and colonel *Titus*'s neceſſities; upon which it was agreed to raiſe two or three hundred pounds by way of contribution, and every one preſent wrote down what he would lend, among whom was Mr. *Love*, who not only contributed himſelf, but carried about the paper to encourage others. This was conſtrued by the council for the commonwealth, ſufficient to bring Mr. *Love* within the ordinance of July 1, 1649, which ſays, "that if any ſhall procure, invite, aid, or aſſiſt, any foreigners "or ſtrangers to invade England or Ireland; or ſhall adhere "to any forces raiſed by the enemies of the parliament, or "commonwealth, or keepers of the liberties of England, all "ſuch perſons ſhall be deemed and adjudged guilty of high "treaſon."

Mr. *Love*, in his defence, behaved with a little too much freedom and boldneſs; he ſet too high a value upon his ſacred character, which the court was inclined to treat with neglect. He objected to the witneſſes, as being forced into the ſervice to ſave their lives. He obſerves, that to ſeveral of the facts there was only one witneſs; and that ſome of them had ſworn falſly, or at leaſt their memories had failed them in ſome things; which might eaſily happen at ſo great a diſtance of time. He called no witneſſes to confront the evidence, but at the cloſe of his defence confeſſed ingenuouſly, that there had been ſeveral meetings of the above-named perſons at his houſe, that a commiſſion was read, but that

that he had diſſented from it. He acknowledged further, that he was preſent at the reading of letters, or of ſome part of them, "but I was ignorant (ſays he) of the danger "that I now ſee I am in. The act of Aug. 2, 1650, makes "it treaſon to hold any correſpondence with Scotland, or to "ſend letters thither though but in a way of commerce, the "two nations being at war; now here my council acquaints "me with my danger, that I being preſent when letters were "read in my houſe, am guilty of a concealment, and there-"fore as to that, I humbly lay myſelf at your feet and "mercy."

And to move the court to ſhew mercy to him, he endeavoured to ſet out his own character in the moſt favourable light; "I have been called a *malignant and apoſtate*, (ſays he) "but, God is my witneſs, I never carried on a malignant in-"tereſt; I ſhall retain my covenanting principles, from which "by the grace of God I will never depart; neither am I an "*incendiary* between the two nations of England and Scot-"land, but I am grieved for their diviſions; and if I had as "much blood in my veins as there is water in the ſea, I "could account it well ſpent to quench the fire that our ſins "have kindled between them. I have all along engaged "my life and eſtate in the parliament's quarrel, againſt the "forces raiſed by the late king, not from a proſpect of ad-"vantage, but from conſcience and duty; and I am ſo far "from repenting, that were it to do again, upon the ſame "unqueſtionable authority, and for the ſame declared ends, "I ſhould as readily engage in it as ever; though I wiſh from "my ſoul, that the ends of that juſt war had been better "accompliſhed.

"Nor have my ſufferings in this cauſe been inconſiderable; "when I was a ſcholar in Oxford, and *M. A.* I was the "firſt who publickly refuſed to ſubſcribe the canons impoſed "by the late archbiſhop, for which I was expelled the con-"vocation houſe. When I came firſt to London, which was "about twelve years ago, I was oppoſed by the biſhop of "London, and it was about three years before I could ob-"tain ſo much as a lecture. In the year 1640, or 1641, I "was impriſoned in Newcaſtle, for preaching againſt the "ſervice-book, from whence I was removed hither by *ha-*

"*beas*

" *beas corpus*, and acquitted. In the beginning of the war " between the late king and parliament, I was accuſed for " preaching treaſon and rebellion, merely becauſe I main- " tained, in a ſermon at Tenterden in Kent, the lawfulneſs " of a defenſive war. I was again complained of by the " commiſſioners at Uxbridge for preaching a ſermon, which " I hear is lately reprinted; and if it be printed according to " the firſt copy, I will own every line of it. After all this, " I have been three times in trouble ſince the late change of " government. Once I was committed to cuſtody, and twice " cited before the committee for plundered miniſters, but " for want of proof was diſcharged. And now laſt of all, " this great trial is come upon me; I have been kept ſeveral " weeks in cloſe priſon, and am now arraigned for my life, " and like to ſuffer from the hands of thoſe for whom I have " done and ſuffered ſo much, and who have lift up their " hands with me in the ſame covenant; and yet I am not " conſcious of any perſonal act proved againſt me, that brings " me within any of your laws as to treaſon.

" Upon the whole, though I never wrote nor ſent letters " into Scotland, yet I confeſs their proceedings with the " king are agreeable to my judgment, and for the good of " the nation; and though I diſown the commiſſion and in- " ſtructions mentioned in the indictment, yet I have deſired " an agreement between the king and the Scots, agreeably " to the covenant; for they having declared him to be their " king, I have deſired and prayed as a private man, that they " might accompliſh their ends upon ſuch terms as were " conſiſtent with the ſafety of religion and the covenant."

He concludes with beſeeching the court, that he may not be put to death for ſtate reaſons. He owns he had been guilty of a *concealment*, and begs the mercy of the court for it, promiſing for the future to lead a quiet and peaceable life. He puts them in mind, that when *Abiathar* the prieſt had done an unjuſtifiable action, king *Solomon* ſaid, he would not put him to death at that time, *becauſe he bore the ark of the Lord God before* David *his father*; *and becauſe he had been afflicted in all wherein his father had been afflicted.*— " Thus (ſays he) I commit myſelf and my all to God, and " to your judgments and conſciences, with the words of

" *Jeremiah* to the rulers of Iſrael, *As for me, behold I am* " *in your hands, do with me as ſeemeth good and meet to you;* " *but know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye ſhall* " *ſurely bring innocent blood upon yourſelves.* But I hope " better things of you, though I thus ſpeak."

The court allowed Mr. *Love* the benefit of council learned in the law, to argue ſome exceptions againſt the indictment; but after all that Mr. *Hales* could ſay for the priſoner, the court after ſix days hearing, on the 5th of July, pronounced ſentence of death againſt him as a traitor.

Great interceſſions* were made for the life of this reverend perſon, by the chief of the preſbyterian party in London; his wife preſented ſeveral moving petitions; and two were preſented from himſelf, in one of which he acknowledges the juſtice of his ſentence, according to the laws of the commonwealth; in the other he petitions, that if he may not be pardoned, his ſentence may be changed into baniſhment; and that he might do ſomething to deſerve his life, he preſented with his laſt petition a narration of all that he knew relating to the plot, which admits almoſt all that had been objected to him at his trial.

But the affairs of the commonwealth were now at a criſis, and king *Charles* II. having entered England at the head of ſixteen thouſand Scots, it was thought neceſſary to ſtrike ſome terror into the preſbyterian party, by making an example of one of their favourite clergymen. Mr. *Whitlocke* ſays,‡ that colonel *Forteſcue* was ſent to general *Cromwell* with a petition on behalf of Mr. *Love*, but that both the general and the reſt of the officers declined meddling in the affair; biſhop *Kennet* and Mr. *Eachard* ſay, the *general* ſent word in a private letter to one of his confidents, that he was content that Mr. *Love* ſhould be reprieved, and upon giving ſecurity for his future good behaviour pardoned; but that the poſt-boy being ſtopped upon the road by ſome *cavaliers* belonging to the late king's army, they ſearched his packet, and finding this letter of reprieve for Mr. *Love*, they tore it

* Not only by his wife and friends, ſays Mr. *Granger*, but by ſeveral pariſhes in London and by fifty-four miniſters. Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 43, 8vo. Ed.

‡ Memoirs, p. 474.

with

with indignation, as thinking him not worthy to live, who had been ſuch a firebrand at the treaty of Uxbridge.† If this ſtory be true, Mr. *Love* fell a ſacrifice to the ungovernable rage of the cavaliers, as Dr. *Doriſlaus* and Mr. *Aſcham* had done before.

The mail arriving from Scotland, and no letter from *Cromwell* in behalf of Mr. *Love*, he was ordered to be executed upon Tower-hill, Auguſt 22, the very day the king entered Worceſter at the head of his Scots army. Mr. *Love* mounted the *ſcaffold* with great intrepidity and reſolution, and taking off his hat two ſeveral times to the people, made a long ſpeech, wherein he declares the ſatisfaction of his mind in the cauſe for which he ſuffered; and then adds, "I am for a regulated, "mixed monarchy, which I judge to be one of the beſt go- "vernments in the world. I oppoſed in my place the forces "of the late king, becauſe I am againſt ſcrewing up mo- "narchy into tyranny, as much as againſt thoſe who would "pull it down into anarchy. I was never for putting the "king to death, whoſe perſon I did promiſe in my covenant "to preſerve; and I judge it an ill way of curing the body "politick, by cutting off the political head. I die with my "judgment againſt the *engagement*; I pray God forgive them "that impoſe it, and them that take it, and preſerve them that "refuſe it. Neither would I be looked upon as owning this "preſent government; I die with my judgment againſt it. "And *laſtly*, I die cleaving to all thoſe oaths, vows, cove- "nants, and proteſtations, that were impoſed by the two "houſes of parliament. I bleſs God I have not the leaſt "trouble on my ſpirit, but I die with as much quietneſs of "mind as if I was going to lie down upon my bed to reſt. "I ſee men thirſt after my blood, which will but haſten my "happineſs and their ruin; for though I am but of mean pa- "rentage, yet my blood is the blood of a chriſtian, of a "miniſter, of an innocent man, and (I ſpeak it without "vanity) of a martyr—I conclude with the ſpeech of the "apoſtle: *I am now ready to be offered up, and the time of my "departure is at hand, but I have finiſhed my courſe, I have "kept the faith: henceforth there is laid up for me a crown "of righteouſneſs—and not for me only, but for all them that*

† Compl. Hiſt. p. 202. Fachard, p. 689.

" *love the appearance of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt*, through whoſe " blood I expect ſalvation, and remiſſion of ſins. And ſo the " Lord bleſs you all."

After this he prayed with an audible voice for himſelf and his fellow-ſufferer Mr. *Gibbon*, for the proſperity of England, for his covenanting brethren in Scotland, and for an happy union between the two nations, *making no mention of the king*. He then roſe from his knees, and having taken leave of the miniſters, and others who attended him, he laid his head upon the block, which the executioner took off at one blow, before he had attained the age of forty years.† Mr. *Love* was a zealous preſbyterian, a popular preacher, and highly eſteemed by his brethren. His funeral ſermon was preached by Dr. *Manton*, and publiſhed under the title of *The Saints triumph over death*; but his memory has ſuffered very much by lord *Clarendon*'s character,* who repreſents him as guilty of as much " treaſon againſt the late king " as the pulpit could contain; and delighting himſelf with " the recital of it to the laſt, as dying with falſe courage, or " (as he calls it) in a raving fit of ſatisfaction, for having " purſued the ends of the ſanctified obligation the *covenant*, " without praying for the king, any further than he propa- " gated the covenant."

To return to more publick affairs. After the battle of Dunbar, general *Cromwell*, through the inclemency of the weather, and his great fatigues, was ſeized with an ague which hung upon him all the ſpring, but as the ſummer advanced he recovered, and in the month of July marched his army towards the king's at Sterlin; but not thinking it adviſeable to attempt his camp, he tranſported part of his forces

† Mr. *Love* was born at Cardiff in Glamorganſhire: became a ſervitor of New-Inn, Oxford, 1635, aged 17. In 1642 he proceeded maſter of arts. He was, at the beginning of his miniſtry, preacher to the garriſon of Windſor, then under the command of colonel *John Venn*, and was called by the *royaliſts* VENN's *principal fireman* at Windſor. He was, afterwards, ſucceſſively miniſter of St. Ann's near Alderſgate, and St. Lawrence-Jewry, in London. He was the author of ſermons and ſome pieces of practical divinity, which gained him a conſiderable reputation. He was buried with great lamentation on the north ſide of the chancel of St. Lawrence-Jewry. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 74, and Granger's Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 43, 8vo. ED.

* Vol. iii. p. 434.

over the Frith into Fife, who upon their landing defeated the Scots, killing two thouſand, and taking twelve hundred priſoners. After that, without waiting any longer on the king, he reduced Johnſtown, and almoſt all the garriſons in the north."

While the general was employed in theſe parts, the Scots committee, that directed the marches of their army, fearing the ſtorm would quickly fall upon themſelves, reſolved to march their army into England, and try the loyalty of the Engliſh preſbyterians; for this purpoſe colonel *Maſſey* was ſent before into Lancaſhire, to prepare them for a revolt; and the king himſelf entered England by the way of Carliſle, Auguſt 6, at the head of ſixteen thouſand men; but when the *committee of miniſters* that attended the army, obſerved that the king and his friends, upon their entering England, were for dropping the *covenant*, they ſent an expreſs to *Maſſey* without the king's knowledge, (ſays lord *Clarendon**) requiring him to publiſh a declaration, to aſſure the people of their reſolution to proſecute the ends of the covenant. The king had no ſooner notice of this, but he ſent to *Maſſey*, forbidding him to publiſh the declaration, and to behave with equal civility towards all men who were forward to ſerve him; "but before this inhibition, (ſays his lordſhip) "the matter had taken air in all places, and was ſpread over "the whole kingdom, which made all men fly from their "houſes, or conceal themſelves, who wiſhed the king well." But his lordſhip is ſurely miſtaken, for the king's chief hopes under *Maſſey* were from the preſbyterians, who were ſo far from being diſpleaſed with his majeſty's declaring for the covenant, that it gave them all the ſpirit he could wiſh for; but when it was known that the covenant was to be laid aſide, *Maſſey*'s meaſures were broken, many of the Scots deſerted and returned home; and not one in ten of the Engliſh would hazard his life in the quarrel.† Mr. *Baxter*,‡ who was a much better judge of the temper of the people than his lordſhip, ſays, "the Engliſh knew that the Scots "coming into England was rather a flight than a march. "They conſidered likewiſe, that the implacable cavaliers had

* Vol. iii. p. 400, 406. † Rapin, vol. ii. p. 585, folio.

‡ Life, p. 68.

"made

"made no preparation of the people's minds, by propoſing "any terms of a future reconciliation. That the prelatical "divines were gone further from the preſbyterians by Dr. "*Hammond*'s new way, than their predeceſſors; and that "the cauſe they contended for being not concord but go-"vernment, they had given the preſbyterian clergy and peo-"ple no hopes of finding any abatement of their former "burthens; and it is hard to perſuade men to venture their "lives in order to bring themſelves into a priſon or baniſh-"ment." However, theſe were the true reaſons, ſays Mr. *Baxter*, that no more came into the king at preſent; and had the preſbyterians obſerved them at the reſtoration, they had made better terms for themſelves than they did.

The parliament at Weſtminſter were quickly adviſed of the king's march, and by way of precaution expelled all delinquents out of the city; they raiſed the militia; they muſtered the trained bands, to the number of fourteen thouſand; and in a few weeks had got together an army of near ſixty thouſand brave ſoldiers. Mr. *Eachard* repreſents the parliament as in a terrible panic, and projecting means to eſcape out of the land; whereas, in reality, the unhappy king was the pity of his friends, and the contempt of his enemies. General *Cromwell* ſent an expreſs to the parliament, to have a watchful eye over the preſbyterians, who were in confederacy with the Scots, and told them, that the reaſon of his not interpoſing between the enemy and England was, becauſe he was reſolved to reduce Scotland effectually before winter. He deſired the houſe to collect their forces together, and make the beſt ſtand they could till he could come up with the enemy, when he doubted not but to give a good account of them. At the ſame time he ſent major-general *Lambert* with a ſtrong body of horſe to harraſs the king's forces, whilſt himſelf with the body of the army, haſtened after, leaving lieutenant-general *Monk* with a ſufficient force to ſecure his conqueſts, and reduce the reſt of the country, which he quickly accompliſhed. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays,‖ there was an order and diſcipline among the Engliſh, and a face of gravity and piety that amazed all people; moſt of them were independants and baptiſts, but all gifted men, and preached

* P. 689. ‖ Burnet, p. 80.

as

as they were moved, but never above once diſturbed the publick worſhip.

The earl of *Derby* was the only nobleman in England who raiſed 1500 men for the young king, who before, he could join the royal army, was defeated by colonel *Lilburn*, near Wigan in Lancaſhire, and his forces entirely diſperſed. The earl being wounded retired into Cheſhire, and from thence got to the king, who had marched his army as far as Worceſter, which opened its gates, and gave him an honourable reception; from thence his majeſty ſent letters to London, commanding all his ſubjects between the age of ſixteen and ſixty to repair to his royal ſtandard; but few had the courage to appear, the parliament having declared all ſuch rebels, and burnt the king's ſummons by the hands of the common hangman. His majeſty's affairs were now at a criſis. *Lambert* was in his rear with a great body of horſe, and *Cromwell* followed with ten thouſand foot, which, together with the forces that joined him by order of parliament, made an army of thirty thouſand men. The king, being unable to keep the field, fortified the city of Worceſter, and encamped almoſt under the walls. September 3, *Cromwell* attacked Powick bridge, within two miles of the city, which drew out the king's forces and occaſioned a general battle, in which his majeſty's army was entirely deſtroyed; four thouſand being ſlain, ſeven thouſand taken priſoners, with the king's ſtandard, and one hundred and fifty-eight colours. Never was a greater rout and diſperſion, nor a more fatal blow to the royal cauſe. The account which the general gave to the parliament was, "that the battle was fought "with various ſucceſs for ſome hours, but ſtill hopeful on "our part, and in the end became an abſolute victory, the "enemy's army being totally defeated, and the town in our "poſſeſſion, our men entering at the enemy's heels, and "fighting with them in the ſtreets, took all their baggage "and artillery. The diſpute was long and very often at "puſh of pike from one defence to another. There are "about ſix or ſeven thouſand priſoners, among whom are "many officers and perſons of quality. This, for ought I "know, may be a *crowning mercy*." All poſſible diligence was uſed to ſeize the perſon of the king; it was declared high

high treaſon to conceal him, and a reward of a thouſand pounds was ſet upon his head; but providence ordained his eſcape, for after he had travelled up and down the country ſix or ſeven weeks, under various diſguiſes, in company with one or two confidents, and eſcaped a thouſand dangers, he got a paſſage croſs the channel at Brighthelmſton in Suſſex, and landed at Dieppe in Normandy, Oct. 21, the morning after he embarked; from whence he travelled by land to Paris, where his mother maintained him out of her ſmall penſion† from the court of France.

The hopes of the royaliſts were now expiring, for the iſlands of Guernſey and Jerſey, with all the Britiſh plantations in America, were reduced this ſummer to the obedience of the parliament, in ſo much that his majeſty had neither fort nor caſtle, nor a foot of land in all his dominions. The liturgy of the church of England was alſo under a total eclipſe, the uſe of it being forbid not only in England, but even to the royal family in France, which had hitherto an apartment in the Louvre ſeparated to that purpoſe; but after the battle of Worceſter an order was ſent from the queen regent to ſhut up the chapel, it being the king's pleaſure not to permit the exerciſe of any religion but the roman catholick in any of his houſes; nor could chancellor *Hyde* obtain more than a bare promiſe, that the queen of England would uſe her endeavours, that the proteſtants of the family ſhould have liberty to exerciſe their devotions in ſome private room belonging to the lodgings.

Upon the king's arrival in France, he immediately threw off the maſk of a preſbyterian, and never went once to the proteſtant church at Charenton, though they invited him in the moſt reſpectful manner; but lord *Clarendon* diſſuaded him, becauſe the *hugonots* had not been hearty in his intereſt, and becauſe it might look diſreſpectful to the old church of

† This muſt be underſtood only of the king's firſt arrival: for her penſion was ſo ſmall and ſo ill paid, that when cardinal *de Retz* viſited her on a time, in the month of January, the princeſs *Henrietta* could not riſe for want of a fire. When her ſon arrived, ſhe had not money enough to buy him a change of linen for the next day. The French court was obliged to provide for his neceſſities, and ſettled on him a penſion of 6000 livres per month. Dr. Grey, vol. iii. p. 134, 5. Clarendon's Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 441. Ed.

England.

England. In truth, there being no further proſpect of the king's reſtoration by the preſbyterians, the eyes of the court were turned to the Roman catholicks, and many of his majeſty's retinue changed their religion, as appears by the *Legenda Lignea*, publiſhed about this time, with a liſt of fifty-three new converts, among whom were the following names in red capitals; the *Counteſs of* Derby, *Lady* Kilmichin, *Lord* Cottington, *Sir* Marm. Langdale, *Sir* Fr. Doddington, *Sir* Theoph. Gilby, *Capt.* Tho. Cook, Tho. Vane, *D. D.* De Creſſy, *preb. of* Windſor, *Dr.* Bayley, *Dr.* Coſins, *jun.* D. Goffe, and many others, not to mention the *king himſelf*, of whom father *Huddleſton* his confeſſor writes in his treatiſe, intitled, *A ſhort and plain way to the faith of the Church*, publiſhed 1685, that he put it into the king's hands in his retirement, and that when his majeſty had read it, he declared he could not ſee how it could be anſwered.* Thus early, ſays a reverend prelate of the church of England, was the king's advance towards popery, of which we ſhall meet with a fuller demonſtration hereafter.‖

General *Monk*, whom *Cromwell* left in Scotland with ſix thouſand men, quickly reduced that kingdom, which was ſoon after united to the commonwealth of England, the deputies of the ſeveral counties conſenting to be governed by authority of parliament, without a king or houſe of lords.§ The power of the kirk was likewiſe reſtrained within a narrow compaſs; for though they had liberty to excommunicate offenders, or debar them the communion, they might not ſeize their eſtates, or deprive them of their civil rights and privileges. No oaths or covenants were to be impoſed but by direction from Weſtminſter; and as all fitting encouragement was to be given to the miniſters of the eſtabliſhed kirk, ſo others not ſatisfied with their form of church government had liberty to ſerve God after their own manner; and all who would live peaceably, and yield obedience to the commonwealth, were protected in their ſeveral perſuaſions. This occaſioned a great commotion among the clergy, who complained of the loſs of their covenant, and church diſcipline;

* Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 444.

‖ Kennet, p. 200, 210. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 586, folio.

§ Whitlocke, p. 503, 504, 498.

and

and exclaimed againſt the toleration, as opening a door to all kinds of error and hereſy: but the Engliſh ſupported their friends againſt all oppoſition.

The laird of *Drum*, being threatened with excommunication for ſpeaking againſt the kirk, and for refuſing to ſwear that its diſcipline was of *divine authority*, fled to the Engliſh for protection, and then wrote the aſſembly word, that their oppreſſion was equal to that of the late biſhops, but that the commonwealth of England would not permit them to enſlave the conſciences of men any longer. The preſbytery would have proceeded to extremities with him, but *Monk* brandiſhed his ſword over their heads, and threatened to treat them as enemies to the ſtate, upon which they deſiſted for the preſent.* Soon after this, commiſſioners chiefly of the independent perſuaſion were ſent into Scotland, to viſit the univerſities, and to ſettle liberty of conſcience in that kingdom, againſt the coercive claim of the kirk, by whoſe influence a declaration was preſented to the aſſembly at Edinburgh, July 26, in favour of the *congregational diſcipline, and for liberty of conſcience*; but the ſtubborn aſſembly-men, inſtead of yielding to the declaration, publiſhed a paper called a *Teſtimony againſt the preſent encroachments of the civil power upon the eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction*, occaſioned by a proclamation of the Engliſh commiſſioners appointing a committee for viſiting their univerſities, which they take to be a ſpecial flower of the kirk prerogative. The ſynod of Fife alſo proteſted againſt the publick reſolutions of the civil power; but the ſword of the Engliſh kept them in awe; for when the ſynod of Perth cited before them ſeveral perſons for ſlighting the admonitions of the kirk, Mr. *Whitlocke* ſays,† that upon the day of appearance, their wives, to the number of about one hundred and twenty, with clubs in their hands, came and beſieged the church where the ſynod ſat; that they abuſed one of the miniſters who was ſent out to treat with them, and threatened to excommunicate them; and that they beat the clerk and diſperſed the aſſembly; upon which thirteen of the miniſters met at a village about four miles diſtant, and having agreed that no more ſynods ſhould be held in that place, they pronounced the village accurſed. When the

* Whitlocke, p. 500, 505, 515. † P. 511, 512.

general

general aſſembly met again at Edinburgh next ſummer, and were juſt entering upon buſineſs, lieutenant-colonel *Cotterel* went into the church, and ſtanding up upon one of the benches, told them that no eccleſiaſtical judicatories were to ſit there, but by authority of the parliament of England; and without giving them leave to reply, he commanded them to retire, and conducted them out of the weſt gate of the city with a troop of horſe and a company of foot; and having taken away the commiſſions from their ſeveral claſſes, enjoined them not to aſſemble any more above three in a company.

But with all theſe commotions, biſhop *Burnet* obſerves,* that the country was kept in great order; the garriſons in the Highlands obſerved an exact diſcipline, and were well paid, which brought ſo much money into the kingdom, that it continued all the time of the uſurpation in a flouriſhing condition; juſtice was carefully adminiſtered, and vice was ſuppreſſed and puniſhed; there was a great appearance of devotion; the ſabbath was obſerved with uncommon ſtrictneſs; none might walk the ſtreets in time of divine ſervice, nor frequent publick-houſes; the evenings of the Lord's days were ſpent in catechiſing their children, ſinging pſalms, and other acts of family devotion, in ſo much that an acquaintance with the principles of religion, and the gift of prayer, increaſed prodigiouſly among the common people.

The war being now ended, the parliament publiſhed an act of indemnity for all crimes committed before June 30, 1648, except pirates, Iriſh rebels, the murderers of Dr. *Doriſlaus* and Mr. *Aſcham*, and ſome others, provided they laid hold of it, and took the engagement before Feb. 1, 1652. In the cloſe of the year they choſe a new council of ſtate out of their own body for the next year, and continued themſelves, inſtead of diſſolving and giving way to a new parliament; the neglect of which was their ruin.

On the 26th of Sept. lieutenant-general *Ireton* died at Limerick in Ireland, after he had reduced that city to the obedience of the commonwealth. He was bred to the law, and was a perſon of great integrity, bold and intrepid in all his enterprizes, and never to be diverted from what he thought juſt and right by any arguments or perſuaſions. He was a

* Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 84, Edin. edition.

thorough

thorough commonwealth's man. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, he had the principles and temper of a *Caſſius*,* and was moſt liberal in employing his purſe and hazarding his perſon in the ſervice of the publick. He died in the midſt of life of a burning fever,§ after ten days ſickneſs. His body being brought over into England was laid in ſtate at Somerſet-Houſe, and buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey with a pomp and magnificence ſuited to the dignity of his ſtation; but after the reſtoration of the royal family, his body was taken out of the grave with *Cromwell*'s, and buried under the gallows.

About the ſame time died Mr. *Francis Woodcock*, born in Cheſter 1613, and educated in Brazen-Noſe college, Oxford, where he took a degree in arts, entered into orders, and had a cure of ſouls beſtowed upon him.‡ In the beginning of the civil wars he ſided with the parliament, and was one of the aſſembly of divines, being then lecturer of St. Lawrence-

* Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 63, Edin. edition.

§ Lord *Clarendon* aſcribes the death of Ireton to the infection of the plague, which was gotten into his army. He was of Trinity college in Oxford, and on leaving the univerſity he ſtudied at the Middle-Temple. He and *Lambert* diſtinguiſhed themſelves at the battle of Naſeby, and were both concerned in drawing up the remonſtrance of the army to the parliament. *Ireton* had the greateſt hand in preparing the ordinance for the king's trial, and the precept for proclaiming the high court of juſtice, in which he ſat as a judge. His authority was ſo great, that he was entirely ſubmitted to in all the civil as well as martial affairs: though his parts were conſidered by ſome as more fitted for modelling a government, than for the conduct of an army. The Oxford hiſtorian deſcribes him as of a turbulent and ſaucy diſpoſition, nurtured to miſchief, and a profound thorough-paced diſſembler under the maſk of religion. His corpſe was carried from the ſhip, in which it was brought to Briſtol, in a hearſe of velvet, attended by the mayor, aldermen, and council in their formalities, and the governor and officers, to the Caſtle: from whence it was removed to London with great pomp. The parliament ſettled on his widow and children 2000l. per ann. out of the lands belonging to *George* duke of *Bucks*. His daughter, who married *Thomas Bendiſh*, eſq; of Gray's-inn, was a moſt ſingular character, and bore a greater reſemblance, in countenance and diſpoſitions, to her grandfather, *Oliver Cromwell*, than did any of his deſcendants. A curious ſketch of her character, drawn by the Rev. *Samuel Say*, is preſerved in the ſecond volume of "Letters" publiſhed by Mr. *Duncombe*. Dr. Grey, vol. iii. p. 141, &c. Lord Clarendon's Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 467. Wood's Athen. Oxon. p. 81, 82. Whitlocke's Mem. p. 491, 494. and Granger's Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 259, and vol. iii. p. 16, 17. Ed.

‡ Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 81, 82.

Jewry.

Jewry. He was afterwards, by ordinance of parliament dated July 10, 1646, made parſon of St. Olave's, Southwark; having the eſteem of being a good ſcholar, and an excellent preacher. He died in the midſt of his days and uſefulneſs, *ætatis* 38.

Mr. *George Walker* proceeded *B. D.* in St. John's college, Cambridge. He was famous for his ſkill in the oriental languages, and was an excellent *logician* and *theologiſt*; being very much noted for his diſputations with the jeſuit *Fiſher*, and others of the Romiſh church; and afterwards for his ſtrict ſabbatarian principles. He was a member of the aſſembly of divines, where he gained great reputation by his munificent and generous behaviour.

Mr. *Thomas Wilſon* was born in Cumberland 1601, and educated in Chriſt's college, Cambridge, where he proceeded in arts. He was firſt miniſter of Capel in Surry, and after ſeveral other removes fixed at Maidſtone in Kent, where he was ſuſpended for refuſing to read the book of ſports, and not abſolved till the Scots troubles in 1639. In 1643, he was appointed one of the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter, being reputed a good linguiſt, and well read in ancient and modern authors. He was of a robuſt conſtitution, and took vaſt pains in preaching and catechiſing; he had a great deal of natural courage, and was in every reſpect a chearful and active chriſtian, but he treſpaſſed too much upon his conſtitution, which wore him out when he was little more than fifty years old. He died comfortably and chearfully towards the end of the year 1651. Sir *Edward Deering* gave him this character in the houſe of commons; "Mr. *Wilſon* is as "orthodox in doctrine, and laborious in preaching, as any "we have, and of an unblemiſhed life."

The terms of conformity in England were now lower than they had been ſince the beginning of the civil wars; the covenant was laid aſide, and no other civil qualification for a living required, but the *engagement*, ſo that many epiſcopal divines complied with the government; for though they might not read the liturgy in form, they might frame their prayers as near as it they pleaſed. Many epiſcopal aſſemblies were connived at, where the liturgy was read, till they were found plotting againſt the government; nor would they have

been denied an open toleration, if they would have given ſecurity for their peaceable behaviour, and not meddling with politicks.

The parliament having voted, in the year 1649, that *tithes ſhould be taken away* as ſoon as another maintenance for the clergy could be agreed upon, ſeveral petitions came out of the country, praying the houſe to bring this affair to an iſſue: One adviſed, that all the tithes over the whole kingdom might be collected into a treaſury, and that the miniſters might be paid their ſalaries out of it. Others looking upon tithes unlawful, would have the livings valued, and the pariſh engaged to pay the miniſter. This was ſuſpected to come from the ſectaries, and awakened the fears of the eſtabliſhed clergy. Mr. *Baxter* printed the Worceſter *petition* on the behalf of the miniſters,* which was preſented to the houſe by colonel *Bridges* and Mr. *Foley*; and Mr. *Boreman*, B. D. and fellow of Trinity-college, Cambridge, publiſhed *The Countryman's Catechiſm, or the Church's Plea for Tithes*, dedicated to the nobility, gentry, and commons of the realm; in which he inſiſts upon their *divine right*. But the clergy were more afraid than hurt; for though the commons were of opinion with Mr. *Selden*, that tithes were aboliſhed with the old law, yet the committee not agreeing upon an expedient to ſatisfy the lay-impropriators, the affair was dropt for the preſent.

Upon complaint of *the expence and tediouſneſs of law-ſuits*, it was moved in the houſe, that courts of juſtice might be ſettled in every county, and maintained at the publick charge; and that all controverſies between man and man might be heard and determined free, according to the laws of the land; and that clerks of all courts and committees might do their duty without delay, or taking any thing more than their ſettled fees. Accordingly, a committee was appointed to conſider of the inconveniencies and delays of law-ſuits, and how they might be remedied. The committee came to ſeveral reſolutions upon this head; but the diſſolution of the parliament, which happened the next year, prevented their bringing it to perfection.

An act had paſſed in the year 1649, for *propagating the goſpel in* Wales; and commiſſioners were appointed for ejecting

* Baxter's Life, p. 115.

ing ignorant and ſcandalous miniſters, and placing others in their room; purſuant to which, Mr. *Whitlocke* writes,§ "that "by this time there were one hundred and fifty good preach- "ers in the thirteen Welch counties, moſt of whom preached "three or four times a week; that in every market-town "there was placed one, and in moſt great towns two ſchool- "maſters, able, learned, and univerſity men; that the tithes "were all employed to the uſes directed by act of parlia- "ment; that is, to the maintenance of godly miniſters; to "the payment of taxes and officers; to ſchool-maſters; and "the fifths to the wives and children of the ejected clergy:" Of which we ſhall meet with a more particular relation in its proper place.

The commonwealth was now very powerful, and the nation in as flouriſhing a condition (ſays Mr. *Rapin**) as under queen *Elizabeth*. The form of government indeed was altered contrary to law, and without conſent of the people, the majority of whom were diſaffected, preferring a mixed monarchy to an abſolute commonwealth; but the adminiſtration was in the hands of the ableſt men England had beheld for many years; all their enemies were in a manner ſubdued, and the two kingdoms incorporated into one commonwealth: but ſtill there were two things that gave them uneaſineſs; one was the growing power of the army, who were now at leiſure, and expected rewards ſuitable to their ſucceſſes; the other, the neceſſity they were under to diſſolve themſelves in a little time, and put the power into other hands.

With regard to the army, it was reſolved to reduce the land forces, and augment the fleet with them, in order to ſecure the nation againſt the Dutch; for the parliament having a deſire to ſtrengthen their hands, by uniting with the commonwealth of Holland, ſent over *Oliver St. John*, and Sir *Walter Strickland*, with propoſals for this purpoſe; but the Dutch treated them with neglect,‖ as their younger ſiſter, which

§ Memoirs, p. 518. * Vol. ii. p. 586, folio edition.

‖ Dr. *Grey*, evidently with a view to controvert Mr. *Neal*'s repreſentation, as well as from prejudice againſt theſe ambaſſadors and the power from whom they received their commiſſion, ſays, "the ſtates of Holland treated them

which the parliament reſenting, demanded ſatisfaction for the damages the Engliſh had ſuſtained at Amboyna, and other parts of the Eaſt-Indies; and to cramp them in their trade, paſſed the famous act of navigation, *prohibiting the importing goods of foreign growth in any but Engliſh bottoms; or ſuch as were of the country from whence they came.* Upon this the Dutch ſent over ambaſſadors, deſiring a clauſe of exception for themſelves, who were the carriers of Europe; but the parliament in their turn treated them coldly, and put them in mind of the murder of their envoy Dr. *Doriſlaus.* Both commonwealths being diſſatisfied with each other, prepared for war; and *Van Trump* the Dutch admiral, with a convoy of merchant-men, meeting admiral *Blake* in the channel, and refuſing him the flag, an engagement enſued May 17, which continued four hours till the night parted them. The Dutch excuſed the accident, as done without their knowledge; but the parliament was ſo enraged, that they reſolved to humble them. In theſe circumſtances it was thought reaſonable to augment the fleet out of the land forces, who had nothing to do, and would in a little time be a burthen to the nation.

CROMWELL, who was at the head of the army, quickly diſcovered that the continuance of the war muſt be his ruin, by diſarming him of his power, and reducing him from a great general to the condition of a private gentleman. Beſides, Mr. *Rapin* obſerves, that he had ſecret information of a conſpiracy againſt his life; and without all queſtion, if the army had not agreed to ſtand by their general, his ruin had been unavoidable; the officers therefore determined to combine together, and not ſuffer their men to be diſbanded or

them with much more regard and civility than was due to them:" and gives, as proofs of this, two of their own letters, in his Appendix, No. 50, and 51. But all which theſe letters prove is, that the firſt reception given to theſe gentlemen was both reſpectful and pompous. Mr. *Neal* is to be underſtand of the attention paid to their propoſals: with reſpect to which the conduct of the Dutch was cold and evaſive. And even the perſons of the ambaſſadors did not eſcape inſults, which the ſtates did not properly reſent. Mr. *Strickland*'s life was threatened. A plot was formed to aſſaſſinate Mr. *St. John:* and an affront was offered to him by prince *Edward*, one of the palatinate, as he was paſſing the ſtreets. Mrs. Macaulay's Hiſtory, vol. v. p. 83, 4, note, and Ludlow's Memoirs, 4to. 1771, p. 148. ED.

ſent

ſent to ſea, till the arrears of the whole army were paid; for this purpoſe they preſented a petition to the houſe, which they reſented, and inſtead of giving them ſoft language, and encouragement to hope for ſome ſuitable rewards for their paſt ſervices, ordered them to be reprimanded, for preſuming to meddle in affairs of ſtate that did not belong to them. But the officers proving as reſolute as their maſters, inſtead of ſubmitting, preſented another petition, in which, having juſtified their behaviour, they boldly ſtrike *at the parliament's continuance*, and put them in mind how many years they had ſat; that they had engroſſed all preferments and places of profit to themſelves and their friends; that it was a manifeſt injury to the gentlemen of the nation, to be excluded the ſervice of their country, and an invaſion of the rights of the people, to deprive them of the right of frequent chooſing new repreſentatives; they therefore inſiſt upon their ſettling a new council of ſtate for the adminiſtration of publick affairs; and upon their fixing a peremptory day for the choice of a new parliament.

This was a new and delicate criſis; the civil and military powers being engaged againſt each other, and reſolved to maintain their reſpective pretenſions: If *Cromwell*, with the ſword in his hand, had ſecured the election of a free repreſentative of the people, and left the ſettlement of the nation to them, all men would have honoured and bleſſed him, for the people were certainly weary of the parliament. But when the *officers* had deſtroyed this form of government, they were not agreed what to eſtabliſh, whether a *monarchy*, or a *new republick*; the general, being for a mixed monarchy, had no doubt, ſome ambitious views to himſelf, and therefore called together ſome ſelect friends of ſeveral profeſſions to adviſe on the affair, when Sir *Tho. Widdrington*, lord chief juſtice *St. John*, and the reſt of the lawyers, declared for monarchy, as moſt agreeable to the old conſtitution, and propoſed the duke of *Glouceſter* for king; but the officers of the army then preſent declared for a republick. *Cromwell* himſelf, after much heſitation, gave his opinion for ſomething of a monarchical power, as moſt agreeable to the genius of the Engliſh, if it might be accompliſhed with ſafety to their rights and privileges as Engliſhmen and chriſtians.

Some time after *Cromwell* desired Mr. *Whitlocke*'s opinion upon the present situation of affairs: "My lord, (says he) it "is time to consider of our present danger, that we may not "be broken in pieces by our particular quarrels after we "have gained an entire conquest over the enemy." *Whitlocke* replied, "that all their danger was from the army, who "were men of emulation, and had now nothing to do." *Cromwell* answered, "that the officers thought themselves "not rewarded according to their deserts; that the parliament had engrossed all places of honour and trust among "themselves; that they delayed the publick business, and "designed to perpetuate themselves; that the officers thought "it impossible to keep them within the bounds of justice, "law, or reason, unless there was some authority or power "to which they might be accountable." *Whitlocke* said, "he believed the parliament were honest men, and designed "the publick good, though some particular persons might be "to blame, but that it was absurd for the officers who were "private men, and had received their commissions from the "parliament, to pretend to controul them." "But, says "*Cromwell*, what if a man should take upon him to be "king?" *Whitlocke* answered, "that the remedy was worse "than the disease; and that the general had already all the "power of a king without the envy, danger, and pomp of "the title." "But, says he, the title of KING would make "all acts done by him legal; it would indemnify those that "should act under him at all events, and be of advantage to "curb the insolence of those whom the present powers could "not controul." *Whitlocke* agreed to the general's reasons, but desired him to consider, "Whether the title of KING "would not lose him his best friends in the army, as well "as those gentlemen who were for settling a free common-"wealth; but if we must have a king, (says he) the question "will be, whether it shall be *Cromwell* or *Stuart?*"† The general asking his opinion upon this, *Whitlocke* proposed a private treaty with the king of Scots, with whom he might make his own terms, and raise his family to what pitch of greatness he pleased; but *Cromwell* was so apprehensive of the danger of this proposal, that he broke off the conversa-

† Whitlocke, p. 523, &c.

tion

tion with ſome marks of diſſatisfaction, and never made uſe of *Whitlocke* with confidence afterwards.

Thus things remained‡ throughout the whole winter; the army having little to do after the battle of Worceſter drew near to London, but there was no treaty of accommodation between them and the parliament; *one* would not diſband without their full pay; nor the *other* diſſolve by the direction of their own ſervants, but voted the expedience of filling up their numbers, and that it ſhould be high treaſon to petition for their diſſolution. When the *general* heard this, he called a council of officers to Whitehall, who all agreed that *it was not fit the parliament ſhould continue any longer.* This was publiſhed in hopes of frightening the houſe to make ſome advances towards a diſſolution; but when colonel *Ingoldſby* informed the general next morning, that they were concluding upon an act to prolong the ſeſſion for another year, he roſe up in a heat, and with a ſmall retinue of officers and ſoldiers marched to the parliament-houſe April 20, and having placed his men without doors, went into the houſe, and heard the debates. After ſome time he beckoned to colonel *Harriſon*, on the other ſide of the houſe, and told him in his ear, that he thought the parliament was ripe for diſſolution, and that this was the time for doing it. *Harriſon* replied, that the work was dangerous, and deſired him to think better of it. Upon this he ſat down about a quarter of an hour, and then ſaid, *this is the time, I muſt do it*; and riſing up in his place, he told the houſe, that he was come to put an end to their power, of which they had made ſo ill an uſe; that ſome of them were whore-maſters, looking towards *Harry Martin* and Sir *Peter Wentworth*; others were

‡ Here may be inſerted, from *Whitlocke*, two anecdotes, which afford a pleaſing ſpecimen of the temper of the *quakers* under ill-treatment. Feb. 3, 1653, they were aſſaulted and beaten by ſome people in the north. Feb. 13, 1654, a ſimilar outrage was offered to others of them, at Haſington in Northumberland, for ſpeaking to the miniſters on the ſabbath-day: ſo that one or two of them were almoſt killed. The *quakers* fell on their knees and prayed to God to forgive the people, as thoſe who knew not what they did; and remonſtrated with them ſo as to convince them of the evil of their conduct, on which they ceaſed from their violence, and began to reproach each other with being the occaſions of it: and, in the laſt inſtance, beat one another more than they had before the *quakers*. Memorials, p. 564, 599. Ed.

drunkards, and ſome corrupt and unjuſt men, who had not at heart the publick good, but were only for perpetuating their own power. Upon the whole, he thought they had ſat long enough, and therefore deſired them to retire and go away. When ſome of the members began to reply, he ſtept into the middle of the houſe, and ſaid, *Come, come, I will put an end to your prating; you are no parliament; I ſay you are no parliament*; and ſtamping with his foot, a file of muſqueteers entered the houſe; one of whom he commanded to take away that fool's bauble the mace. And major *Harriſon* taking the ſpeaker by the arm, conducted him out of the chair. *Cromwell* then ſeizing upon their papers obliged them to walk out of the houſe; and having cauſed the doors to be locked upon them, returned to Whitehall.

In the afternoon the general went to the *council of ſtate*, attended by major-general *Lambert* and *Harriſon*, and as he entered the room, ſaid, "Gentlemen, if you are met here as "private perſons you ſhall not be diſturbed, but if as a coun-"cil of ſtate, this is no place for you; and ſince you cannot "but know what was done in the morning, ſo take notice "the parliament is diſſolved." Serjeant *Bradſhaw* replied, "Sir, we have heard what you did in the morning, but you "are miſtaken to think the parliament is diſſolved, for no "power can diſſolve them but themſelves; therefore take "you notice of that." But the general not being terrified with big words, the council thought it their wiſeſt way to riſe up and go home.

Thus ended the commonwealth of England, after it had continued four years, two months, and twenty days, which, though no better than an *uſurpation*, had raiſed the credit of the nation to a very high pitch of glory and renown; and with the commonwealth ended the remains of the long parliament for the preſent; an aſſembly famous throughout all the world for its undertakings, actions, and ſucceſſes:* "the "acts

* Mrs. *Macaulay*, after quoting the high eulogiums made on the government of this parliament, adds, "it is to be remembered, that to them is "due the ſingular praiſe of having purſued the true intereſt of their country "in attending particularly to its maritime ſtrength, and carrying on its "foreign wars by its naval power. This example, which raiſed England "to ſo great an height of glory and proſperity, has never yet been followed, "and

" acts of this parliament (ſays Mr. *Coke**) will hardly find be-
" lief in future ages; and to ſay the truth, they were a race
" of men moſt indefatigable and induſtrious in buſineſs, al-
" ways ſeeking men fit for it, and never preferring any for
" favour or importunity: you hardly ever heard of any revolt
" from them; no ſoldiers or ſeamen being ever preſſed. And
" as they excelled in civil affairs, ſo it muſt be confeſſed, they
" exerciſed in matters eccleſiaſtical no ſuch ſeverities as others
" before them did upon ſuch as diſſented from them."

But their foundation was bad, and many of their actions highly criminal; they were a packed aſſembly, many of their members being excluded by force, before they could be ſecure of a vote to put the late king to death—they ſubverted the conſtitution, by ſetting up themſelves, and continuing their ſeſſions after his majeſty's demiſe—by erecting high courts of juſtice of their own nomination for capital offences —by raiſing taxes, and doing all other acts of ſovereignty without conſent of the people; all which they deſigned to perpetuate among themſelves, without being accountable to any ſuperior, or giving place to a new body of repreſentatives. If then it be enquired, what right or authority general *Cromwell* and his officers had to offer violence to this parliament, it may be replied, 1. The right of ſelf-preſervation, the ruin of one or the other being unavoidable. 2. The right that every Engliſhman has to put an end to an uſurpation when it is in his power, provided he can ſubſtitute ſomething better in its room; and if *Cromwell* could by this method have reſtored the conſtitution, and referred the ſettlement of the government to a free and full repreſentative of the people, no wiſe man would have blamed him. It was not therefore his turning out the old parliament that was criminal, but his not ſummoning a new one, by a fair and free election of the people; and yet Mr. *Rapin*† is of opinion, that even this was

" and in all probability never will, by the ſucceeding monarchs. The aim
" of princes is to make conqueſts on their ſubjects, not to enlarge the em-
" pire of a free people. A ſtanding army is a never-failing inſtrument of
" domeſtick triumph; and it is very doubtful, whether a naval force could be
" rendered uſeful in any capacity but that of extending the power and proſ-
" perity of the country." Hiſt. of England, vol. v. p. 106, note, 8vo. Ed.

* Detect. p. 363. † Vol. ii. p. 289, folio edition.

impracticable,

impracticable, there being three oppoſite intereſts in the nation; the *republicans*, who were for an abſolute commonwealth; the *preſbyterians*, who were for reſtoring things to the condition they were in, in 1648; and the *cavaliers*, who were for ſetting the king upon the throne, as before the civil wars; it was by no means poſſible (ſays he*) to reconcile the three parties, and if they had been let looſe they would have deſtroyed each other, and thrown the whole nation into blood and confuſion; nothing therefore but giving a forcible ſuperiority to *one*, was capable to hold the *other* two in ſubjection. The king was no way intereſted in the change, for it was not *Charles Stuart*, but a *republican uſurpation* that was diſpoſſeſſed of the ſupreme power. If the *general* had failed in his deſign, and loſt his life in the attempt, the king would have received no manner of advantage, for the nation was by no means diſpoſed to reſtore him at this time. Suppoſing then it was not practicable to chooſe a free parliament, nor fit to let the *old one* perpetuate themſelves, *Oliver Cromwell* had no other choice, but to abandon the ſtate, or to take the adminiſtration upon himſelf; or put it into the hands of ſome other perſon who had no better title. How far private ambition took place of the publick good in the choice, muſt be left to the judgment of every reader; but if it was neceſſary that there ſhould be a *ſupreme authority*, capable of enforcing obedience, it cannot be denied, but that general *Cromwell* was more capable of governing the ſtate in ſuch a ſtorm, than any man then living. No objection can be raiſed againſt him, which might not with more juſtice have been urged againſt any other ſingle perſon, or body of men in the nation, except the *right heir*. However, all the three parties of *cavaliers*, *preſbyterians*, and *republicans*, were diſpleaſed with his conduct, loaded him with invectives, and formed conſpiracies againſt his perſon, though they could never agree in any other ſcheme, which in the preſent criſis was more practicable.

The parliament being thus violently diſperſed, the ſovereign power devolved on the council of officers, of which *Cromwell* was head, who publiſhed a declaration, juſtifying his diſſolution of the late parliament, and promiſing to put

* Rapin, p. 149.

the

the adminiſtration into the hands of perſons of approved fidelity and honeſty, and leave them to form it into what ſhape they pleaſed. Accordingly, April 30, another declaration was publiſhed, ſigned by *Oliver Cromwell*, and thirty of his officers, nominating a new council of ſtate to take care of the government, till a new repreſentative body of men could be called together; and June 8, the general, by the advice of his council, ſent the following ſummons to one hundred and forty ſelect perſons, out of the ſeveral counties of England, to meet at Weſtminſter, in order to ſettle the nation: "I *Oliver Cromwell*, captain-general, &c. do hereby "ſummons and require you —— being one of the perſons no- "minated by myſelf, with the advice of my council, perſon- "ally to appear at the council-chamber at Whitehall, upon "the fourth of July next enſuing the date hereof, to take "upon you the truſt of the affairs of the commonwealth; "to which you are hereby called and appointed to ſerve as "a member for the county of ——; and hereof you are not "to fail. Given under my hand this 8th of June 1653.

"O. CROMWELL."

Theſe were high acts of ſovereignty, and not to be juſtified but upon the ſuppoſition of *extreme neceſſity*. The diſſolution of the long-parliament was an act of violence, but not unacceptable to the people, as appeared by the numerous addreſſes from the army, the fleet, and other places, approving the general's conduct and promiſing to ſtand by him and his council in their proceedings; but then for the general himſelf, and thirty officers, to chuſe repreſentatives for the whole nation, without intereſting any of the counties or corporations of England in the choice, would have deſerved the higheſt cenſure under any other circumſtances.

About one hundred and twenty of the new repreſentatives appeared at the time and place appointed, when the *general*, after a ſhort ſpeech, delivered them an *inſtrument* in parchment under his hand and ſeal, reſigning into their hands, or the hands of any forty of them, the ſupreme authority and government of the commonwealth, limiting the time of their continuance to November 3, 1654, and empowering them, three months before their diſſolution, to make choice of others

to

to ſucceed them for a year, and they to provide for a future ſucceſſion. It was much wondered, ſays *Whitlocke*,‖ that theſe gentlemen, many of whom were perſons of fortune and eſtate,* ſhould accept of the ſupreme authority of the nation, upon ſuch a ſummons, and from ſuch hands. Moſt of them were men of piety, but no great politicians, and were therefore in contempt called ſometimes the *little parliament*; and by others, *Barebone*'s parliament, from a *leatherſeller* of that name,† who was one of the moſt active members. When the general

‖ Memoirs, p. 534.

* Dr. *Grey*, after Lord *Clarendon* and others, and Mr. *Hume* ſince them, have ſpoken in ſevere and contemptuous terms of this aſſembly and their proceedings. "The major part of them," ſays his lordſhip, "conſiſted "of inferior perſons, of no quality or name, artificers of the meaneſt name, "known only by their gifts in praying and preaching." But many of *Cromwell*'s after counſellors, many of the chief officers of the army, were in this aſſembly. They were treated as the ſupreme authority of the nation by ſovereign princes, and had the moſt humble applications made to them by the chief cavaliers, as by the Earls of *Worceſter*, *Derby*, and *Shrewſbury*, Lord *Manſfield* and the Counteſs of *Derby*; and they were, during their ſhort ſeſſion, employed about points of the higheſt national concernment; ſuch as, aboliſhing the court of chancery on account of its expenſiveneſs and delays, the forming a new body of the law, the union of Scotland with England, the regulation of marriages, and the inveſting the ſolemnization and cognizance of them in the civil magiſtrate, with other matters of moment. Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 335—337. Ed.

† There were three brothers of this family, each of whom had a ſentence for his name, viz. "Praiſe God Barebone; Chriſt came into the world to "ſave Barebone; and, if Chriſt had not died thou had'ſt been damned "Barebone." In this ſtyle were the chriſtian names of very many perſons formed in the times of the civil wars. It was ſaid, that the genealogy of our Saviour might be learnt from the names in *Cromwell*'s regiments; and that the muſter-maſter uſed no other liſt than the firſt chapter of *Matthew*. A jury was returned in the county of Suſſex of the following names:

Accepted, Trevor of Norſham.
Redeemed, Compton of Battle.
Faint not, Hewet of Heathfield.
Make peace, Heaton of Hare.
God-reward, Smart of Fivehurſt.
Stand faſt on High, Stringer of Crowhurſt.
Earth, Adams of Warbleton.
Called, Lower of Warbleton.
Kill Sin, Pimple of Witham.
Return, Spelman of Watling.
Be Faithful, Joyner of Britling.
Fly Debate, Robert of Britling.
Fight the good Fight of Faith, White of Emer.
More Fruit, Fowler of Eaſt-Hadley.
Hope for, Bending of ditto.
Graceful, Harding of Lewes.
Weep not, Billings, ditto.
Meek, Brewer of Okeham.

Granger's

general was withdrawn, they choſe Mr. *Rouſe* an aged and venerable man, member in the late parliament for Truro in Cornwall, their ſpeaker, and then voted themſelves the parliament of the commonwealth of England. Mr. *Baxter*§ places them in a contemptible light, and ſays, "they intended "to eject all the pariſh miniſters, and to encourage the ga-"thering independant churches; that they caſt out all the "miniſters in Wales, which, though bad enough for the "moſt part, were yet better than none, or the few itinerants "they ſet up in their room; and that they attempted, and "had almoſt accompliſhed the ſame in England." But nothing of this appears among their acts. When the city of London petitioned, that more learned and approved miniſters might be ſent into the country to preach the goſpel; that their ſettled maintenance by law might be confirmed; and their juſt properties preſerved; and that the univerſities might be zealouſly countenanced and encouraged; the petitioners had the thanks of that houſe; and the committee gave it as their opinion, that commiſſioners ſhould be ſent into the ſeveral counties, who ſhould have power to eject ſcandalous and inſufficient miniſters, and to ſettle others in their room. They were to appoint preaching in all vacant places, that none might live above three miles from a place of worſhip. That ſuch as were approved for publick miniſters ſhould enjoy the maintenance provided by the laws; and that if any ſcrupled the payment of tithes, the neighbouring juſtices of peace ſhould ſettle the value, which the owner of the land ſhould be obliged to pay; but as for the tithes themſelves they were of opinion, that the incumbents and impropriators had a right in them, and therefore they could not be taken away till they were ſatisfied.

July 23, it was referred to a committee, to conſider of a repeal of ſuch laws as hindered the progreſs of the goſpel; that is, (ſays biſhop *Kennet*) to take away the few remaining

Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 68, 8vo. note, and Dr. Grey, p. 286, 7, note. Mr. *Hume* has alſo given this liſt of the Suſſex jury. But the ridicule, which falls on this mode of naming children, belongs not to theſe times only: for the practice was in uſe long before. Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 342, the note. ED.

§ P. 70, 180.

rules

rules of decency and order; or, in other language, the *penal laws*. This was done at the inſtance of the *independants*, who petitioned for protection againſt the preſbyteries; upon which it was voted, that a declaration ſhould be publiſhed, for giving proper liberty to all that feared God; and for preventing their impoſing hardſhips on one another.

Mr. *Eachard*, and others of his principles, write, that this parliament had under deliberation the taking away the old Engliſh laws, as badges of the Norman conqueſt, and ſubſtituting the Moſaick laws of government in their place; and that all ſchools of learning, and titles of honour, ſhould be extinguiſhed, as not agreeing with the chriſtian ſimplicity. But no ſuch propoſals were made to the houſe, and therefore it is unjuſt to lay them to their charge.

The ſolemnizing of matrimony had hitherto been engroſſed by the clergy; but this *convention* conſidered it a civil contract, and put it into the hands of juſtices of peace, by an ordinance, which enacts, "that after the 29th of September, "1653, all perſons who ſhall agree to be married within "the commonwealth of England, ſhall deliver in their names "and places of abode, with the names of their parents, "guardians, and overſeers, to the regiſter of the pariſh "where each party lives, who ſhall publiſh the *bans* in the "church or chapel three ſeveral Lord's days, after the "morning ſervice; or elſe in the market-place three ſeveral "weeks ſucceſſively, between the hours of eleven and two, "on a market-day if the party deſire it. The regiſter ſhall "make out a certificate of the due performance of one or "the other, at the requeſt of the parties concerned, without "which they ſhall not proceed to marriage.

"It is further enacted, that all perſons intending to marry "ſhall come before ſome juſtice of peace within the county, "city, or town corporate, where publication has been made, "as aforeſaid, with their certificate, and with ſufficient proof "of the conſent of the parents, if either party be under age, "and then the marriage ſhall proceed in this manner:

"The man to be married ſhall take the woman by the "hand, and diſtinctly pronounce theſe words, I *A. B.* do "here in the preſence of God, the ſearcher of all hearts, "take thee *C. D.* for my wedded wife; and do alſo, in the

"preſence

" preſence of God, and before theſe witneſſes, promiſe to " be to thee a loving and faithful huſband.

" Then the woman taking the man by the hand, ſhall " plainly and diſtinctly pronounce theſe words, *I C. D.* do " here in the preſence of God, the ſearcher of all hearts, " take thee *A. B.* for my wedded huſband; and do alſo in " the preſence of God, and before theſe witneſſes, promiſe " to be to thee a loving, faithful, and obedient wife.

" After this, the juſtice may and ſhall declare the ſaid " man and woman to be from henceforth huſband and wife; " and from and after ſuch conſent ſo expreſſed, and ſuch de- " claration made of the ſame, (as to the form of marriage) it " ſhall be good and effectual in law; and no other marriage " whatſoever, within the commonwealth of England, after " the 29th of Sept. 1653, ſhall be held or accounted a mar- " riage, according to the law of England."

This ordinance was confirmed by the protector's parliament in the year 1656, except the clauſe, *that no other marriage whatſoever within the commonwealth of England ſhall be held, or accounted a legal marriage*; and it was wiſely done of the parliament at the reſtoration, to confirm theſe marriages, in order to prevent illegitimacy, and vexatious lawſuits in future times. But the acts of this convention were of little ſignificance, for when they found the affairs of the nation too intricate, and the ſeveral parties too ſtubborn to yield to their ordinances, they wiſely reſigned, and ſurrendered back their ſovereignty into the ſame hands that gave it them, after they had ſat five months and twelve days.

The *general* and his *officers* finding themſelves reinveſted with the ſupreme authority, by what they fancied a more parliamentary delegation, took upon them to ſtrike out a new form of government, a little tending towards monarchy, contained in a large inſtrument of forty-two articles, entitled, *The Government of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.* It appoints the government to be in a ſingle perſon;—that the ſingle perſon be the general O. CROMWELL, whoſe ſtile and title ſhould be *his highneſs, lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and of the dominions thereunto belonging*—that the lord protector ſhould have a council, conſiſting of no more than twenty-one perſons,

perſons, nor leſs than thirteen, to aſſiſt him in the adminiſtration. A parliament was to be choſen out of the three kingdoms every three years at longeſt, and not to be diſſolved without their conſent in leſs than five months. It was to conſiſt of four hundred members for England and Wales; thirty for Scotland, and thirty for Ireland; whereof ſixty were to make a houſe. The counties of England and Wales were to chooſe two hundred thirty-nine; the other elections to be diſtributed among the chief cities and market towns, without regard to ancient cuſtom. The county of Dorſet was to chooſe eleven members; Cornwall eight; Bedfordſhire five; the ſeveral ridings of Yorkſhire fourteen; Middleſex four; the city of London ſix; Weſtminſter two; the whole number of cities and boroughs which had privilege of election were one hundred and ten, and the number of repreſentatives to be choſen by them one hundred and ſixty—If the protector refuſed to iſſue out writs, the commiſſioners of the great ſeal, or the high ſheriff of the county, was to do it under pain of treaſon—none to have votes but ſuch as were worth two hundred pounds. This regulation, being wiſely proportioned, met with univerſal approbation. Lord *Clarendon* ſays, it was fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time—all the great officers of ſtate, as chancellor, treaſurer, &c. if they became vacant in time of parliament, to be ſupplied with their approbation; and in the intervals with the approbation of the council—ſuch bills as were offered to the protector by the parliament, if not ſigned in twenty days, were to be laws without him, if not contrary to this inſtrument.—In the preſent criſis, the protector and his council might publiſh ordinances which ſhould have force till the firſt ſeſſions of parliament—the protector was to have power to make war and peace, to confer titles of honour, to pardon all crimes except treaſon and murder; the militia was intruſted with him and his council, except during the ſeſſions of parliament, when it was to be jointly in both. In ſhort, the protector had almoſt all the royalties of a king—but then the protectorſhip was to be elective, and no protector after the preſent to be general of the army.

The articles relating to religion were theſe:

Art.

Art. 35. "That the Chriſtian religion contained in the "ſcriptures be held forth and recommended as the publick "profeſſion of theſe nations, and that as ſoon as may be, a "proviſion leſs ſubject to contention, and more certain than "the preſent, be made for the maintenance of miniſters; and "that till ſuch proviſion be made, the preſent maintenance "continue.

Art. 36. "That none be compelled to conform to the "publick religion by penalties or otherwiſe; but that en-"deavours be uſed to win them by ſound doctrine, and the "example of a good converſation.

Art. 37. "That ſuch as profeſs faith in God by Jeſus "Chriſt, though differing in judgment from the doctrine, "worſhip, or diſcipline, publickly held forth, ſhall not be "reſtrained from, but ſhall be protected in the profeſſion of "their faith, and exerciſe of their religion, ſo as they abuſe "not this liberty to the civil injury of others, and to the "actual diſturbance of the publick peace on their parts; pro-"vided this liberty be not extended to popery or prelacy, "or to ſuch as under a profeſſion of Chriſt hold forth and "practiſe licentiouſneſs.

Art 38. "That all laws, ſtatutes, ordinances, and clauſes "in any law, ſtatute or ordinance, to the contrary of the "aforeſaid liberty, ſhall be eſteemed null and void."

The protector was inſtalled with great magnificence Dec. 16, 1653, in the court of *chancery*, by order of the council of officers, in preſence of the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, the judges, the commiſſioners of the great ſeal, and other great officers, who were ſummoned to attend on this occaſion. O. CROMWELL, ſtanding uncovered on the left hand of a chair of ſtate ſet for him, firſt ſubſcribed the inſtrument of government in the face of the court, and then took the following oath:

"WHEREAS the major part of the laſt parliament "(judging that their ſitting any longer as then conſtituted, "would not be for the good of the commonwealth) did diſ-"ſolve the ſame; and by a writing under their hands, dated "the 12th of this inſtant December, reſigned to me their "powers and authorities. And whereas it was neceſſary "thereupon,

" thereupon, that ſome ſpeedy courſe ſhould be taken for the " ſettlement of theſe nations upon ſuch a baſis and founda- " tion, as, by the bleſſing of God, might be laſting, ſecure pro- " perty, and anſwer thoſe great ends of religion and liberty, " ſo long contended for; and upon full and mature conſider- " ation had of the form of government hereunto annexed, " being ſatisfied that the ſame, through divine aſſiſtance, may " anſwer the ends afore-mentioned. And having alſo been " deſired and adviſed, as well by ſeveral perſons of intereſt " and fidelity in the commonwealth, as the officers of the " army, to take upon me the protection and government of " theſe nations in the manner expreſſed in the ſaid form of " government, I have accepted thereof, and do hereby declare " my acceptance accordingly; and do promiſe, in the pre- " ſence of God, that I will not violate, or infringe the matters " and things contained therein, but to my power obſerve the " ſame, and cauſe them to be obſerved; and ſhall in all other " things, to the beſt of my underſtanding, govern theſe na- " tions according to the laws, ſtatutes and cuſtoms, ſeeking " their peace, and cauſing juſtice and law to be equally ad- " miniſtered."

After this he ſat down in the *chair* of *ſtate* covered, and the commiſſioners delivered him the great ſeal, and the lord-mayor his ſword and cap of maintenance; which he returned in a very obliging manner. The ceremony being over, the ſoldiers, with a ſhout, cried out, *God bleſs the lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.* In their return to Whitehall the lord-mayor carried the ſword before HIS HIGHNESS uncovered, and preſently after he was proclaimed in the city of London, and throughout all the Britiſh dominions.

Thus did this wonderful man, by ſurprizing management, ſupported only by the ſword, advance himſelf to the ſupreme government of three kingdoms without conſent of parliament or people. His birth ſeemed to promiſe nothing of this kind; nor does it appear that he had formed the project, till after the battle of Worceſter, when he apprehended the parliament had projected his ruin by diſbanding the army, and perpetuating their authority among themſelves: which of the two

uſurpations

uſurpations was moſt eligible muſt be left with the reader; but how he brought the officers into his meaſures, and ſupported his ſovereignty by an army of enthuſiaſts, anabaptiſts, fifth monarchy men, and republicans, will be the admiration of all poſterity; and though by this adventurous act he drew upon himſelf the plots and conſpiracies of the ſeveral factions in the nation, yet his genius and reſolution ſurmounted all difficulties, his ſhort empire being one continued blaze of glory and renown to the Britiſh iſles, and of terror to the reſt of Europe.

The reader will make his own remarks upon the new *inſtrument of government*, and will neceſſarily obſerve, that it was a creature of *Cromwell*'s and his council of officers, and not drawn up by a proper repreſentative of the people. How far the preſent circumſtances of the nation made this neceſſary, muſt be concluded from the remarks we have made upon the change of government; but the articles relating to religion can hardly be complained of, though they diſguſted all that part of the clergy who were for *church power;* the *preſbyterians* preached and wrote againſt the 36th and 37th articles, as inconſiſtent with their eſtabliſhment, and ſinking it almoſt to a level with the ſectaries. The *republicans* were diſſatisfied becauſe the ENGAGEMENT, by which they had ſworn fidelity to a commonwealth, without a ſingle perſon, or houſe of lords, was ſet aſide. Biſhop *Kennet* is angry with the protector's latitude, becauſe there was no teſt or barrier to the eſtabliſhment. "How little religion was the concern, "or ſo much as any longer the pretence of *Cromwell* and his "officers (ſays his lordſhip) appears from hence, that in the "large inſtrument of the government of the commonwealth, "which was the *magna charta* of the new conſtitution, there "is not a word of churches or ſynods, or miniſters, nor any "thing but the chriſtian religion in general, with liberty to "all differing in judgment, from the doctrine, worſhip, or "diſcipline, publickly held forth." Strange, that this ſhould diſpleaſe a chriſtian biſhop! But his lordſhip ſhould have remembered, that this liberty was not to extend to any kinds of immoralities, nor to ſuch as injured the civil rights of others, nor to ſuch as diſturbed the publick peace. And do the ſcriptures authorize us to go further? The ſixth article provides,

provides, "that the laws in being relating to the preſbyterian "religion were not to be ſuſpended, altered, abrogated or "repealed; nor any new law made, but by conſent of par-"liament." The 36th adds, "that until a better proviſion "can be made for the encouragement and maintenance of "able and painful teachers, the preſent maintenance ſhall not "be taken away nor impeached." And TRYERS were appointed ſoon after for preventing ſcandalous and unlearned perſons invading the pulpit. This part of the *inſtrument* is, in my opinion, ſo far from being criminal, that it breathes a noble ſpirit of chriſtian liberty, though it was undoubtedly faulty, in putting *popery*, *prelacy*, and *licentiouſneſs of manners*, upon a level. The open toleration of popery is hardly conſiſtent with the ſafety of a proteſtant government; otherwiſe, conſidered merely as a religious inſtitution, I ſee not why it ſhould be cruſhed by the civil power: and licentiouſneſs of manners is not to be indulged in any civilized nation; but if the epiſcopalians would have given ſecurity for their living peaceably under their new maſters, they ought undoubtedly to have been protected; however, the protector did not in every inſtance adhere ſtrictly to the *inſtrument*.

But though in point of policy the epiſcopalians were at this time excepted from a legal toleration, their aſſemblies were connived at; and ſeveral of their clergy indulged the publick exerciſe of their miniſtry without the fetters of oaths, ſubſcriptions, or engagements; as Dr. *Hall*, afterwards biſhop of *Cheſter*, Dr. *Wild*, *Pearſon*, *Ball*, *Hardy*, *Griffith*, *Farringdon*, and others. Several of the biſhops, who had been kept from publick ſervice by the *covenant* and *engagement*, preached again publickly in the city, as archbiſhop *Uſher*, biſhop *Brownrigge*, and others. Mr. *Baxter*, who was very far from being a friend of the protector's, ſays, "that all men "were ſuffered to live quietly, and enjoy their properties "under his government——that he removed the terrors and "prejudices which hindered the ſucceſs of the goſpel, eſpe-"cially conſidering that godlineſs had countenance and re-"putation as well as liberty, whereas before, if it did not "appear in all the fetters and formalities of the times, it "was the way to common ſhame and ruin. It is well known "that the preſbyterians did not approve of the *uſurpation*, "but

"but when they ſaw that *Cromwell*'s deſign was to do good "in the main, and encourage religion as far as his cauſe "would admit, they acquieſced." And then comparing theſe times with thoſe after the reſtoration, he adds, "I ſhall for "the future think that land happy, where the people have "but bare liberty to be as good as they are willing; and if "countenance and maintenance be but added to liberty, and "tolerated errors and ſects be but forced to keep the peace, "I ſhall not hereafter much fear ſuch a toleration, nor de-"ſpair that truth will bear down its adverſaries."* This was a conſiderable teſtimony to the *protector*'s adminiſtration from the pen of an adverſary.

The protector's firſt council were, major-general *Lambert*, lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*, colonel *Montague*, afterwards earl of *Sandwich; Philip* lord viſcount *Liſle*, ſince earl of *Leiceſter;* colonel *Deſborough*, ſir *Gilbert Pickering*, ſir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, afterwards earl of *Shaftſbury;* ſir *Charles Woolſley*, major-general *Skippon*, Mr. *Strickland*, colonel *Sydenham*, colonel *Jones*, Mr. *Rouſe*, Mr. *Lawrence*, and Mr. *Major:* men of great name in thoſe times; ſome of whom made a conſiderable figure after the reſtoration. The protector's wiſe conduct appeared in nothing more than his unwearied endeavours to make all religious parties eaſy. He indulged the army in their enthuſiaſtick raptures, and ſometimes joined in their prayers and ſermons. He countenanced the *preſbyterians*, by aſſuring them he would maintain the publick miniſtry, and give them all due encouragement. He ſupported the *independants*, by making them his chaplains; by preferring them to conſiderable livings in the church and univerſities; and by joining them in one commiſſion with the preſbyterians as TRYERS of all ſuch as deſired to be admitted to benefices. But he abſolutely forbad the clergy of every denomination dealing in politicks, as not belonging to their profeſſion; and when he perceived the *managing preſbyterians* took too much upon them, he always found means to mortify them; and would ſometimes glory that he had curbed that inſolent ſect, that would ſuffer none but itſelf.

It was happy for the wiſe and moderate preſbyterians, that the *protector* diſarmed their diſcipline of its coercive power,

* Life, p. 86, 87.

for he ſtill left them all that was ſufficient for the purpoſes of religion; they had their monthly or quarterly claſſical preſbyteries in every county, for the ordination of miniſters, by impoſition of hands, according to the *directory*, to whom they gave certificates, or teſtimonials, in the following words:

"WE the miniſters of the preſbytery of ———, having examined Mr. ——— according to the tenor of the ordinance for that purpoſe, and finding him duly qualified and gifted for that holy office and employment, (no juſt exception having been made to his ordination) have approved him, and accordingly, on the day and year hereafter expreſſed, have proceeded ſolemnly to ſet him apart to the office of a preaching preſbyter, and work of the miniſtry, with faſting and prayer, and impoſition of hands; and do hereby actually admit him (as far as concerns us) to perform all the offices and duties of a faithful miniſter of Jeſus Chriſt. In witneſs whereof we have hereunto ſubſcribed our names this —— day of Sept. 1653."

Other teſtimonials were in this form:

"WE the miniſters of Chriſt, who are called to watch over this part of his flock in the city of ——, with the aſſiſtance of ſome others, that we might not be wanting to the ſervice of the church in its neceſſity, having received credible teſtimonials, under the hands of divers miniſters of the goſpel, and others, of the ſober, righteous, and godly converſation of ——, as alſo concerning his gifts for the miniſtry, have proceeded to make further trial of his fitneſs for ſo great a work; and being in ſome good meaſure ſatisfied concerning his piety and ability, have, upon the day of — — 1653, proceeded ſolemnly to ſet him apart to the office of a preſbyter, and work of the miniſtry, by laying on our hands with faſting and prayer; by virtue whereof we do eſteem and declare him a lawful miniſter of Chriſt, and hereby recommend him to the church of ——. In witneſs whereof we have ſet our hands, &c."

When the preſbyterians found that their claſſes could obtain no power to inflict pains and penalties on thoſe who refuſed to

to ſubmit to their diſcipline, the miniſters of the ſeveral denominations in the country began to enter into friendly aſſociations for brotherly council and advice. Mr. *Baxter*, and his brethren of Worceſterſhire, formed a ſcheme upon ſuch general principles as all good men were agreed in, which he communicated to the reverend Mr. *Vines* and *Gataker*; and when he had drawn up *articles of concord*, he ſubmitted them to the correction of archbiſhop *Uſher*, and other epiſcopal divines, who agreed with him, that no more diſcipline ſhould be practiſed than the epiſcopalian, preſbyterian, and independant divines agreed in; that they ſhould not *meddle with politicks, or affairs of civil government in their aſſemblies, nor pretend to exerciſe the power of the keys, or any church cenſures; but only to aſſiſt, adviſe, and encourage each other in propagating truth and holineſs, and in keeping their churches from prophane and ſcandalous communicants.*§ Their meetings were appointed to be once a month in ſome market town, where there was a ſermon in the morning; and after dinner the converſation was upon ſuch points of doctrine or diſcipline as required advice; or elſe an hour was ſpent in diſputing upon ſome theological queſtion which had been appointed the preceding month. Doctor *Warmeſtry*, afterwards dean of Worceſter, and Dr. *Good*, one of the prebendaries of Hereford, ſent Mr. *Baxter* a letter dated Sept. 20, 1653, wherein they teſtify their approbation of the aſſociation abovementioned, and of the articles of concord.*

In the Weſt of England, Mr. *Hughes* of Plymouth, and Mr. *Good* of Exeter, prevailed with the miniſters of the ſeveral perſuaſions in thoſe parts, to follow the example of Worceſterſhire; accordingly they parcelled themſelves into four diviſions, which met once a quarter; and all four had a general meeting for concord once a year: The reverend Mr. *Hughes* preſided in thoſe of 1655, and 1656. The moderator began and ended with prayer, and ſeveral of the *epiſcopal* divines of the beſt character, as well as *independants*, joined with them; "The chief of the preſbyterian and independant divines, who were weary of diviſions, and willing to ſtrengthen each other's hands, united in theſe aſſem-

§ Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 147, &c. p. 167, &c. * Ibid. p. 149.

"blies,

"blies, though the exaſperated prelatiſts, the more rigid "preſbyterians, and ſeverer ſort of independants, kept at a "diſtance: But many remarkable advantages (ſays Mr. "*Baxter*) attended theſe aſſociations;" they opened and preſerved a friendly correſpondence among the miniſters; they removed a great many prejudices and miſunderſtandings, inſomuch that the controverſies and heats of angry men began to be allayed, their ſpirits bettered, and the ends of religion more generally promoted.

But theſe country aſſociations were not countenanced by the more zealous preſbyterians of London, who met weekly at Sion college; they could hardly digeſt a toleration of the ſectaries, much leſs ſubmit to a coalition, but reſolved to keep cloſe to the ordinances of parliament, and to the acts of their provincial aſſembly: They wanted the ſword of diſcipline, and were impatient under the preſent reſtraint; and nothing but the piercing eye of the *protector*, whoſe ſpies were in every corner, kept them from preaching, praying, and plotting againſt the government. However, the country miniſters being eaſy in their poſſeſſions, cultivated good neighbourhood, and ſpread the aſſociations through Wiltſhire, Eſſex, Hampſhire, Dorſetſhire, Cumberland, Weſtmoreland, and other parts; and if I am not miſinformed, there are the like brotherly aſſociations among the diſſenters in ſeveral counties to this day.

This year died old Dr. *William Gouge*, born at Stratford-Bow in the year 1575, and educated at King's college, Cambridge, of which he was fellow. He entered into orders 1607, and the very next year was ſettled at Black-Friars, London, where he continued to his death. He commenced doctor of divinity in the year 1628, about which time he became one of the feoffees for buying up impropriations, for which he was ordered to be proſecuted in the *ſtar-chamber*. In the year 1643 he was nominated one of the aſſembly of divines, and was in ſuch reputation, that he often filled the *moderator's chair* in his abſence. He was a modeſt, humble, and affable perſon, of ſtrict and exemplary piety, an univerſal ſcholar, and a moſt conſtant preacher, as long as he was able to get up into the pulpit. For many years he was eſteemed the father of the London miniſters, and died comfortably and

and piouſly December 12, 1653, in the 79th year of his age, having been miniſter of Black-Friars almoſt forty-ſix years.

Doctor *Thomas Hill*, of whom mention has been made before, was born in *Worceſterſhire*, and educated in Emanuel-college, Cambridge, of which he was a fellow, and tutor to young ſcholars for many years. He was afterwards preferred to the living of Tichmarſh in Northamptonſhire, and was choſen into the aſſembly of divines for that county. While he was at London he preached every day at St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, and was one of the morning lecturers at Weſtminſter-Abbey. He was afterwards choſen to be maſter of Emanuel college, Cambridge, and from thence removed to Trinity college; in which ſtations he behaved with great prudence and circumſpection. He was a good ſcholar, and very careful of the antiquities and privileges of the univerſity; a ſtrict *calviniſt*, a plain, powerful, and practical preacher, and of an holy and unblameable converſation. He died of a quartan ague December 18, 1653, in an advanced age, very much lamented by his acquaintance and brethren.*

* He ſpent nine years in King's-college; and was never abſent from publick prayers at the chapel, and conſtantly read fifteen chapters in the Bible every day. He was the laborious, exemplary, and much-loved miniſter, of whom none thought or ſpoke ill, ſays Mr. *Granger*, "but ſuch "as were inclined to think or ſpeak ill of religion itſelf." He refuſed the provoſtſhip of King's-college in Cambridge; and had eight children, who lived to man's and woman's eſtate. Clarke's Lives in his General Martyrology, p. 234.—and Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 179, 8vo. Ed.

CHAP. III.

From the beginning of the Protectorſhip of OLIVER CROMWELL *to his Death.*

IF the reader will carefully review the divided ſtate of the nation at this time, the ſtrength of the ſeveral parties in oppoſite intereſts, and almoſt equal in power, each ſanguine for his own ſcheme of ſettlement, and all conſpiring againſt the preſent, he will be ſurpriſed that any wiſe man ſhould be prevailed with to put himſelf at the head of ſuch a diſtracted body; and yet more, that ſuch a genius ſhould ariſe, who without any foreign alliances ſhould be capable of guarding againſt ſo many foreign and domeſtick enemies, and of ſteering the commonwealth through ſuch an hurricane, clear of the rocks and quickſands which threatened its ruin.

This was the province that the enterpriſing OLIVER undertook, with the ſtile and title of lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland. He aſſumed all the ſtate and ceremony of a crowned head; his houſhold officers and guards attended in their places, and his court appeared in as great ſplendor, and more order, than had been ſeen at Whitehall ſince queen *Elizabeth*'s reign. His firſt concern was to fill the courts of juſtice with the ableſt lawyers; ſir *Matthew Hales* was made lord chief juſtice of the common pleas; Mr. *Maynard*, *Twiſden*, *Newdigate* and *Windham*, ſerjeants at law; Mr. *Thurloe*, ſeceretary of ſtate; and *Monk*, governor of Scotland. His next care was to deliver himſelf from his foreign enemies; for this purpoſe he gave peace to the Dutch, which the fame of his power enabled him to accompliſh without the ceremony of a formal treaty; he therefore ſent his ſecretary *Thurloe* with the conditions to which they were to ſubmit; the Dutch pleaded for abatements, but his HIGHNESS was at a point, and obliged them to deliver up the iſland of Polerone in the Eaſt-Indies; to pay three hundred thouſand pounds for the affair of Amboyna;

to

to abandon the intereſts of king *Charles* II. to exclude the prince of *Orange* from being ſtadtholder, and to yield up the ſovereignty of the ſeas.

When this was accompliſhed moſt of the ſovereign princes in Europe ſent to compliment his *Highneſs* upon his advancement, and to cultivate his friendſhip: the king of Portugal aſked pardon for receiving prince *Rupert* into his ports; the Danes got themſelves included in the Dutch treaty, and became ſecurity for one hundred and forty thouſand pounds damages done to the Engliſh ſhipping; the Swedes ſued for an alliance, which was concluded with their ambaſſador; the crown of Spain made offers which the protector rejected; but the addreſs of the French ambaſſador was moſt extraordinary; the protector received him in the Banquetting-houſe at Whitehall, with all the ſtate and magnificence of a crowned head; and the ambaſſador, having made his obeiſance, acquainted his *Highneſs* with the king his maſter's deſire to eſtabliſh a correſpondence between his dominions and England. He mentioned the value of the friendſhip of France, and how much it was courted by the greateſt potentates of the earth; "but (ſays the ambaſſador) the king my maſter "communicates his reſolutions to none with ſo much joy and "cheerfulneſs, as to thoſe whoſe virtuous actions, and extra-"ordinary merits, render them more conſpicuouſly famous "than the largeneſs of their dominions. His majeſty is ſen-"ſible, that all theſe advantages do wholly reſide in your "HIGHNESS, and that the divine providence, after ſo many "calamities, could not deal more favourably with theſe three "nations, nor cauſe them to forget their paſt miſeries with "greater ſatisfaction, than by ſubjecting them to ſo juſt a "government——"

The protector's moſt dangerous enemies were the royaliſts, preſbyterians, and republicans at home; the former menaced him with an aſſaſſination, upon which he declared openly, that though he would never begin ſo deteſtable a practice, yet if any of the king's party ſhould attempt it and fail, he would make an aſſaſſinating war of it, and exterminate the whole family, which his ſervants were ready to execute; the terror of this threatening was a greater ſecurity to him than his coat

coat of mail or guards. The protector had the ſkill always to diſcover the moſt ſecret deſigns of the royaliſts by ſome of their own number, whom he ſpared no coſt to gain over to his intereſts. Sir *Richard Willis* was chancellor *Hyde*'s chief confident, to whom he wrote often, and in whom all the party confided, as in an able and wiſe ſtateſman; but the protector gained him with two hundred pounds a year, by which means he had all the king's party in a net, and let them dance in it at pleaſure.* He had another correſpondent in the king's little family, one *Manning* a roman catholic, who gave ſecretary *Thurloe* intelligence of all his majeſty's councils and proceedings. But though the king's friends were always in one plot or other againſt the protector's perſon and government, he always behaved with decency towards them, as long as they kept within tolerable bounds; and without all queſtion, the ſevere laws that were made againſt the epiſcopal party were not on the account of religion, but of their irreconcileable averſion to the government.

The whole body of the *preſbyterians* were in principle for the king and the covenant, but after the battle of Worceſter, and the execution of Mr. *Love*, they were terrified into a compliance with the commonwealth, though they diſallowed their proceedings, and were pleaſed to ſee them broken in pieces; but the ſurpriſing advancement of *Cromwell* to the protectorſhip filled them with new terrors, and threatened the overthrow of their *church power*, for they conſidered him not only as an *uſurper*, but a *ſectarian*, who would countenance the free exerciſe of religion to all that would live peaceably under his government; and though he aſſured them he would continue religion upon the foot of the preſent eſtabliſhment, yet nothing would ſatisfy them as long as their diſcipline was diſarmed of its coercive power.

But the protector's moſt determined adverſaries were the *commonwealth party;* theſe were divided into two branches; *one* had little or no religion, but were for a democracy in the ſtate, and univerſal liberty of conſcience in religion; the heads of them were *deiſts*, or in the language of the protector, *heathens*, as *Algernoon Sidney*, *Henry Neville*, *Martin*, *Wildman*, and *Harington*. It was impoſſible to work upon theſe men,

* Burnet, p. 91, vol. i. Edin. Ed.

or

or reconcile them to the government of a ſingle perſon, and therefore he diſarmed them of their power. The *other* were high enthuſiaſts, and fifth monarchy men, who were in expectation of *king Jeſus*, and of a glorious thouſand years reign of Chriſt upon earth. They were for pulling down churches, (ſays biſhop *Burnet**) for diſcharging tithes, and leaving religion free (as they called it) without either encouragement or reſtraint. Moſt of them were for deſtroying the clergy, and for breaking every thing that looked like a national eſtabliſhment. Theſe the protector endeavoured to gain, by aſſuring them in private converſation, "that he had no manner "of inclination to aſſume the government, but had rather "have been content with a ſhepherd's ſtaff, were it not ab-"ſolutely neceſſary to keep the nation from falling to pieces, "and becoming a prey to the common enemy; that he only "ſtept in between the living and the dead, as he expreſſed it, "and this only till God ſhould direct them on what bottom "to ſettle, when he would ſurrender his dignity with a joy "equal to the ſorrow with which he had taken it up." With the chiefs of this party he affected to converſe upon terms of great familiarity, ſhutting the door, and making them ſit down covered in his preſence, to let them ſee how little he valued thoſe diſtances he was bound to obſerve for form ſake with others; he talked with them in their own language, and the converſation commonly ended with a long prayer.

The protector's chief ſupport againſt theſe powerful adverſaries were the *independants*, the *city* of *London*, and the *army*; the former looked upon him as the head of their party, though he was no more their's than as he was averſe to church power, and for an univerſal toleration. He courted the city of London with a decent reſpect, declaring, upon all occaſions, his reſolution to confirm their privileges, and conſult meaſures for promoting trade and commerce. Theſe, in return, after his inſtalment, entertained him at dinner in a moſt magnificent and princelike manner, and by degrees modelled their magiſtrates to his mind. But his chief dependance was upon the army, which being made up of different parties, he took care to reform by degrees, till they were in a manner entirely at his devotion. He paid the

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 93.

ſoldiers

ſoldiers well, and advanced them according to their merits, and zeal for his government, without regard to their birth or ſeniority.

It was the protector's felicity, that the parties above-mentioned had as great an enmity to each other as to him; the *cavaliers* hated the preſbyterians and republicans, as *theſe* did the cavaliers; the *royaliſts* fancied that all who were againſt the protector muſt join with them in reſtoring the king; while the *preſbyterians* were puſhing for their covenant uniformity, and the *republicans* for a commonwealth. *Cromwell* had the ſkill not only to keep them divided, but to increaſe their jealouſies of each other, and by that means to diſconcert all their meaſures againſt himſelf. Let the reader recollect what a difficult ſituation this was; and what a *genius* it muſt require to maintain ſo high a reputation abroad, in the midſt of ſo many domeſtick enemies, who were continually plotting his deſtruction.

In purſuance of the *inſtrument of government*, the protector publiſhed an ordinance, April 12, to incorporate the two kingdoms of Scotland and England. The ordinance ſets forth, "that whereas the parliament in 1651 had ſent commiſſioners "into Scotland, to invite that nation to an union with Eng- "land under one government; and whereas the conſent of "the ſhires and boroughs was then obtained, therefore for "compleating that work, he ordains, that the people of Scot- "land, and all the territories thereunto belonging, ſhall be "incorporated into one commonwealth with England, and "that in every parliament to be held ſucceſſively for the ſaid "commonwealth thirty members ſhall be called from thence "to ſerve for Scotland.—" Shortly after Ireland was incorporated after the ſame manner; and from this time the arms of Scotland and Ireland were quartered with thoſe of England.

But the protector was hardly fixed in his chair before an aſſaſſination plot of the royaliſts was diſcovered, and three of the conſpirators (viz.) Mr. *Fox*, Mr. *Gerhard*, and Mr. *Vowel*, were apprehended, and tried before an high court of juſtice, for conſpiring to murder the lord protector as he was going to Hampton-Court, to ſeize the guards, and the tower of London; and to proclaim the king. Mr. *Fox*, who confeſſed

moſt

moſt of what was alledged againſt him, pleaded guilty, and was reprieved; but the other two, putting themſelves on their trial, though they denied the juriſdiction of the court, were convicted, and executed July 10. *Gerhard*, a young hot-headed enſign in the late king's army being beheaded; and *Vowel*, a ſchool-maſter at Iſlington, hanged at Charing-croſs: *Gerhard* confeſſed he knew of the plot, but *Vowel* was ſilent.* Theſe commotions were the occaſion of the hardſhips the royaliſts underwent ſome time after.

Don Pantaleon Sa, brother of the *Portugueze* ambaſſador, was beheaded the ſame day, upon account of a riot and murder in the new Exchange. *Pantaleon* had quarrelled with the above-mentioned *Gerhard*, and to revenge himſelf, brought his ſervants next day armed with ſwords and piſtols to kill him; but inſtead of *Gerhard*, they killed another man, and wounded ſeveral others. The *Portugueze* knight, and his aſſociates, fled to his brother the ambaſſador's houſe for ſanctuary, but the mob followed them, and threatened to pull down the houſe, unleſs they were delivered up to juſtice. The *protector*, being informed of the tumult, ſent an officer with a party of ſoldiers to demand the murderers. The ambaſſador pleaded his publick character, but the *protector* would admit of no excuſe; and therefore being forced to deliver them up, they were all tried and convicted, by a jury half *Engliſh* and half foreigners; the ſervants (ſays *Whitlocke*†) were reprieved and pardoned; but the ambaſſador's brother, who was the principal, notwithſtanding all the interceſſion that could be made for his life, was carried in a mourning-coach to Tower-hill, and beheaded. This remarkable act of juſtice raiſed the people's eſteem of the protector's reſolution, and of the juſtice of his government.

* Mr. *Neal*'s account, as Dr. *Grey* remarks, does not agree with lord *Clarendon:* who repreſents *Vowel* as earneſtly and pathetically addreſſing the people, and the ſoldiers, exhorting them to loyalty: and *Gerhard* as declaring, "that he was innocent, and had not entered into or conſented to "any plot, nor given any countenance to any diſcourſe to that purpoſe." *Whitlocke* ſays, that when they were brought before the High Court, they both denied all the charges alledged againſt them. Clarendon's Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 492; Whitlocke's Memoirs, p. 575.

†Mem. p. 577.

In

In order to a further ſettlement of the nation, the protector ſummoned a parliament to meet at Weſtminſter, Sept. 3d; which being reckoned one of his auſpicious days, he would not alter, though it fell on a *Sunday;* the houſe met accordingly, and having waited upon the protector in the painted chamber, adjourned to the next day, September 4, when his HIGHNESS rode from Whitehall to Weſtminſter with all the pomp and ſtate of the greateſt monarch; ſome hundreds of gentlemen went before him uncovered; his pages and lacqueys in the richeſt liveries; the captains of his guards on each ſide his coach, with their attendants, all uncovered; then followed the commiſſioners of the treaſury, maſter of ceremonies, and other officers. The ſword, the great ſeal, the purſe, and four maces, were carried before him by their proper officers.

After a ſermon preached by Dr. *Tho. Goodwin*, his Highneſs* repaired to the painted chamber, and being ſeated in a chair of ſtate, raiſed by ſundry ſteps, he made a ſpeech to the members, in which he complained of the *levellers* and fifth monarchy men, who were for ſubverting the eſtabliſhed laws, and for throwing all things back into confuſion. He put them in mind of the difficulties in which the nation was involved at the time he aſſumed the government. "That "it was at war with Portugal, Holland, and France; which "together with the diviſion among ourſelves (ſays he) "begat a confidence in the enemy that we could not hold "out long. In this heap of confuſion it was neceſſary to "apply ſome remedy, that the nation might not ſink; and "the remedy (ſays he) is THIS GOVERNMENT, which is "calculated for the intereſt of the people alone, without "regard to any other, let men ſay what they will; I can "ſpeak with comfort before a greater than you all as to my "own intention. Since this government has been erected, "men of the moſt known integrity and ability have been "put into ſeats of juſtice. The chancery has been reformed. It has put a ſtop to that heady way for every man "that will, to make himſelf a preacher, by ſettling a way "for approbation of men of piety and fitneſs for the work. "It hath taken care to expunge men unfit for that work;

* Whitlocke, p. 582.

"and

" and now, at length, it has been inſtrumental of calling a free " parliament.

" A peace is now made with Sweden, and with the Danes; " a peace honourable to the nation, and ſatisfactory to the " merchants. A peace is made with the Dutch, and with " Portugal; and ſuch an one that the people that trade thither " have liberty of conſcience, without being ſubject to the " bloody inquiſition." He then adviſes them to concert meaſures for the ſupport of the preſent government, and deſires them to believe, that he ſpoke to them not as one that intended to be a lord over them, but as one that was reſolved to be a fellow-ſervant with them for the intereſt of their country; and then, having exhorted them to unanimity, he diſmiſſed them to their houſe to chooſe a ſpeaker.

William Lenthal, eſq; maſter of the rolls, and ſpeaker of the long parliament, was choſen without oppoſition. The firſt point the houſe entered on was the *inſtrument of government*, which occaſioned many warm debates, and was like to have occaſioned a fatal breach amongſt them. To prevent this the protector gave orders, Sept. 12, that as the members came to the houſe they ſhould be directed to attend his highneſs in the painted chamber, where he made the following remarkable ſpeech, which is deſerving the reader's careful attention: " Gentlemen, I am ſurpriſed at your conduct, in debating ſo " freely the *inſtrument of government*, for the ſame power that " has made you a parliament has appointed me PROTECTOR, " ſo that if you diſpute the one, you muſt diſown the other.* " He added, that he was a gentleman by birth, and had been " called to ſeveral employments in parliament, and in the " wars, which being at an end, he was willing to retire to a " private life, and prayed to be diſmiſſed, but could not ob- " tain it. That he had preſſed the *long parliament*, as a mem- " ber, to diſſolve themſelves; but finding they intended to " continue their ſeſſions, he thought himſelf obliged to diſ- " miſs them, and to call ſome perſons together from the " ſeveral parts of the nation, to ſee if they could fall upon a " better ſettlement. Accordingly he reſigned up all his " power into their hands, but they after ſome time returned " it back to him. After this (ſays he) *divers gentlemen hav-*

* Dugdale's Late Troubles, p. 426, &c.

" *ing*

" *ing conſulted together, framed the preſent model without my* " *privity*, and told me, that unleſs I would undertake the ſame, " blood and confuſion would break in upon them; but I re- " fuſed again and again, till conſidering that it did not put " me into an higher capacity than I was in before, I con- " ſented; ſince which time I have had the thanks of the *army*, " the *fleet*, the *city* of London, and of great numbers of gen- " try in the three nations. Now the government being " thus ſettled, I apprehend there are four fundamentals which " may not be examined into, or altered. (1.) That the go- " vernment be in a ſingle perſon and a parliament. (2.) That " parliaments be not perpetual. (3.) The article relating " to the militia. And, (4.) A due liberty of conſcience in " matters of religion. Other things in the government may " be changed as occaſion requires. For as much therefore " as you have gone about to ſubvert the fundamentals of this " government, and throw all things back into confuſion, to " prevent the like for the future I am neceſſitated to appoint " you a *teſt*, or *recognition* of the government, by which you " are made a parliament, before you go any more into the " houſe."* Accordingly at their return, they found a guard at the door denying entrance to any who would not firſt ſign the following engagement. *I* A. B. *do hereby freely promiſe, and engage to be true and faithful to the lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and will not propoſe or give my conſent to alter the government, as it is ſettled in one ſingle perſon and a parliament.* About three hundred of the members ſigned the recognition, and having taken their places in the houſe, with ſome difficulty confirmed the *inſtrument of government* almoſt in every thing, but the right of nominating a ſucceſſor to the preſent protector; which they reſerved to the parliament. They voted the preſent lord protector to continue for life. They continued the ſtanding army of ten thouſand horſe and twenty thouſand foot, and ſixty thouſand pounds a month for their maintenance. They gave the *protector* two hundred thouſand pounds a year for his civil liſt, and aſſigned Whitehall, St. James's, and the reſt of the late king's houſes for his uſe; but they were out of humour, and were ſo far from ſhewing reſpect to the court,

* Whitlocke, p. 587.

that

that they held no manner of correſpondence with it; which, together with their voting, that *no one clauſe of what they had agreed upon ſhould be binding, unleſs the whole were conſented to*, provoked the *protector*,* as derogating from his power of conſenting to, or refuſing particular bills, and therefore, having diſcovered ſeveral plots againſt his government ready to break out, in which ſome of the members were concerned, he ſent for them into the painted chamber, Jan. 22; and after a long and intricate ſpeech, in which, after ſome ſtrong expreſſions in favour of liberty to men of the ſame faith, though of different judgments in leſſer matters, he complained, that they had taken no more notice of him, either by meſſage or addreſs, than if there had been no ſuch perſon in being; that they had done nothing for the honour and ſupport of the government, but ſpent their time in fruitleſs debates of little conſequence, while the nation was bleeding to death; and inſtead of making things eaſy, that they had laid a foundation for future diſſatisfactions; he therefore diſſolved them, without confirming any of their acts, after they had ſat five months, according to the *inſtrument of government*, reckoning *twenty-eight days* to a month. This was deemed an unpopular action, and a renouncing the additional title the parliament would have given him; but this GREAT MAN with the ſword in his hand was not to be joſtled out of the ſaddle with votes and reſolutions; and if one may credit his ſpeech, his aſſuming the government was not ſo much the effect of his own ambition, as of a bold reſolution to prevent the nation's falling back into anarchy and blood.

Upon the riſing of the parliament major-general *Harriſon*, one of the chiefs of the *republicans*, was taken into cuſtody; and Mr. *John Wildman*, who had been expelled the houſe, was apprehended as he was drawing up a paper, entitled, *A Declaration of the free and well-affected people of England now in arms againſt the tyrant* OLIVER CROMWELL; which prevented the riſing of that party.†

The *royaliſts* were buying up arms at the ſame time, and preparing to riſe in ſeveral parts of the kingdom.‡ They had procured commiſſions from the young king at Cologn,

* Life of Cromwell, p. 291. † Whitlocke, p. 600.

‡ Clarendon, vol. iii. p. 551.

and

and deſired his majeſty to be ready on the ſea-coaſt by the 11th of March, when there would be a revolt in the army, and when Dover caſtle would be delivered into their hands. The king accordingly removed to Middleburgh in Zealand; but the protector had intelligence of it from his ſpies, and declared it openly as ſoon as he was arrived, which intimidated the conſpirators, and made them fear they were diſcovered: however, about the time appointed, ſome ſmall parties of royaliſts got together in Shropſhire with an intent to ſurpriſe Shrewſbury and Chirk caſtle. A cart-load of arms was brought to a place of rendezvous for the northern parts, where they were to be headed by *Wilmot* earl of *Rocheſter*; but they no ſooner met but they diſperſed for fear of being fallen upon by the regular troops. In the weſt ſir *Joſeph Wagſtaffe*, colonel *Penruddock*, captain *Hugh Grove*, Mr. *Jones*, and others, entered the city of Saliſbury, with 200 horſe well armed, in the time of the aſſizes, and ſeized the judges *Rolls* and *Nichols*, with the ſheriff of the county, whom they reſolved to hang. They proclaimed the king, and threatened violence to ſuch as would not join them; but the country not coming in according to their expectations they were intimidated, and after five or ſix hours marched away into Dorſetſhire, and from thence to Devonſhire, where captain *Crook* overtook them, and with one ſingle troop of horſe defeated, and took moſt of them priſoners; *Penruddock* and *Grove* were beheaded at Exeter; and ſome few others were executed at Saliſbury, the place where they had ſo lately triumphed.

The vigilance of the protector on this occaſion is almoſt incredible; he cauſed a great many ſuſpected lords and gentlemen to be ſecured; he ſent letters to the juſtices of peace in every county, whom he had already changed to his mind, commanding them to look out, and ſecure all perſons who ſhould make the leaſt diſturbance. And his private intelligence of people's diſcourſe and behaviour, in every corner of the land, never failed.*

If the reader will duly conſider the danger ariſing from theſe commotions, and the neceſſity of ſtriking ſome terror into the authors of them, he will eaſily account for the pro-

* Whitlocke, p. 602.

tector's

tector's ſeverity againſt the royaliſts; when therefore the inſurrection was quaſhed, he reſolved to make the *whole party* pay the expence; and accordingly, with the conſent of his council, publiſhed an order, "that all who had been in arms "for the king, or had declared themſelves of the *royal party*, "ſhould be decimated; that is, pay a tenth part of their "eſtates, to ſupport the charge of ſuch extraordinary forces "as their turbulent and ſeditious practices obliged him to "keep up; for which purpoſe commiſſioners were appointed "in every county, and conſiderable ſums were brought into "the treaſury." To juſtify this extraordinary procedure, the protector publiſhed another declaration; in which he complains of the irreconcileableneſs of thoſe who had adhered to the king, towards all thoſe who had ſerved their country on the ſide of the parliament; that they were now to be looked upon as publick enemies, and to be kept from being able to do miſchief, ſince it ſufficiently appeared that they were always diſpoſed to do all they could. Upon theſe accounts he thought it highly reaſonable, and declares it to be his reſolution, that if any deſperate attempts were undertaken by them for the future, the whole party ſhould ſuffer for it.

To return to the affairs of religion: though the preſbyterian diſcipline was at a low ebb, it was ſtill the eſtabliſhed religion of the nation. The provincial aſſembly of London continued their ſeſſions at Sion college every half year, and endeavoured to ſupport the dignity of the miniſterial office. Complaint having been made that the pulpit doors were ſet open to laymen, and gifted brethren, they appointed a committee to collect materials for the vindication of the miniſterial character, which being reviſed by the ſynod, was publiſhed this ſummer under the title of *Jus Divinum Miniſterii Evangelici: or, the Divine Right of an Evangelical Miniſtry, in two parts. By the provincial aſſembly of London. With an appendix, of the judgment and practice of antiquity.*

In the debates of parliament upon the *inſtrument of government* it was obſerved, that by the thirty-ſeventh article, *all who profeſſed faith in God by Jeſus Chriſt ſhould be protected in their religion.** This was interpreted to imply an agree-

* Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 197.

ment in *fundamentals*. Upon which it was voted, that *all ſhould be tolerated, or indulged, who profeſſed the fundamentals of chriſtianity;* and a committee was appointed to nominate certain divines to draw up a catalogue of *fundamentals* to be preſented to the houſe: the committee being about fourteen, named each of them a divine; among others archbiſhop *Uſher* was nominated, but he declining the affair, Mr. *Baxter* was appointed in his room: the reſt who acted were

Dr. *Owen*	Mr. *Nye*
Dr. *Goodwin*	Mr. *Sydrach Simpſon*
Dr. *Cheynel*	Mr. *Vines*
Mr. *Marſhal*	Mr. *Manton*
Mr. *Reyner*	Mr. *Jacomb.*

Mr. *Baxter** would have perſuaded his brethren to offer the committee the *apoſtles' creed*, the *Lord's prayer*, and the *ten commandments* alone, as containing the *fundamentals* of religion; but it was objected, that this would include *ſocinians* and *papiſts*. Mr. *Baxter* replied, that it was ſo much fitter for a centre of unity or concord, becauſe it was impoſſible, in his opinion, to deviſe a form of words which hereticks would not ſubſcribe, when they had perverted them to their own ſenſe. Theſe arguments not prevailing, the following articles were preſented to the committee, but not brought into the houſe; under the title of *The Principles of Faith, preſented by Mr.* THO. GOODWIN, *Mr.* NYE, *Mr.* SYDRACH SIMPSON, *and other miniſters, to the committee of parliament for religion, by way of explanation to the propoſals for propagating the goſpel.*

1*ſt*. That *the holy ſcripture is that rule of knowing God, and living unto him, which whoſo does not believe cannot be ſaved.* 2 Theſſ. ii. 10, 11, 12, 15. 1 Cor. xv. 1, 2, 3. 2 Cor. i. 13. John v. 39. 2 Peter ii. 1.

2*dly*. That *there is a God, who is the creator, governor, and judge of the world, which is to be received by faith, and every other way of the knowledge of him is inſufficient.* Heb. xi. 3, 6. Rom. i. 19, 20, 21, 22. 1 Cor. i. 21. 2 Theſſ. i. 8.

* Life, part ii. p. 198.

3*dly*. That

3*dly.* That *this God, who is the creator, is eternally diſtinct from all creatures in his being and bleſſedneſs.*

Rom. i. 18, 25. 1 Cor. viii. 5, 6.

4*thly.* That *this God is one in three perſons or ſubſiſtences.*

1 John v. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, *compared with* John viii. 17, 18, 19, 21. Matth. xxviii. 19, *compared with* Epheſ. iv. 4, 5, 6. 1 John ii. 22, 23. 2 John, ver. 9, 10.

5*thly.* That *Jeſus Chriſt is the only mediator between God and man, without the knowledge of whom there no ſalvation.*

1 Tim. ii. 4, 5, 6. 2 Tim. iii. 15. 1 John, ii. 22. Acts iv. 10, 12. 1 Cor. iii. 10, 11.

6*thly.* That *this Jeſus Chriſt is the true God.*

1 John, v. 29. Iſaiah xlv. 21, 22, 23, 24, 25.

7*thly.* That *this Jeſus Chriſt is alſo true man.*

1 John, iv. 2, 3. 2 John, ver. 7.

8*thly.* That *this Jeſus Chriſt is God and man in one perſon.*

1 Tim. iii. 16. Matth. xvi. 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

9*thly.* That *this Jeſus Chriſt is our redeemer, who by paying a ranſom, and bearing our ſins, has made ſatisfaction for them.*

Iſa. liii. 11. 1 Pet. ii. 24, 25. 1 Cor. xv. 2, 3. 1 Tim. ii. 4, 5, 6.

10*thly.* That *this ſame Lord Jeſus Chriſt is he that was crucified at Jeruſalem, and roſe again, and aſcended into heaven.*

John viii. 24. Acts iv. 10, 11, 12. Acts x. 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43. 1 Cor. xv. 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Acts xxii. 8. Acts ii. 36.

11*thly.* That *this ſame Jeſus Chriſt, being the only God and man in one perſon, remains for ever a diſtinct perſon from all ſaints and angels, notwithſtanding their union and communion with him.*

Col. ii. 8, 9, 10, 19. 1 Tim. iii. 16.

12*thly.* That *all men by nature are dead in ſins and treſpaſſes; and no man can be ſaved unleſs he be born again, repent, and believe.*

John iii. 3, 5, 6, 7, 10. Acts xvii. 30, 31. Acts xxvi. 17, 18, 19, 20. Luke xxiv. 47. Acts xx. 20, 21. John v. 24, 25.

13*thly.* That *we are juſtified and ſaved by grace, and faith in Jeſus Chriſt, and not by works.*

Acts xv. 24, *compared with* Gal. i. 6, 7, 8, 9. Gal. v. 2, 4, 5. Rom. ix. 31, 32, 33. Rom. x. 3, 4. Rom. i. 16, 17. Gal. iii. 11. Ephes. ii. 8, 9, 10.

14*thly.* That *to continue in any known sin, upon what pretence or principle soever, is damnable.*

Rom. i. 32. Rom. vi. 1, 2, 15, 16. 1 John, i. 6, 8. 1 John, iii. 3—8. 2 Pet. ii. 19, 20. Rom. viii. 13.

15*thly.* That *God is to be worshipped according to his own will; and whosoever shall forsake and despise all the duties of his worship cannot be saved.*

Jer. x. 15. Psalm xiv. 4. Jude, ver. 18, 19, 20, 21. Rom. x. 13.

16*thly.* That *the dead shall rise; and that there is a day of judgment, wherein all shall appear, some to go into everlasting life, and some into everlasting condemnation.*

1 Tim. i. 19, 20, *compared with* 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18. Acts xvii. 30, 31. John v. 28, 29. 1 Cor. xv. 19.

Mr. *Baxter** says, Dr. *Owen* worded these articles; that Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Nye* and Mr. *Simpson* were his assistants; that Dr. *Cheynel* was scribe; and that Mr. *Marshal*, a sober, worthy man, did something; but that the rest were little better than passive. He adds, that twenty of their propositions were printed, though in my copy, licensed by *Scobel*, there are only sixteen: however, the parliament being abruptly dissolved they were all buried in oblivion.

It appears by these articles, that these divines intended to exclude, not only *deists*, *socinians*, and *papists*, but *arians*, *antinomians*, *quakers*, and others. Into such difficulties do wise and good men fall, when they usurp the kingly office of Christ, and pretend to restrain that liberty which is the birthright of every reasonable creature. It is an unwarrantable presumption for any number of men to declare what is fundamental in the christian religion, any further than the scriptures have expressly declared it. It is one thing to maintain a doctrine to be true, and another to declare, that without the belief of it no man can be saved: none may say this but God himself. Besides, why should the civil magistrate protect none but those who profess *faith in God by Jesus Christ?* If a colony of *English* merchants should settle among the *Mahometans*

* Life, p. 205.

or

or *Chineſe*, ſhould we not think that the government of thoſe countries ought to protect them in their religion as long as they invaded no man's property, and paid obedience and ſubmiſſion to the government under which they lived? Why then ſhould chriſtians deny others the ſame liberty?

The protector and his council were in more generous ſentiments of liberty, as will appear hereafter.* Mr. *Baxter* ſays,† the protector and his friends gave out, that *they could not underſtand what the magiſtrates had to do in matters of religion; they thought that all men ſhould be left to the liberty of their own conſciences, and that the magiſtrate could not interpoſe without enſnaring himſelf in the guilt of perſecution.* And were not theſe juſt and noble ſentiments, though the parliament would not accept them? His highneſs therefore, in his ſpeech at their diſſolution, reproaches them in theſe words:‡—— "How proper is it to labour for liberty, that men ſhould not "be trampled upon for their conſciences? Had we not lately "laboured under the weight of perſecution; and is it fit then "to ſit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to aſk liberty, and "not to give it? What greater hypocriſy, than for thoſe "who were oppreſſed by the biſhops to become the greateſt "oppreſſors themſelves, ſo ſoon as their yoke is removed? "I could wiſh, that they who call for liberty now alſo, had "not too much of that ſpirit, if the power were in their hands. "As for profane perſons, blaſphemers, ſuch as preach ſedi-"tion, contentious railers, evil-ſpeakers, who ſeek by evil "words to corrupt good manners, and perſons of looſe con-"verſation, puniſhment from the civil magiſtrate ought to "meet with them; becauſe if theſe pretend conſcience, yet "walking diſorderly, and not according, but contrary to the "goſpel and natural light, they are judged of all, and their "ſins being open, make them the ſubject of the magiſtrates' "ſword, who ought not to bear it in vain——"

Agreeable to theſe principles, Dr. *George Bates*, an eminent royaliſt, and a great enemy of *Cromwell*'s, writes, "that the "protector indulged the uſe of the common-prayer in families,

* "Bigotry," ſays Dr. *Harris*, "made no part of *Cromwell*'s character:" and he proves the truth of his aſſertion by a full elucidation and a minute detail. Life of Cromwell, p. 37—45. ED.

† Life, p. 193. ‡ Life of Cromwell, p. 307.

and

" and in private conventicles; and though the condition of " the church of England was but melancholy, yet (ſays the " doctor) it cannot be denied, but they had a great deal more " favour and indulgence than under the parliament; which " would never have been interrupted had they not inſulted " the protector, and forfeited their liberty by their ſeditious " practices, and plottings againſt his perſon and government."

The approbation of publick miniſters had been hitherto reſerved to the ſeveral preſbyteries in city and country; but the protector obſerving ſome inconvenience in this method, and not being willing to entruſt the qualification of candidates all over England to a number of *preſbyterians* only, who might admit none but thoſe of their own perſuaſion, contrived a middle way of joining the ſeveral parties together, and intruſting the affair with certain commiſſioners of each denomination, men of as known abilities and integrity as any the nation had.* This was done by an ordinance of council, bearing date March 20, 1653-4; the preamble to which ſets forth, " that whereas for ſome time paſt, there had not been " any certain courſe eſtabliſhed for ſupplying vacant places " with able and fit perſons to preach the goſpel, by reaſon " whereof the rights and titles of patrons were prejudiced, " and many weak, ſcandalous, popiſh, and ill-affected perſons " had intruded themſelves, or been brought in; for remedy " of which it is ordained by his highneſs the lord protector, " by and with the conſent of his council, that every perſon " who ſhall, after the 25th of March, 1654, be preſented, " nominated, choſen, or appointed to any benefice with care " of ſouls, or to any publick ſettled lecture in England or " Wales, ſhall, before he be admitted, be examined and ap- " proved by the perſons hereafter named, to be a perſon, for " the grace of God in him, his holy and unblamable con- " verſation, as alſo for his knowledge and utterance, able and " fit to preach the goſpel." Among the commiſſioners were eight or nine laymen, the reſt miniſters; their names were,

Francis Rouſe, eſq;	*Thomas Wood*, eſq;
Alderman *Titchbourne*	*John Sadler*, eſq;
Mark Hildeſley, eſq;	*William Goffe*, eſq;

* Baxter's Life, p. 72. † Scobel, p. 279.

Thomas

Thomas St. Nicholas, eſq;
William Packer, eſq;
Edward Creſſet, eſq;

Rev. Dr. *John Owen*
Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*
Dr. *Arrowſmith*
Dr. *Tuckney*
Dr. *Horton*
Thankful Owen, M. A.
Mr. *Joſeph Caryl*
Mr. *Philip Nye*
Mr. *William Carter*
Mr. *Sydrach Simpſon*
Mr. *William Greenhill*
Mr. *William Strong*
Dr. *Thomas Manton*

Rev. Mr. *Samuel Slater*
Mr. *William Cooper*
Mr. *Stephen Marſhall*
John Tombes, B. D.
Mr. *Walter Craddock*
Mr. *Samuel Fairclough*
Mr. *Hugh Peters*
Mr. *Peter Sterry*
Mr. *Samuel Bamford*
Thomas Valentine, of *Chaford*, B. D.
Mr. *Henry Jeſſe*
Mr. *Obadiah Sedgwick*
Mr. *Nicholas Lockyer*
Mr. *Dan. Dike*
Mr. *James Ruſſel*
Mr. *Nath. Campfield.*

Theſe were commonly called TRYERS; in all thirty-eight; of whom ſome were preſbyterians, others independants, and two or three were baptiſts. Any five were ſufficient to approve; but no number under nine had power to reject a perſon as unqualified. In caſe of death, or removal of any of the commiſſioners, their numbers were to be filled up by the protector and his council; or by the parliament if ſitting. But ſome of the preſbyterian divines declined acting, for want of a better authority; or becauſe they did not like the company; though the authority was as good as any theſe times could produce till the next ſeſſions of parliament.* By an ordinance of Sept. 2, 1654, I find the Rev. Mr. *John Rowe*, Mr. *John Bond*, Mr. *George Griffith* of the *Charter-houſe*, Mr. *John Turner*, and *Godfrey Boſville*, eſq; added to the commiſſioners above-mentioned.

To ſuch as were approved, the commiſſioners gave an *inſtrument* in writing under a common ſeal for that purpoſe, by virtue of which they were put into as full poſſeſſion of the living to which they were nominated or choſen, as if they had been admitted by inſtitution and induction.

It was further provided, that all who preſented themſelves for approbation ſhould produce a certificate ſigned by three perſons at leaſt of known integrity, one of whom to be a

* Scobel, p. 366.

preacher

preacher of the goſpel in ſome ſettled place, teſtifying on their perſonal knowledge, the holy and good converſation of the perſon to be admitted; which certificate was to be regiſtered and filed. And *all penalties for not ſubſcribing, or reading the articles of religion, according to the act of* 13*th* Eliz. *were to ceaſe and be void.*

And for as much as ſome perſons might have been preferred to livings within the laſt twelvemonth, when there was no ſettled method of approbation, the ordinance looks back, and ordains, "that no perſon who had been placed in any "benefice or lecture ſince April 1, 1653, ſhould be allowed "to continue in it, unleſs he got himſelf approved by the "24th of June, or at furtheſt the 23d of July, 1654."

It is obſervable, that this ordinance provides no ſecurity for the civil government, the commiſſioners not being impowered to adminiſter an oath of allegiance or fidelity to the protector. By this means ſome of the ſequeſtered clergy, taking advantage of the act of oblivion in 1651, paſſed their trials before the commiſſioners and returned to their livings. The protector being adviſed of this defect, by advice of his council, publiſhed an additional ordinance, Sept. 2, 1654, requiring the commiſſioners not to give admiſſion to any who had been ſequeſtered from their eccleſiaſtical benefices for delinquency, till by experience of their conformity, and ſubmiſſion to the preſent government, his *highneſs* and his council ſhould be ſatisfied of their fitneſs to be admitted into eccleſiaſtical promotions; and the ſame to be ſignified to the ſaid commiſſioners.* Both theſe ordinances were confirmed by parliament in the year 1656, with this proviſo, "that the "commiſſioners appointed by his *highneſs* in the intervals of "parliament ſhould afterwards be confirmed by the ſucceed-"ing parliament." Another defect in the ordinance was, that it did not appoint ſome ſtandard or rule for the TRYERS to go by; this would have taken off all odium from themſelves, and prevented a great many needleſs diſputes; but as matters now ſtood, men's qualifications were perhaps left too much to the arbitrary opinions and votes of the commiſſioners. After examination they gave the candidate a copy of the preſentation in theſe words:† "Know all men by theſe preſents,

* Scobel, p. 366. † Calamy, vol. ii. p. 247.

that

" that the —— day of ———— in the year —— there was " exhibited to the commiſſioners for examination of publick " miniſters, a preſentation of Mr. ———— to the rectory of " ——, in the county of ——, made to him by Mr. ——, " the patron thereof, under his hand and ſeal, together with " a teſtimony of his holy and godly converſation. Upon pe- " ruſal, and due conſideration of the premiſes, and finding " him to be a perſon qualified, as in and by the ordinance for " ſuch qualifications is required, the commiſſioners above- " mentioned have adjudged and approved the ſaid Mr. — " — to be a fit perſon to preach the goſpel, and have granted " him admiſſion, and do admit the ſaid Mr. ———— to " the rectory of —— aforeſaid, to be full and perfect poſ- " ſeſſor and incumbent thereof: and do hereby ſignify to all " perſons concerned therein, that he is hereby intitled to all " the profits and perquiſites, and to all rights and dues inci- " dent and belonging to the ſaid rectory, as fully and effec- " tually as if he had been inſtituted and inducted according " to any ſuch laws and cuſtoms as have in this caſe formerly " been made or uſed in this realm. In witneſs whereof they " have cauſed the common ſeal to be hereunto affixed, and " the ſame to be atteſted by the hand of the regiſter, by his " *highneſs* in that behalf appointed. Dated at —— the " —— day of —— in the year ——

(*L. S.*) *John Nye*, Reg.

Loud complaints have been made againſt theſe TRYERS; Mr. *Collier* objects to there being eight laymen among the commiſſioners, and that any five having power to act, it might ſometimes happen that none but ſecular men might determine the qualifications of ſuch who were to preach and adminiſter the ſacraments.

Mr. *John Goodwin*, an independant divine of *arminian* principles, obſerves, the *tryers* made their own narrow *calvinian* ſentiments in divinity the door of admiſſion to all church preferments; and that their power was greater than that of the biſhops, becauſe the laws had provided a remedy againſt their arbitrary proceedings, by a *quare impedit;* or if the biſhop might determine abſolutely of the qualifications of the *candidate* or *clerk* to be admitted into a living, yet theſe qualifications

lifications were ſufficiently ſpecified, and particularized in the eccleſiaſtical laws or canons, and the biſhop might be obliged, by due courſe of law, to aſſign the reaſons of his refuſal; whereas the determinations of theſe commiſſioners for *approbation* were final; nor were they obliged ſo much as to ſpecify any reaſon for their rejecting any perſon, but only their vote, *not approved.*

It was further complained of as a very great hardſhip, that "there was but one ſet of *tryers* for the whole nation, who "reſided always at London, which muſt occaſion great ex- "pence, and long journies, to ſuch as lived in the remoter "countries." But to remedy this inconvenience, Dr. *Walker* ſays,* they appointed ſub-commiſſioners in the remoter countries. And (according to Mr. *Baxter*) if any were unable to come to London, or were of doubtful qualifications, the commiſſioners of London uſed to refer them to ſome miniſters in the country where they lived; and under their teſtimonial they approved or rejected them. Amidſt ſuch variety of ſentiments it was next to impoſſible to pleaſe all parties; when there were no *tryers*, the complaint was, that the pulpit doors were left open to all intruders, and now they cannot agree upon any one method of examination. And it muſt be left to every one's judgment, whether a biſhop and his chaplain, or a claſſis of preſbyters, or the preſent mixture, of *laity* and *clergy* be moſt eligible.

The chief objections againſt theſe TRYERS has been to the manner of executing their powers. Biſhop *Kennet* ſays,† "that this holy inquiſition was turned into a ſnare to catch "men of probity and ſenſe, and found divinity, and to let "none eſcape but ignorant, bold, canting fellows; for theſe "*tryers* (ſays the biſhop) aſked few or no queſtions in know- "ledge or learning, but only about converſion, and the grace "of God in the heart, to which the readieſt anſwers would "ariſe from infatuation in ſome; and the trade of hypocriſy "in others. By this means the rights of patronage were at "their pleaſure, and the character and abilities of divines "whatever they pleaſed to make them, and churches were "filled with little creatures of the ſtate." But the biſhop has produced no examples of this; nor were any of theſe

* Walker, p. 172. † Complete Hiſtory, p. 209.

canting

canting little creatures turned out for inſufficiency at the reſtoration. Dr. *George Bates*, an eminent royaliſt, with a little more temper and truth, ſays, "that they enquired more narrowly into their affection to the preſent government, and into the internal marks and character of the grace of God in their heart, than into their learning; by which means many ignorant laicks, mechanicks, and pedlars, were admitted to livings, when perſons of greater merit were rejected." But it may be obſerved again, that, ignorant, as they were, not one of the *mechanicks* or *pedlars* who conformed at the reſtoration was ejected for inſufficiency. When the commiſſioners had to do with perſons of known learning, ſobriety, reputed orthodoxy, and a peaceable behaviour, they made but little enquiry into the marks of their converſion; as appears from the example of Mr. *Fuller* the hiſtorian, who being preſented to a living was approved by the *tryers*, without giving any other evidence of the grace of God in him than this, *that he made conſcience of his thoughts.*

Dr. *Walker* has publiſhed the examinations of two or three clergymen, who were notorious for their malignity and diſaffection to the government, whom the commiſſioners puzzled with dark and abſtruſe queſtions in divinity, that they might ſet them aſide, without encountering their political principles; for when they had private intimations of *notorious malignants* to come before them, they frequently had recourſe to this method; though it is not unlikely that upon ſome other occaſions, they might lay too great ſtreſs upon the internal characters of regeneration, the truth of which depends entirely upon the integrity of the reſpondent. But I believe not a ſingle inſtance can be produced, of any who were rejected for inſufficiency without being firſt convicted either of immorality, of obnoxious ſentiments in the *ſocinian* or *pelagian* controverſy, or of diſaffection to the preſent government. Mr. *Sadler*, who was preſented to a living in Dorſetſhire, but rejected by the *tryers*, publiſhed his examination in a pamphlet, which he calls, *Inquiſitio Anglicana*, wherein he endeavours to expoſe the commiſſioners in a very contemptuous manner; but Mr. *John Nye*, clerk to the commiſſioners, followed him with an anſwer, intitled, *Sadler examined; or, his diſguiſe diſcovered:* ſhewing the groſs miſtakes, and moſt notorious falſehoods

in

in his dealings with the commiſſioners for approbation of publick preachers,* in his *Inquiſitio Anglicana*. To which Mr. *Sadler* never replied.

Doctor *George Bates*, and Dr. *Walker*, have charged the *tryers* with ſimony, upon no other proof, but that *Hugh Peters* ſaid once to Mr. *Camplin*, a clergyman of Somerſetſhire, upon his applying to him, by a friend, for diſpatch, *Has thy friend any money?* A ſlender proof of ſo heavy a charge. They who are acquainted with the jocoſe converſation of *Hugh Peters*, will not wonder at ſuch an expreſſion. But I refer the reader back to the names and characters of the commiſſioners, moſt of whom were men of unqueſtionable probity, for a ſufficient anſwer to this calumny.

No doubt the *tryers* did commit ſundry miſtakes, which it was hardly poſſible to avoid in their ſtation. I am far from vindicating all their proceedings; they had a difficult work on their hands, lived in times when the extent of chriſtian liberty was not well underſtood, had to deal with men of different principles in religion and politicks; and thoſe who were *not approved*, would of courſe complain. Had this power been lodged with the biſhops of theſe times, or their chaplains; or with the high preſbyterians, would they not have had their *ſhibboleth*, for which ill-natured men might have called them an *holy inquiſition?* But Mr. *Baxter* has given a very fair and candid account of them; his words are theſe, "Becauſe this aſ-
"ſembly of *tryers* is moſt heavily accuſed and reproached by
"ſome men, I ſhall ſpeak the truth of them, and ſuppoſe my
"word will be taken, becauſe moſt of them took me for one of
"their boldeſt adverſaries: the truth is, though their au-
"thority was null, and though ſome few over-rigid and over-
"buſy *independants* among them were too ſevere againſt all
"that were *arminians*, and too particular in enquiring after
"evidences of ſanctification in thoſe whom they examined;
"and ſomewhat too lax in admitting of unlearned and erro-
"neous men, that favoured *antimonianiſm* or *anabaptiſm*; yet,
"to give them their due, they did abundance of good to the
"church. They ſaved many a congregation from ignorant,
"ungodly, drunken teachers, that ſort of men who intend
"no more in the miniſtry than to ſay a ſermon, as readers

* Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 370.

"ſay

"ſay their common prayers on *Sunday*, and all the reſt of "the week go with the people to the ale-houſe, and harden "them in ſin; and that ſort of miniſters who either preached "againſt a holy life, or preached as men that were never "acquainted with it: theſe they uſually rejected, and in their "ſtead admitted of any that were able, ſerious preachers, "and lived a godly life, of what tolerable opinion ſoever they "were; ſo that though many of them were a little partial for "the independants, ſeparatiſts, fifth monarchy men, and an-"abaptiſts, and againſt the prelatiſts and arminians, yet ſo "great was the benefit above the hurt which they brought "to the church, that many thouſands of ſouls bleſſed God "for the faithful miniſters whom they let in, and grieved "when the prelatiſts afterwards caſt them out again."*

The commiſſioners were not empowered to look further back than one year, before the date of the ordinance that conſtituted them. All who were in poſſeſſion of livings before that time were out of their reach; nor would the *protector* have given theſe any diſturbance, had he not received certain information of their ſtirring up the people, to join the inſurrection that was now on foot for the reſtoration of the king. They continued ſitting at Whitehall till the protector's death, or the year 1659, and were then diſcontinued.

But to humble the clergy yet further, and keep them within the bounds of their ſpiritual function, his highneſs, by the advice of his council, publiſhed an ordinance, bearing date Aug. 28, 1654, entitled, an ordinance for ejecting *ſcandalous, ignorant, and inſufficient miniſters and ſchool-maſters*. The ordinance appoints and nominates certain *lay-commiſſioners* for every county, and joins with them ten or more of the graveſt, and moſt noted miniſters, as their aſſiſtants, and empowers any five, or more of them, to call before them any publick preacher, lecturer, parſon, vicar, curate, or ſchool-maſter, who is or ſhall be reputed *ignorant, ſcandalous, inſufficient, or negligent;* and to receive all articles or charges that ſhall be exhibited againſt them on this account; and to proceed to the examination aud determination of ſuch offences, according to the following rules.†

* Baxter's Life, p. 72. † Scobel, p. 335, 340.

"Such

" Such miniſters and ſchool-maſters ſhall be accounted " *ſcandalous* in their lives and converſations, as ſhall hold or " maintain ſuch blaſphemous or atheiſtical opinions, as are " puniſhable by the act, entitled an act againſt ſeveral blaſ- " phemous and atheiſtical opinions, &c. or that ſhall be guilty " of profane ſwearing and curſing, perjury, and ſubornation " of perjury; ſuch as maintain any popiſh opinions, required " to be abjured by the oath of abjuration; or are guilty of " adultery, fornication, drunkenneſs, common haunting of " taverns, or ale-houſes; frequent quarrellings or fightings; " frequent playing at cards or dice; profaning of the ſabbath; " or that do allow and countenance the ſame in their families, " or in their pariſhes. *Such as have frequently read or uſed* " *the common prayer book in publick ſince the firſt of Jan. laſt;* " *or ſhall at any time hereafter do the ſame.* Such as pub- " lickly and profanely ſcoff at the ſtrict profeſſion, or pro- " feſſors of godlineſs. Such as encourage or countenance " *Whitſon-ales*, *wakes*, *morrice-dancing*, *may-poles*, *ſtage-plays*, " or ſuch-like licentious practices. Such as have declared, " or ſhall declare by writing, preaching, or otherwiſe pub- " liſhing, their diſaffection to the preſent government.

" Such miniſters ſhall be accounted *negligent*, as omit the " publick exerciſe of preaching and praying on the Lord's " day (not being hindered by neceſſary abſence or infirmity " of body;) or that are, or ſhall be non-reſidents. Such " ſchool-maſters ſhall be accounted *negligent* as abſent them- " ſelves from their ſchools, and wilfully neglect to teach their " ſcholars.

" Such miniſters or ſchool-maſters ſhall be accounted *igno-* " *rant* and *inſufficient*, as ſhall be ſo declared and adjudged by " the commiſſioners in every county, or any five of them, " together with five of the miniſters mentioned in the ordi- " nance."

The lay-commiſſioners were to proceed upon oath, both for and againſt the perſon accuſed; but in caſes of *ignorance* or *inſufficiency*, they were to be joined by five of the aſſiſtant clergy at leaſt; and if ten of the commiſſioners, whereof five to be miniſters, gave it under their hands, that the party was *ignorant* or *inſufficient*, then the ſaid miniſter or ſchool-maſter was to be ejected, and the ſaid *judgment* entered in a regiſter-

book

book *with the reaſons thereof.* After ejectment, the party might not preach or teach ſchool in the pariſh from whence he was ejected; but convenient time was to be allowed for his removal, and the *fifths* reſerved for the ſupport of his family. The rightful patron was to preſent to the vacant living an approved preacher; and in caſe of lapſe it fell to the protector and his council.

This ordinance being confirmed by the parliament of 1656, gave great offence to the old clergy; Mr. *Gatford*, the ſequeſtered rector of Denington, publiſhed a pamphlet, entitled *a Petition for the vindication of the uſe of Common-Prayer, &c.* occaſioned by the late ordinance for ejecting ſcandalous miniſters; as alſo thirty-ſeven queries concerning the ſaid ordinance; which he preſented to the parliament, which met Sept. 3, 1654; but they took no notice of it.

Mr. *Gatford* obſerves, that the protector and his council had no legal authority to make this, or any other ordinance, without conſent of a parliament: whereas the *inſtrument of government* empowered them to provide for the ſafety of the ſtate, by making laws till the parliament ſhould meet. He obſerves further, that ſuch a proceeding muſt juſtify his late majeſty and council in all their illegal proceedings before the civil wars; that it would juſtify the high commiſſion court; and that by the ſame authority, an ordinance might be publiſhed to eject freeholders out of their eſtates.

He complains, that the power of the commiſſioners is final, and admits of no appeal; that it looks back to crimes antecedent to the law for a twelvemonth; whereas it ought only to declare, that for the future ſuch offences ſhall be puniſhed with deprivation.

That the commiſſioners who were to ſit in judgment upon the clergy were all *laymen*, the miniſters being called in only in caſes of ignorance and inſufficiency; that the ordinance admits of the oath of one witneſs, provided it be ſupported with other concurrent evidence, which is contrary to the laws of God and man.

That ſome crimes in the ordinance were none at all, and others of a very doubtful nature; as how often a miniſter omitting to pray and preach in his pulpit ſhould render him *negligent;* and what ſhould be deemed *non-reſidence.* Above all,

all, he complains that the publick reading of the common-prayer ſhould be ranked with the ſins of ſwearing and drunkenneſs, and be an evidence of a ſcandalous life and converſation; which obſervation was unqueſtionably juſt.

To give the reader an example or two of the proceedings of the commiſſioners: thoſe for Berkſhire ſummoned Dr. *Pordage*, rector of Bradfield, to appear before them at Speenham-Land, near Newbury, to anſwer to divers articles of *blaſphemy and hereſy*. After ſeveral days hearing, and witneſſes produced on both ſides, the commiſſioners determined Dec. 8, 1654, that the ſaid doctor was guilty of denying the deity of Chriſt; the merits of his precious blood and paſſion; and ſeveral other ſuch-like opinions. It is further declared under the hands of ſix of the commiſſioners, and a ſufficient number of *miniſters* their aſſiſtants, that the ſaid doctor was ignorant, and inſufficient for the work of the miniſtry; it is therefore ordered, that the ſaid doctor be, and he is hereby ejected out of the rectory of Bradfield, and the profits thereof; but the ſaid commiſſioners do grant him time, till the 2d of Feb. to remove himſelf, his family, his goods and chattels, out of the ſaid parſonage-houſe; and further time to remove his corn out of the barns, till the 23d of March.

The Oxford hiſtorian ſays, this *Pordage* was a Doctor by *Charientiſmus*, and had been preacher of St. *Lawrence church* in Reading before he came to Bradfield.* That he was a myſtick enthuſiaſt, and uſed to talk of the *fiery deity of Chriſt dwelling in the ſoul, and mixing itſelf with our fleſh*.† He dealt much in *aſtrology*, and pretended to converſe with the world of ſpirits. After his ejectment he wrote againſt the commiſſioners a pamphlet, entitled, *Innocency appearing;* which was anſwered by Mr. *Chriſtopher Fowler*, vicar of St.

* Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 450.

† Mr. *Neal* is not correct here. For, as Dr. *Grey* obſerves, this paſſage is not in the Oxford hiſtorian. It is probable that Mr. *Neal* took this charge againſt Dr. *Pordage*, either from his narrative of the proceedings of the commiſſioners, or from Mr. *Fowler*'s animadverſions: though, by not ſpecifying his author, the reader is led to ſuppoſe that the whole paragraph is grounded on the repreſentation of the Oxford hiſtorian. He, it ſhould be alſo noticed, does not aſcribe a ſkill in *aſtrology* to Dr. *Pordage*; but ſays, that "Mr. "*Aſhmole* commended him for his knowledge in, or great affection to, "*aſtronomy*." Ed.

Mary,

Mary, Reading, in his *dominium meridianum*. However, the doctor was restored to his living at Bradfield at the restoration.

The Wiltshire commissioners summoned Mr. *Walter Bushnel*, vicar of Box near Malmsbury, before them, to answer to a charge of *drunkenness, profanation of the sabbath, gaming, and disaffection to the government;** and after a full hearing, and proof upon oath, they ejected him. The vicar prepared for the press, 'a Narrative of the proceedings of the commissioners appointed by *O. Cromwell* for ejecting scandalous and ignorant ministers, in the case of *Walter Bushnel*,' &c. but it was not printed till the king's restoration; and even then the commissioners did themselves justice in a reply, which they entitled, *a vindication of the Marlborough commissioners, by the commissioners themselves*. And Dr. *Chambers*, who was reproached by the said *Bushnel*, did himself justice in a distinct vindication. However, the *vicar* was restored to his vicarage in a lump with the rest at the restoration.

Upon the whole, the industrious Dr. *Walker* says, he can find no footsteps of the numbers of the clergy that were ejected by the commissioners, though he imagines they might be considerable. But I am well satisfied there were none of any considerable character; for there were not a great many zealous loyalists in livings at this time; and those that were had the wisdom to be silent about publick affairs, while they saw the eyes of the government were upon them in every corner of the land. The commissioners continued to act till some time after the protector's death, and were a greater terror to the *fanatics and visionaries of those times*, than to the regular clergy of any denomination.

The protector and his council passed another ordinance, August 30, for the service of Wales, appointing sir *Hugh Owen*, and about eighteen other commissioners, for the six counties of South-Wales, with the county of Monmouth; and *Matthew Morgan*, with about twelve other commissioners, for the six counties of North-Wales; any three of which were empowered to call before them all such who, by au-

* This last, Dr. *Grey* supposes, was the main reason; for *Wood* says, "he "continued at Box in *good esteem* the greatest part of the interrupted times, "but was at length ejected from his living in the reign of *Oliver*." Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 273. Ed.

thority of the *act for propagating the goſpel in Wales*, had received or diſpoſed of any of the profits of the rectories, vicarages, &c. in that principality; and to give an account upon oath, of all ſuch rents and profits; and the ſurplus money in the hands of the commiſſioners, to be paid into the *exchequer*.*

To ſet this affair before the reader in one view: The principality of Wales, by reaſon of the poverty of the people, and the ſmall endowments of church livings, was never well ſupplied with a learned or pious clergy; the people were generally very ignorant, and only one remove from heathens. In 1641 a petition was preſented to the king and parliament, which declares, that there were not ſo many conſcientious and conſtant preachers in Wales as there were counties; and that theſe were either ſilenced, or much perſecuted.† The civil wars had made their condition worſe; for as they generally adhered to the king, and received great numbers of *Iriſh* papiſts into their country, their preachers went into his majeſty's ſervice, or fled from their cures, when the parliament forces took poſſeſſion of it. After the king's death the parliament paſſed the ordinance already mentioned, for the better propagating of the preaching of the goſpel in Wales, and for ejecting ſcandalous miniſters and ſchool-maſters, and for redreſs of ſome grievances; it bears date Feb. 22, 1649, and empowers the commiſſioners therein mentioned, or any twelve of them, to receive and diſpoſe of all and ſingular rents, iſſues, and profits, of all eccleſiaſtical livings, impropriations, and glebe lands, within the ſaid counties, which then were, or afterwards ſhould be under ſequeſtration, or in the diſpoſal of the parliament, and out of them to order and appoint a conſtant yearly maintenance for ſuch perſons as ſhould be recommended, and approved for the work of the miniſtry, or education of children; and for ſuch other miniſters as were then reſiding in the ſaid counties. The ordinance to continue in force for three years, from March 25, 1650.

By virtue of this ordinance many clergymen were ejected, but not all, for in Montgomeryſhire eleven or twelve remained, as did ſeveral in other counties; but all who were

* Scobel, p. 347.

† Calamy's Com. of Church and Diſſenters, p. 47, note.

ejected

ejected for manifeſt ſcandal.* Afterwards complaints being made, that the people were turning *papiſts* or *heathens*, for want of the word of God, ſeveral were ſent into Montgomeryſhire, where there were at leaſt ſixteen preachers, of which ten were univerſity men, the meaneſt of whom were approved and ſettled in pariſhes at the reſtoration. The commiſſioners were empowered to examine into the behaviour of ſuch as were reputed *ignorant, inſufficient, non-reſident, ſcandalous, or enemies to the preſent government.* And it being impoſſible to fill up the vacant livings with ſuch as could preach in the *Welch* language, the revenues were to be collected and brought into a common treaſury, out of which one hundred pounds per annum was to be given to ſundry itinerant preachers in each county.

Dr. *Walker* ſays, that, from the account drawn up by the commiſſioners themſelves in April 1652, it appears that there had been ejected in South-Wales, and Monmouthſhire, one hundred ſeventy-five miniſters; that is, fifty-ſix from the year 1645 to the time when this act took place, and one hundred and nineteen by the preſent commiſſioners. Mr. *Vavaſor Powel*, who had a chief hand in the ſequeſtrations, ſays, that by virtue of this act between fifty and ſixty of the old clergy were diſpoſſeſſed of their livings when he wrote. Upon the whole, the commiſſioners, who continued to act as long as the protector lived, charge themſelves with between three hundred and twenty, and three hundred and thirty ſeveral and diſtinct livings; but there could not be an equal number of ſequeſtered clergymen, becauſe in the compaſs of ſeven years a great many muſt die; ſome fled, or were killed in the wars; in many pariſhes the tithes were not duly paid by reaſon of the confuſion of the times, and the livings being but from five to ten or twenty pounds a year, moſt of the incumbents were pluraliſts. It is computed that about one half of the church lands and revenues in the principality of Wales, by the ſeveral accidents of death, deſertion, ſequeſtration, &c. fell into the hands of the government before the expiration of this ordinance in 1653, the profits of which, if duly collected and paid, muſt amount to a very conſiderable ſum. There were thirteen counties in North and South

* Calamy's Comp. of Church and Diſſenters, p. 47.

Wales within the limits of the commiſſion; but the largeſt ſum that the ſequeſtrators and agents charge themſelves with for the county of Brecknock, in any one year, till the year 1658, when the propagation had ſubſiſted eight years, is one thouſand five hundred forty-three pounds, by which the reader may make a tolerable computation of the whole; and if we may believe Mr. *Whitlocke*,* who lived through theſe times, in the year 1653 there were one hundred and fifty good preachers in the thirteen Welch counties, moſt of whom preached three or four times a week; that in every market-town there was a ſchool-maſter, and in moſt great towns two able, learned, and univerſity men; and that the tithes were all employed to the uſes directed by act of parliament,† there can be no great reaſon to complain of the negligence of the commiſſioners.

The crimes for which the old clergy were ejected, were *malignancy*, *inſufficiency*, *drunkenneſs*, and *negligence of their cures*. Mr. *Vavaſor Powel* ſays, that *of all the men they had put out in North-Wales, he knew not any that had the power of godlineſs, and very few the form; but that moſt of them were unpreaching curates, or ſcandalous in their morals*. The commiſſioners affirm, that *of the ſixteen they had diſpoſſeſſed in Cardiganſhire, there were but three that were preachers, and thoſe moſt ſcandalous livers*. And Mr. *Baxter* admits, that *they were all weak, and bad enough for the moſt part*. But the writers on the other ſide ſay, that the commiſſioners had no regard to ability in preaching, or ſobriety in converſation. And Dr. *Walker* thinks, the ſequeſtered Welch clergy need no other vindication than to let the world know, *that many of them were graduates in the univerſity;* as if every graduate muſt of courſe be poſſeſſed of all miniſterial qualifications. There might poſſibly be ſome few pious and induſtrious

* Memor. p. 518.

† Theſe uſes and the proportions of the appropriation were as follows: viz. The tithes were divided into ſix parts; one of which went to the ejected miniſters; a ſecond to other ſettled and itinerant miniſters; a third to maintain ſchools, of ſome of which the ejected miniſters and their ſons were maſters; a fourth to the widows and children of the ejected miniſters; a fifth to under officers, as treaſurers, ſolicitors, ſequeſtrators, &c.: and a ſixth to the widows of miniſters deceaſed. Whitlocke's Mem. p. 518; Calamy's Church and Diſſenters compared, p. 47, note. Ed.

preachers

preachers among the ejected Welch clergy; but they who will argue very ſtrenuouſly in favour of the body of them, muſt know very little of the country, or their manner of life.

It was not in the power of the commiſſioners to find a ſucceſſion of pious and learned preachers in the Welch language; but to remedy this in the beſt manner they could, they appointed ſix itinerant preachers of univerſity education for each county, to whom they allowed one hundred pounds a year; beſides which, they ſent out thirty-two miniſters, of whom twenty-four were univerſity men, and ſome of the reſt good ſcholars; but theſe were too few for the work, though they were indefatigable in their labours. To ſupply what was further wanting, they approved of ſeveral *gifted laymen*, members of churches, to travel into the neighbourhood, and aſſiſt the people's devotions, and to theſe they allowed from ſeventeen to twenty pounds *per annum*. In an article of the ſequeſtrators' accompts there appears three hundred and forty pounds *per annum* diſtributed among godly members of the church of Lanvacles, and Mynthiſt Loyn, who had been ſent out to exerciſe their gifts among the Welch mountaineers, and to help forward the work of the Lord. Many others of the ſame quality were approved by the commiſſioners, who went through great difficulties and hardſhips in their work. Mr. *Powel* ſays, that ſome hundreds, if not thouſands, had been converted and reformed by the *propagators*.* But after all, it muſt be confeſſed, that at firſt the number of itinerants, both ſcholars and others, was by no means equal to their work; the pariſhes in that mountainous country are large and wide, and there being but one *itinerant* to ſeveral of thoſe pariſhes, the people muſt have been neglected, and their children too much without inſtruction; but this was owing to the neceſſity of the times.

When the commiſſioners had acted about two years, a petition was preſented to the parliament by the inhabitants of South-Wales, ſigned by above a thouſand hands, in favour of the old ejected clergy, ſetting forth the numbers that had been diſpoſſeſſed, and the want of a competent number of preachers in their places, upon which account the country was reduced to a very miſerable condition. They therefore

* Calamy's Comp. p. 48.

pray

pray the houſe to take ſome courſe for a future ſupply of godly and able preachers; and to call thoſe perſons to account who had received all the profits of church livings into their hands.* The houſe received the petition, and referred it to the *committee for plundered miniſters*, who were empowered to examine witneſſes, and to authorize other commiſſioners in the country to examine witneſſes upon oath, touching the matters contained in the petition. The committee ordered the commiſſioners to bring in their accounts in a month's time, which they did accordingly. And the petitioners were ordered to deliver in the particulars on which the deſired witneſſes might be examined, within two days; but not being provided, they deſired liberty to make good their allegations in the country; to which the commiſſioners willingly agreed. But this taking up ſome time, the long parliament was diſſolved, and the proſecution of this enquiry ſuſpended for the preſent; but as ſoon as the protector was fixed in his government, he publiſhed an ordinance, Aug. 20, 1654, to bring the *propagators* to an account; purſuant to which the ſequeſtrators and treaſurer for South-Wales delivered in their accounts for the years 1650, 1651, 1652, which was all the time the ordinance continued in force; and the commiſſioners appointed by the protector having received and examined them, after a full enquiry allowed and paſſed them, Aug. 10, 1655.

It is hard to read with temper, the reproaches caſt upon theſe commiſſioners by our angry hiſtorians, who have charged them with all manner of corruption, as if they had got great eſtates out of the revenues of the church, though without producing a ſingle example. Mr. *Powel*, who took more pains among them than any man of his time, declares, that he never received for all his preaching in Wales, by ſalary, above ſix or ſeven hundred pounds; that he never had any thing from the tithes. And whereas it was ſaid, that he had enriched himſelf by purchaſing ſome thouſands a year of crown lands, he proteſts, that he never purchaſed above ſeventy pounds a year, which he loſt at the reſtoration.†

* Walker, p. 168.

† Mr. *Powel* vindicated his character in two publications: one entitled "*Examen & Purgamen Vavaſoris*," 1651: wherein he was cleared by the authentic certificates of perſons of great credit, and many of them gentlemen of

And if Mr. *Powel* did not enrich himſelf, I apprehend, none of his brethren could. Beſides, if this had been true, the protector's commiſſioners would have diſcovered them; or if they had eſcaped the protector's enquiry, their enemies would have expoſed them at the reſtoration, when king *Charles* appointed a commiſſion to make the ſtricteſt enquiry into their management. "All perſons who had acted as commiſſioners "for propagating the goſpel, were by his majeſty's inſtruc- "tions to be ſummoned before his commiſſioners; and all "that had acted under them as farmers, tenants, &c. all that "had ſucceeded in the ſequeſtered livings, or received any "of the profits; all pariſhioners, who had kept any of the "tithes in their hands; the heirs, executors, or adminiſtra- "tors, of any of the aforeſaid perſons; and all credible per- "ſons, who could give evidence of any of theſe matters. "They were likewiſe to enquire after books and writings; "and to ſignify to all perſons concerned, that if they would "forthwith apply to his majeſty's commiſſioners, they might "compound for what they ſtood charged with, and ſo avoid "the expence of a law-ſuit." But after all this mighty outcry and ſcrutiny, nothing of any conſequence appeared, and therefore it was thought proper to drop the commiſſion, and bury the whole affair in ſilence. Mr. *Vavaſor Powel*, abovementioned, was cruelly handled by the Welch clergy, but he did himſelf juſtice in a pamphlet, entitled, *Examen & Purgamen Vavaſoris*, publiſhed 1653, wherein he vindicates his proceedings in the *propagation*.† And when he was in the Fleet after the reſtoration, he publiſhed a brief narrative concerning the proceedings of the commiſſioners in Wales againſt the ejected clergy, occaſioned by a report that he had been thrown into that priſon for ſome of the revenues; which was never anſwered.

of good landed property: the other called, "the Bird in the Cage chirping: "or a Brief Narrative of the former propagation and late reſtriction of the "Goſpel in Wales," 12mo. 1661. The author of his life, in 1671, ſays, "that he received nothing from the churches in Wales but neighbourly and "brotherly kindneſs. The parliament ordered him £100 *per annum*, out "of a ſinecure, whereof he received about £60, for ſeven or eight years: "many conſiderable gifts he refuſed; and never did he get any thing by the "act for the propagation of the goſpel in Wales." Life, p. 112; Calamy's Church and Diſſenters compared, p. 47—8, note. ED.

† Walker, p. 149.

By

By an ordinance of Sept. 2, commiſſioners were appointed to enquire into the yearly value of all eccleſiaſtical livings and benefices without cure of ſouls; what perſon or perſons received the profits, and who was the patron; and to certify the ſame into *chancery;* and if, upon a careful conſideration of things, it ſhall be found convenient and advantageous to unite two pariſhes or more into one, and that the whole eccleſiaſtical revenues, tithes, and profits, belonging to the ſaid pariſhes ſo united, ſhould be applied for a proviſion for one godly and painful miniſter, to preach in the ſaid united pariſhes, then the truſtees, or commiſſioners appointed by this act, ſhall repreſent the ſame to his HIGHNESS and *council*, upon whoſe approbation they ſhall, by an inſtrument under the hands and ſeals of any five or more of them, declare, that they do thereby unite ſuch pariſhes into one; which *inſtrument* being enrolled in *chancery*, the ſaid pariſhes from thenceforth ſhall be adjudged and taken to be conſolidated into one. If there happen to be more patrons than one in the pariſhes thus united, the patrons ſhall preſent by turns; but the union ſhall not take place till the avoidance of one of the livings by the death of the incumbent.*

On the other hand, where pariſhes were too large, the truſtees for the augmentation of poor livings were empowered to divide them into two, or more, upon their avoidance by death.

Further, if, when two or more pariſhes were united into one, the income or ſalary did not amount to one hundred pounds *per annum*, the truſtees for receiving impropriations, tithes, firſt-fruits, and tenths, &c. were directed to make up the deficiency; and where there was a conſiderable ſurplus, they might take off the augmentations formerly granted. Provided this ordinance be not conſtrued to reſtrain the ſaid truſtees from granting augmentations to preachers in cities and market-towns, where there ſhall be cauſe, to a greater proportion, with the conſent of the protector and his council. This was a noble and generous deſign; and if the protector had lived to have ſeen it executed, muſt have been of general ſervice to the body of the clergy.

* Scobel, p. 353.

Though

Though his HIGHNESS himſelf was no great ſcholar, he was a patron of learning and learned men.* He ſettled one hundred pounds a year on a divinity profeſſor in Oxford, and gave twenty-four rare manuſcripts to the Bodleian library. He erected and endowed a college in Durham for the benefit of the Northern counties, Mr. *Frankland*, M. A. being one of the firſt fellows. But theſe, and ſome other deſigns that he had formed for the advancement of learning, died with him.†

In order to ſecure the education of youth he took care to regulate both univerſities, by appointing new viſitors, the former ceaſing with the diſſolution of the long parliament, viz.

For the Univerſity of Oxford.‡

The *Vice-Chancellor* for the time being,

Dr. *Harris*, preſident of Trinity college
Dr. *Rogers*, principal of New-inn Hall
Dr. *T. Goodwin*, preſident of Magdalen college
Dr. *John Owen*, dean of Chriſt-church
Dr. *Henry Wilkinſon*, Margaret profeſſor of divinity
Dr. *Peter French*, prebend of Chriſt-church
Dr. *John Conant*, rector of Exeter college
Dr. *John Goddard*, warden of Merton college
Mr. *Thankful Owen*, preſident of St. John's
Mr. *Stephens*, principal of Hart-hall
Mr. *James Baron*, of Magdalen college
Mr. *Francis Howel*, fellow of Exeter college
William, viſcount *Say and Sele*
Nathaniel Fiennes, eſq;
Bulſtrode Whitlocke, comm. of the great ſeal
Samuel Dunch, eſq;
Sir *John Dreyden*
Richard Ingoldſby, *John Crew*, *George Fleetwood*, *John Bright*, —— *Jenkinſon*, —— *Greenfield*, § eſqrs.

* To the proofs which Mr. *Neal* produces of the patronage *Cromwell* afforded to learning, may be added, that he permitted the paper for Dr. *Walton's Polyglott* to be imported free of duty; and that when, through his pre-engagement to another, Dr. *Seth Ward*, afterwards biſhop of *Exeter*, loſt the principalſhip of Jeſus' college in Oxford, in 1567: on being informed of his merit and learning he promiſed him an annuity equal to the value of the principalſhip. Dr. Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 429, 431; and Calamy's Life of Mr. Howe, p. 19. ED.

† Whitlocke, p. 588. ‡ Scobel, p. 366.

§ Add from *Grey*, ſir *Charles Wolſeley*, bart. *Humphry Mackworth*, eſq.

For the Univerſity of Cambridge.

The *Vice-Chancellor* for the time being,

Dr. *Tuckney*, maſter of St. John's college
Dr. *Arrowſmith*, maſter of Trinity college
Dr. *Herton*, preſident of Queen's college
Dr. *Sam. Bolton*, maſter of Chriſt's college
Dr. *Law. Seaman*, maſter of Peter houſe
Dr. *Lightfoot*, maſter of Katherine hall
Mr. *John Sadler*, maſter of Magdalen college
Dr. *Whitchcot*
Dr. *Cudworth*
Mr. *Worthington*, maſter of Jeſus college
Mr. *Dillingham*, maſter of Emanuel college
Mr. *Simpſon*, maſter of Pembroke hall
Mr. *Templer*, fellow of Trinity c.
Mr. *Mowbrey*, fellow of St. John's college
Mr. *William Moſes*, fellow of Pembroke hall
Mr. *Wood*, fellow of Magdalen college.
Henry Cromwell
Henry Lawrence, lord preſident of his highneſs's council
J. Lambert, *J. Deſborough*, } eſqrs.
Sir *Gilbert Pickering*
Col. *Ed. Montague*
Francis Rouſe, eſq;
Oliver St. John, lord chief juſtice of the common-pleas
J. Thurloe, *Robert Caſtle*, *Tho. Bendiſh*, *Rob. Viner*, *Griffith Lloyd*, } eſqrs.
Sir *William Strickland*.

Any ſeven or more of the commiſſioners above-named were authoriſed to viſit all *colleges* and *halls* within their reſpective univerſities; to examine what ſtatutes were fit to be abrogated, altered, or added, and to exhibit the ſame to his HIGHNESS, and the PARLIAMENT. They are further authoriſed, to explain ſuch ſtatutes as are ambiguous and obſcure; to determine appeals; and are to be aſſiſted upon all occaſions by the mayor, ſheriffs, and juſtices of peace. The ſaid *viſitors*, or any four of them, are authoriſed to viſit Weſtminſter ſchool, Wincheſter ſchool, Merchant Taylors ſchool, and Eton college; and to conſider of ſuch ſtatutes of the ſaid ſchools as are fit to be abrogated, and of others that may be proper to be added, for the well-government of the ſaid ſchools and colleges.

The viſitors diſcharged their duty with great fidelity; and the heads of colleges had a watchful eye over their ſeveral houſes;

houſes; drunkenneſs, ſwearing, gaming, and all kinds of immorality, were ſeverely puniſhed; all ſtudents, graduates, and others, were obliged to be at home in proper hours; the publick-houſes were ſearched; and the practice of religion in the ſeveral colleges enforced with rigour. One of the profeſſors writes, that there was more frequent practical preaching in the colleges than ever had been known. On the Lord's day, at different hours, there were three or four ſermons in ſeveral churches; and on the week days, lectures on Tueſdays, Thurſdays, Fridays, and Saturdays. The tutors were very diligent in diſcharge of their duty; the publick lectures were well attended, and the ſtudents under ſtrict diſcipline; learning revived, and the muſes returned to their ſeats, as appears by the numbers of learned men who flouriſhed in the reign of king *Charles* II. and owed their education to theſe times.

The protector's zeal for the welfare of the proteſtant churches abroad deſerves a particular notice, and was highly valued by all the reformed in foreign countries.* He took all imaginable care to appear at the head of that intereſt on all occaſions, and to ſhew his power in protecting them. The prince of Tarente having written a reſpectful letter to the protector, his highneſs returned him the following anſwer: "that it was with extreme pleaſure he had learned by letters "his inviolable zeal and attachment to the reformed churches, "for which his praiſe was the greater, in as much as he "ſhewed that zeal at a time, and in a place, where ſuch flat-"tering hopes were given to perſons of his rank, if they "would forſake the orthodox faith; and where thoſe who "continue ſtedfaſt are threatened with ſo many troubles. "He rejoices that his own conduct in religion was ſo pleaſing "to him; he calls God to witneſs, that he deſired nothing "ſo much as an opportunity to anſwer the favourable opinion "the churches have of his zeal and piety, by endeavouring "to propagate the true faith, and procure reſt and peace for "the church. He exhorts the prince to hold out firm to "the end in the orthodox religion which he received from "his fathers; and adds, that nothing would bring him greater "glory, than to protect it as much as lay in his power."

* Hiſtory of the Stuarts, p. 423.

What

What projects the protector formed for this purpose will be seen hereafter.

But the royal interest abroad was inclining towards popery; the duke of York was already perverted to the *Romish* faith;* no attempts were unessayed by the queen mother, the queen of France, and others, to gain the young duke of Gloucester, who had been under the instruction of parliamentary tutors till the last year:† but this young prince was too well established in his religion to be perverted at present,‡ upon which the queen forbad him her presence; and the marquis of Ormond conducted him to his brother at Cologne. The king was a man of no religion, and having little to do, devoted his leisure hours to the ladies, and other private pleasures. His majesty had some trial (says bishop *Kennet*§) of his conscience and courage in refusing the little arguments, or rather importunities of popery. The papists put him in mind, that all his hopes from the protestant party were at an end; that the bishops were dead, except a very few; and the church lands sold; and that since the late defeat at Worcester the presbyterian power was destroyed; all his hopes therefore must be from the *roman* catholicks, from whose assistance only he could now hope for his restoration. But the prospect was so distant, that the king, by advice of lord *Clarendon*, was prevailed with not to declare himself openly at present.

On the last of November died the learned Mr. *John Selden*, the glory of the *English* nation:‖ he was born in Sussex Dec. 6, 1584, and educated in Hart-hall, Oxford; after which he was transplanted to the Inner-Temple, where he became a

* Compl. Hist. p. 203. † Kennet's Chron. p. 599.

‡ The manner of expression used by Mr. *Neal* may lead the reader, Dr. *Grey* observes, to think, that the duke of Gloucester was at last perverted: which he apprehends was not the case. For *Eachard* affirms, that the duke was an *invincible asserter* of his father's faith: and *Carte* represents him as withstanding the arguments of the abbot of Pontoise, and rejecting the offers of a cardinal's hat, and even the promise of placing him on the throne. But, on the other hand, *Oldmixon* assures his reader, on the authority of a minister of state, a man of known wisdom and probity, who was a particular favourite with the prince of Orange, at the Hague, from whose mouth he had the information, that the duke was afterwards reconciled to the church of Rome. Grey, vol. iii. p. 175. History of the Stuarts, p. 489. Ed.

§ Compl. Hist. p. 213. ‖ Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 107, 8.

prodigy

prodigy in the moſt uncommon parts of ſcience. He was a great philologiſt, antiquary, herald, linguiſt, statesman, and lawyer, but ſeldom appeared at the bar. He was choſen burgeſs for ſeveral parliaments, where he displayed his profound erudition in ſpeeches and debates in favour of the liberties of his country; for which he was imprisoned, and severely fined with Mr. *Pym* in the parliament of 1618, and 1628. He was choſen again in the long parliament, and appeared againſt the *prerogative*, as he had formerly done. He was one of the lay members of the aſſembly of divines, and by his vaſt ſkill in the oriental learning, and *jewiſh* antiquities, frequently ſilenced the moſt able divines. He wrote on various ſubjects, which gained him the title among foreigners of the *dictator of learning in the Engliſh nation*.* Among other remarkable pieces, we may reckon his *Hiſtory of Tithes*, publiſhed 1618, in which he proves them not to be due to the chriſtian clergy by divine inſtitution: for this he was summoned before the *high commiſſion court*, and obliged to make a public recantation.† But after ſome time his reputation was ſo great, that it was thought worth while to gain him

* It does honour to *Grotius*, his antagoniſt, that he pronounced Mr. *Selden* to be "the glory of the Engliſh nation." Like a man of genius, he was for ſtriking out new paths of learning, and enlarging the territories of ſcience. The greater part of his works are on uncommon ſubjects. But towards the cloſe of life he ſaw the emptineſs of all human learning; and owned, that, out of the numberleſs volumes he had read and digeſted, nothing ſtuck ſo cloſe to his heart, or gave him ſuch ſolid ſatisfaction, as a ſingle paſſage of Paul's Epiſtles: Tit. ii. 11—14. Granger's Hiſt. of England, vol. ii. p. 228—9. 8vo. Ed.

† It is judiciouſly remarked by *Le Clerc*, that it was great impolicy in the church and court party to offend and irritate ſuch a man as *Selden:* a man of deep learning, not in Jewiſh antiquities only, but in thoſe of his own country, the laws of which he underſtood to their firſt grounds. Such perſons ought at all times to be courted and favoured, on account of the great uſe which may be made of them on all occaſions; but eſpecially in ſeaſons of public diſcontents, when they can turn the balance on the ſide which they join. Whereas it generally happens, that they are ill-treated, and the court favours are beſtowed on thoſe only who are fit for nothing but to feed on a great benefice or a good penſion. It would have been the more wiſe to have ſecured *Selden*, ſince he was by no means a fanatick, as many places in his 'Table-Talk' ſhew; and even was partial to the old eccleſiaſtical government, in oppoſition to thoſe who often ſet it at nought. Bibliotheque Ancienne & Moderne, tom. vi. p. 253. Ed.

over

over to the court; and upon the new civilities he received at Lambeth, he was prevailed with to publiſh his *Mare clauſum* againſt *Hugo Grotius*, which was eſteemed ſuch an invaluable treaſure, that it was ordered to be laid up in the court of records. The archbiſhop offered him preferments, but he would accept of nothing. Upon the firſt preſſures againſt the biſhops, he publiſhed his *Eutychius* in *Greek* and *Latin*, with notes, in which he proves that *biſhops and preſbyters differ only in degree*. He afterwards anſwered his majeſty's declaration about the *commiſſion of array*, and was made maſter of the *rolls* by the *long parliament*. He had a large and curious library of books: in the frontiſpiece of each he uſed to write this motto, Περὶ παντὸς ἐλευθερίαν; *above all*, LIBERTY. At length being worn out with age, and hard ſtudy, he died at his houſe in the White-Fryars, aged ſeventy years, and was magnificently interred in the Temple church on the ſouth ſide of the round walk, *according to the directory*, in the preſence of all the judges, ſome parliament-men, benchers, and great officers. His funeral ſermon was preached by archbiſhop *Uſher*, who acknowledged he was not worthy to carry his books after him. His works are lately collected, and printed together in ſix volumes folio.

Mr. *Thomas Gataker* was born in London 1574, and was educated in St. John's college, Cambridge, where he proceeded *M. A.* and was afterwards removed to Sidney college, where he became remarkable for his ſkill in the *Hebrew* and *Greek* languages.* After his ordination he was choſen miniſter of Lincoln's-inn, and occupied that ſtation ten years; but in the year 1611 he was preſented to the rectory of Rotherhithe, where he continued till his death. In the year 1643 he was choſen a member of the aſſembly of divines, and was an ornament and reputation to it. When the earl of Mancheſter viſited and reformed the univerſity of Cambridge, he offered Mr. *Gataker* the maſterſhip of Trinity college, but he refuſed it on the account of his health. Mr. *Gataker* was a very learned man, and a conſiderable critic and linguiſt, as appears by his writings, which were very numerous, conſidering his infirm ſtate of health. He was a conſtant preacher, of a moſt holy and exemplary deportment, but withal of great

* Clarke's General Martyrology, p. 248, &c. of the Lives.

modeſty.

modeſty. It is hard, ſays Mr. *Enchard*, to ſay, which was moſt remarkable, his exemplary piety and charity, his polite literature, or his humility and modeſty in refuſing preferments. He maintained a correſpondence with *Salmaſius*, *Hornbeck*, and other learned foreigners, and was in high eſteem both at home and in the Low Countries, where he had travelled. He died of age, and a complication of infirmities, July 27, 1654, in the eightieth year of his age.*

Mr. *William Strong* was educated in Katherine Hall, Cambridge, of which he was fellow. He was afterwards rector of More-Crichel in Dorſetſhire, where he continued till he was forced to fly from the cavaliers;† he then came to London, and was choſen one of the aſſembly of divines, and miniſter of St. Dunſtan's in the Weſt. After ſome time he became preacher at Weſtminſter-Abbey, where he died ſuddenly in the vigour of life, and was buried in the Abbey church July 4, 1654. His funeral ſermon was preached by Mr. *Ob. Sedgwick*, who ſays, that he was ſo plain in heart, ſo deep in judgment, ſo painful in ſtudy, ſo exact in preaching, and in a word, ſo fit for all the parts of the miniſterial ſervice, that he did not know his equal. But after the reſtoration his bones were dug up, and removed to St. Margaret's church yard, with thoſe of other eminent preſbyterian divines. He publiſhed ſeveral ſermons and theological treatiſes in his lifetime; and after his death there was a poſthumous one *upon the covenants*, in the preface to which Mr. *Theophilus Gale* obſerves, that the author was a wonder of nature for natural parts, and a miracle of grace for his deep inſight into the more profound myſteries of the goſpel. His thoughts were ſublime, but clear and penetrating, eſpecially in interpreting difficult texts.

Mr. *Andrew Pern* was educated in Cambridge, and from thence removed to Welby in Northamptonſhire, where he maintained the character of a zealous, laborious and ſucceſsful

* The moſt celebrated of his works is a valuable edition of *Marcus Antoninus*, with a *Latin* tranſlation and commentary, and a preliminary diſcourſe on the philoſophy of the *Stoics*, which is much eſteemed. His houſe was a private ſeminary for divers young gentlemen of this nation, and many foreigners reſorted to him, and lodged at his houſe in order to receive from him advice in their ſtudies. Britiſh Biography, vol. iv. p. 354, note. Ed.

† Athenæ, Oxon. p. 218.

preacher,

preacher for twenty-seven years. In the year 1643, he was chosen a member of the assembly of divines at Westminster. When he was at London he was offered several considerable preferments, but refused them, resolving to return to his people at Wethy, who honoured him as a father; for by his awakening sermons, and exemplary life and conversation, he accomplished a great reformation of manners in that town. He was full of spiritual warmth, (says the preacher of his funeral sermon) filled with an holy indignation against sin, active in his work, and never more in his element than in the pulpit. As his life was holy, so his death was comfortable. He blessed God that he was not afraid to die, and he earnestly desired to be gone, often crying out, in his last sickness, *When will that hour come? One assault more, and this earthen vessel will be broken, and I shall be with God.* He died the beginning of December, 1654, before he was arrived to the age of fifty.

Dr. *Samuel Bolton* was educated in Cambridge, and from thence removed to the living of St. Martin's, Ludgate. Upon his coming to the city he was chosen one of the additional members of the assembly of divines, being a person of great name and character for learning and practical preaching. He was a burning and shining light, (says Mr. *Clarke*†) an interpreter one of a thousand, an admirable preacher, and his life was an excellent commentary upon his sermons. Upon the death of Dr. *Bainbrigge* he was chosen master of Christ's college, Cambridge, which he governed with great wisdom and prudence till his death, which happened about the [illegible] of October, 1654. He was buried with great solemnity in his parish church of Ludgate on the 16th of the same month, very much lamented by the London clergy of those times.

Mr. *Jer. Whitaker* was born at Wakefield in Yorkshire, 1599, and educated in Sidney college, Cambridge, where he proceeded in arts. He taught the free-school at Okeham in Rutlandshire seven years, and then became minister of Stretton in the same county, where he continued thirteen years. In 1643, he was nominated one of the assembly of divines at Westminster, which brought him to London, where he was chosen to the rectory of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondsey,

† Lives of Eminent Persons, p. 43.

in Southwark. He preached three or four ſermons every week; two in Southwark, one at Weſtminſter, and one at Chriſt church, London. He never withdrew from any opportunity of preaching if he was in health; and though he preached often, his ſermons were ſolid and judicious. He was an univerſal ſcholar, both in arts and languages; well acquainted with the fathers and ſchool-men, an acute diſputant, and inferior to none in his acquaintance with the holy ſcriptures.* He was of the *preſbyterian* perſuaſion, and had a chief hand in compoſing the *defence of the goſpel miniſtry*, publiſhed this year by the provincial ſynod of London. He refuſed the *engagement*, and lamented the wars between England, Scotland, and Holland. No man was more beloved by the *preſbyterian* miniſters of London than Mr. *Whitaker*. When he was ſeized with the violent and acute pain of the ſtone about the beginning of November, many days of prayer and faſting were obſerved for his recovery, but the diſtemper was incurable. He bore his pains with uncommon patience, fearing nothing more than to diſhonour God by unreaſonable complaints. When his diſtemper was moſt violent he would deſire his friends to withdraw, that they might not be affected with his roarings. At length nature being quite ſpent, he cheerfully reſigned his ſoul into the hands of his Redeemer, about the fifty-fifth year of his age. His funeral ſermon was preached by Mr. *Calamy*, who gave him a large and deſerved encomium.

Mr. *Richard Vines*, of whom mention has been made already, was born at Blazon in Leiceſterſhire, and educated in Magdalen college, Cambridge, where he commenced *M. A.* He was firſt ſchool-maſter at Hinckley, then miniſter of Wedlington in Warwickſhire. At the beginning of the civil war he was driven from his pariſh, and forced to take ſhelter in Coventry. When the aſſembly of divines was convened he was choſen one of their number; and, as *Fuller* ſays,† was the champion of their party. While he was at London he became miniſter of St. Clement's Danes; afterwards he removed to Watton in Hertfordſhire, and was choſen maſter of Pembroke hall in Cambridge, but reſigned that, and his

* Clarke's General Martyrology, in the Lives, p. 264.

† Fuller's Worthies, p. 134.

living of St. Lawrence Jewry, on account of the *engagement*. He was a ſon of thunder, and therefore compared to *Luther*; but moderate and charitable to thoſe who differed from him in judgment. The parliament employed him in all their treaties with the king; and his majeſty, though of a different judgment, valued him for his ingenuity, ſeldom ſpeaking to him without touching his hat, which Mr. *Vines* returned with moſt reſpectful language and geſtures. He was an admirable ſcholar; holy and pious in his converſation, and indefatigable in his labours, which waſted his ſtrength, and brought him into a conſumption, when he had lived but about fifty-ſix years. He was buried in his own pariſh church, Feb. 7, 1655, his funeral ſermon being preached by Dr. *Jacomb*, who gave him his juſt commendation. He was a perfect maſter of the Greek tongue, a good philologiſt, and an admirable diſputant. He was a thorough *calviniſt*, and a bold honeſt man without pride or flattery.* Mr. *Newcomen* calls him *diſputator acutiſſimus*, *concionator feliciſſimus*, *theologus eximius*. Many funeral poems and elegies were publiſhed on his death.†

The protector having diſſolved his ſecond parliament without confirming their acts, was obliged ſtill to rely on the military arm; this, together with the inſurrections in ſeveral parts of the country, induced him, for his greater ſecurity, to canton the nation into eleven diſtricts, and place over them *major-generals*, whoſe commiſſion was to inſpect the beha-

* Dr. *Grey* inſinuates a reflection on Mr. *Vines*'s ſimplicity and integrity, by a ſtory of his praying in the morning of an Eaſter Sunday, before the marquis of *Hertford*, for the king's reſtoration to his throne and regal rights; but, in the afternoon, when the marquis was abſent, and lord *Fairfax* came to church, praying, in *ſtylo parliamentario*, that God would turn the heart of the king, and give him grace to repent of his grievous ſins, eſpecially all the blood ſhed in thoſe *civil*, *uncivil* wars. On which it was obſerved, that Mr. *Vines* was much more altered between the forenoon and afternoon, than the difference between an Engliſh *marquis* and an Iriſh *baron*. The reader, perhaps, will think, that each prayer might very conſiſtently be formed by the ſame perſon. Not a week before Mr. *Vines*'s death, as he was preaching at St. Gregory's, a rude fellow cried out to him, "Lift up your voice, for I cannot hear you:" to whom Mr. *Vines* returned, "Lift up your ears, for I can ſpeak no louder." Fuller's Worthies, p. 446, 8vo. edition, 1684. Ed.

† Clarke's Lives of Eminent Perſons, p. 48.

viour

viour of the inferior commiſſioners within their diſtricts; to commit to priſon all ſuſpected perſons; to take care of collecting the publick taxes; and to ſequeſter ſuch as did not pay their decimation. They were to enquire after all private aſſemblies of ſuſpected perſons, and after ſuch as bought up arms; after vagabonds and idle perſons; after ſuch as lived at an higher rate than they could afford; after ſuch as frequented taverns and gaming-houſes, and after ſcandalous and unlearned miniſters and ſchool-maſters; and there was no appeal from them but to the protector and his council. They were ordered to liſt a body of *reſerves* both horſe and foot at half-pay, who were to be called together upon any ſudden emergency, and to attend ſo many days at their own expence, but if they were detained longer to have full pay; by which means the protector had a ſecond army in view, if any diſaſter ſhould befal the firſt; but theſe officers became ſo ſevere and arbitrary, that *his highneſs* found it neceſſary after ſome time to reduce their power, and when affairs were a little more ſettled to diſſolve them.

Having provided for the ſecurity of his government at home, the protector concluded an alliance with France, Oct. 23, in which it is remarkable that *Lewis* XIV. is not allowed to ſtile himſelf king of France, but king of the French, his *highneſs* claiming the protectorſhip of that kingdom among his other titles; and, which is more ſurpriſing, the name of OLIVER ſtands in the treaty before that of the French king. At the ſame time he ſent admiral *Blake* with a fleet into the Mediterranean, who ſpread the terror of the Engliſh name over all Italy, even to Rome itſelf; proceſſions being made, and the hoſt expoſed for forty hours, to avert the judgments of heaven, and preſerve the patrimony of the church. But *Blake*'s commiſſion was only to demand ſixty thouſand pounds of the duke of *Tuſcany*, for damages ſuſtained by the Engliſh merchants while he harboured prince *Rupert*, which he paid immediately. The admiral releaſed all the Engliſh ſlaves on the coaſt of Barbary to the number of four hundred, and obtained ſatisfaction for the ſhips taken by the pirates of Algiers, Tunis, &c. Upon the whole he brought home ſixteen ſhips laden with booty, which ſailed

up the river Thames to the port of London, as a grateful ſpectacle of triumph to the people.

While *Blake* was in the Mediterranean, admiral *Pen* and *Venables*, with thirty men of war and ſome land forces, ſailed to the Weſt-Indies, with a deſign to ſurprize the town of Hiſpaniola; but miſcarrying in the attempt, they re-imbarked and took poſſeſſion of the iſland of Jamaica, which is in poſſeſſion of the crown of Great-Britain to this day.

The protector did not commiſſion *Blake* to aſſault the Spaniſh coaſts in the Mediterranean, becauſe there was no open rupture between the two nations in Europe; but the Weſt-Indies not being included in the treaty, he thought himſelf at liberty in thoſe parts; which occaſioned a declaration of war, on the part of Spain, with all the Engliſh dominions; upon which *Blake* was ordered to cruiſe upon the Spaniſh coaſts, and to wait for the return of the Plate fleet, of which he gave a very good account the next ſummer.

To ſupport theſe additional expences, the protector, by advice of his council, raiſed ſome extraordinary taxes before the parliament met, which he knew to be illegal, and did not pretend to juſtify upon any other foot than *the abſolute neceſſity of the publick ſafety*; *the diſtracted condition of the nation*; *that it was impracticable in the preſent juncture to call a parliament, or to proceed in the ordinary courſe of law*; *and that in extraordinary caſes, wherein all was at ſtake, ſome extraordinary methods were allowable.* How far this reaſoning will excuſe the protector, or vindicate his conduct, muſt be left with the reader. But it is agreed on all hands, that in things that did not affect the very *being* of his government, he never interpoſed, but let the laws have their free courſe. He had a zeal for trade and commerce beyond all his predeceſſors, and appointed a ſtanding committee of merchants for advancing it, which met for the firſt time in the *painted chamber* Nov. 27, 1655, and continued to his death.

The provincial aſſembly of London, finding their attempts to eſtabliſh *their diſcipline* ineffectual, employed themſelves this year in promoting the religious education of youth; for which purpoſe they publiſhed an *exhortation to catechiſing*; with the following directions for the more orderly carrying it on.

1. "That

1. "That the miniſters on ſome Lord's day prove in their "ſermons the neceſſity and uſefulneſs of ſuch a work, and "exhort all parents, and maſters of families, to prepare "their children and ſervants for it, by catechiſing them at "home, that they may more readily make their anſwers in "publick.

2. "That the catechiſm to be uſed be the *leſſer catechiſm* "of the aſſembly of divines. This catechiſm excelling all "others in this reſpect, that every anſwer is a perfect pro-"poſition without the queſtion.

3. "That the perſons to be catechiſed be children and "ſervants, that have not been admitted to the Lord's ſupper "by the elderſhip.

4. "That the time of catechiſing be on the Lord's day "in the afternoon, before the ſermon, to the end that the "whole congregation may receive benefit thereby.

5. "That the catechiſm may be explained *briefly*, at the "firſt going over, that the people may in a ſhort time have "a notion of the whole body of divinity.

6. "That the pariſh be deſired at the common charge, "to provide catechiſms for the poorer ſort, who cannot "well provide for themſelves, and that the diſtribution of "them be referred to the reſpective miniſters.

7. "It is deſired, that an account in writing, what pro-"greſs is made in the premiſes may be returned from the "claſſes to the provincial aſſembly within forty days after "the receipt hereof.

"Signed in the name, and by the appointment of the aſ-"ſembly,

Edmund Calamy, moderator.
William Harriſon, } ſcribes."
William Blackmore, }

Theſe inſtructions were ſent to the ſeveral claſſes of London; and after their example, the aſſociated miniſters in the ſeveral counties of England publiſhed the like exhortations to their brethren.

The occaſion of this proceeding was the publiſhing two catechiſms of Mr. *John Biddle*, a ſocinian, one called a *Scripture Catechiſm*; and the other, a *Brief Scripture Catechiſm, for the uſe*

uſe of children. Complaints of which being made to the laſt parliament, they were ordered to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, and the author to be impriſoned in the Gate-houſe. Mr. *Biddle* had been in cuſtody for his opinions before the late king's death. While he was there, he had publiſhed twelve queſtions or arguments againſt the deity of the holy ſpirit, in quarto, 1647, which were anſwered by Mr. *Pool*, and the book ordered to be burnt. Next year, being ſtill in priſon, he publiſhed ſeven articles againſt the deity of Chriſt, with the teſtimonies of ſeveral of the fathers on this head; upon which ſome zealous in the aſſembly moved, that he might be put to death as an heretick; but he went on, and being ſet at liberty, in the year 1651, he compoſed and publiſhed the catechiſms abovementioned, in which he maintains, "(1.) That God is confined to a "certain place. (2.) That he has a bodily ſhape. (3.) That "he has paſſions. (4.) That he is neither omnipotent nor "unchangeable. (5.) That we are not to believe three "perſons in the godhead. (6.) That Jeſus Chriſt has not "the nature of God, but only a divine lordſhip. (7.) That "he was not a prieſt while upon earth, nor did reconcile "men to God. And, (8.) That there is no deity in the "Holy Ghoſt." Theſe propoſitions‖ were condemned by the parliament, and the author committed to the Gate-houſe. But as ſoon as the protector had diſſolved his parliament he gave him his liberty.

After this, being of a reſtleſs ſpirit,* he challenged Mr. *Griffin*, a baptiſt preacher, to diſpute with him in St. Paul's cathedral,

‖ Mr. *Biddle* was a pious, holy, and humble man; a conſcientious ſufferer for what appeared to him divine and important. The propoſitions objected to him above do not appear in his catechiſms under the form of principles which he aſſerts, but of queſtions, which he propoſes, and the anſwers to which are numerous texts of ſcripture, that appear to ſpeak to the point. E. g. The firſt propoſition is this queſtion: "Is not God, ac-"cording to the current of the ſcripture, in a certain place, namely in hea-"ven?" The anſwer conſiſts of 29 paſſages of ſcripture, which repreſent God, as "looking from heaven, as our father who art in heaven," and the like. For a full account of theſe catechiſms I would refer the reader to my "Review of the Life, Character, and Writings of Mr. *John Biddle*," ſection 8. ED.

* It is to be regretted, that Mr. *Neal* ſhould ſpeak in this manner of one, who thought it his duty, by the fair and peaceable means of preaching and

cathedral, on this queſtion, *Whether Jeſus Chriſt be the moſt High, or Almighty God?* This occaſioning new diſturbances, the council committed him to Newgate; but the protector though it beſt to ſend him out of the way, and accordingly tranſported him to Scilly, and allowed him one hundred crowns a year for his maintenance. Here he remained till the year 1658, when the noiſe being over, he was ſet at liberty; his catechiſms having been anſwered by Dr. *Owen*, in a learned and elaborate treatiſe, entitled *Vindiciæ Evangelicæ*, &c.

After the protector's death, *Biddle* ſet up a private conventicle in London, which continued till the reſtoration, when the church being reſtored to its coercive power, he was apprehended while preaching, and committed to priſon, where he died in September 1662, and was buried in the burying-ground in Old Bedlam. He had ſuch a prodigious memory (ſays *Wood*,) that he could repeat all St. Paul's epiſtles in Greek, and was reckoned by thoſe of his perſuaſion a ſober man, and ſo devout, that he ſeldom prayed without lying proſtrate on the ground.

Though it was well known by this, as well as other examples, that the protector was averſe to all acts of ſeverity on the account of religion, yet ſuch was the turbulent behaviour of the royaliſts, who threatened an aſſaſſination, publiſhed the moſt daring libels againſt the government, and were actually in arms, that he thought it neceſſary to cruſh them, and therefore an order was publiſhed November 24, "That no perſons after Jan. 1, 1655-6, ſhall keep in their "houſes or families as chaplains or ſchool-maſters, for the

and writing, to advance and diſſeminate ſentiments which he judged to be the truths of ſcripture, and only called men to enquire and examine. Such language fixes a ſtigma upon the honeſt advocate for truth, and is the illiberal cry of thoſe who cannot bear to have eſtabliſhed opinions attacked. The firſt teachers of chriſtianity were reproached as men of reſtleſs ſpirits; as men who "would turn the world upſide down." *Acts* xvii. 6.—— In the preſent caſe, the term was not deſerved, Mr. *Neal* has miſſtated the tranſaction. Mr. *Biddle* was not the *firſt* in the buſineſs. The challenge came from Mr. *Griffin*, and Mr. *Biddle* waved accepting it, and declined the diſputation for ſome time. And when he entered the liſts, there were in the auditory many of his bitter and fiery adverſaries. See "Review of "his Life," p. 117, 18, or a modern "Collection of Unitarian Tracts," in 12mo. vol. iv. p. 91. ED.

"education

" education of their children, any ſequeſtered or ejected mi-
" niſter, fellow of a college, or ſchool-maſter, nor permit
" their children to be taught by ſuch. That no ſuch perſons
" ſhall keep ſchool either publickly or privately, nor preach
" in any publick place, or private meeting, of any others
" than thoſe of his own family; nor ſhall adminiſter baptiſm,
" or the Lord's ſupper, or marry any perſons, or uſe the
" book of common-prayer, or the forms of prayer therein
" contained, on pain of being proſecuted, according to the
" orders lately publiſhed by his highneſs and council, for
" ſecuring the peace of the commonwealth. *Neverthelefs*
" *his highneſs declares, that towards ſuch of the ſaid perſons*
" *as have ſince their ejectment or ſequeſtration, given, or here-*
" *after ſhall give, a real teſtimony of their godlineſs, and good*
" *affection to the preſent government, ſo much tenderneſs ſhall be*
" *uſed as may conſiſt with the ſafety and good of the nation.*"†

This was a ſevere and terrible order‖ upon the epiſcopalians, and abſolutely unjuſtifiable in itſelf; but the title of the act, which is *an Ordinance for ſecuring the peace of the commonwealth*, as well as the laſt clauſe, ſhews it was made *for the ſafety of the government*, againſt a number of men who were undermining it, and was publiſhed chiefly *in terrorem*, for no perſon was proſecuted upon it; and the parliament which met next year, not confirming it, it became abſolutely void.

Dr. *Gauden* preſented a petitionary remonſtrance to the protector againſt this order; and archbiſhop *Uſher* was deſired to uſe his intereſt with his *highneſs* in behalf of the epiſcopal clergy; upon which (ſays the writer of the archbiſhop's life§) the protector promiſed either to recal his declaration, or to prevent its being put in execution, *provided the clergy were inoffenſive in their language and ſermons, and ſtood clear in meddling with matters of ſtate.* His HIGHNESS accordingly laid the matter before his council, who were of opi-

† Hughes's exact Abridgement of publick Acts and Ordinances, 4to. p. 597.

‖ " It would be uſeleſs," ſays Dr. *Harris*, " to ſpend words in expoſing " the cruelty of this declaration. Perſecution is written on the face of " it, nor is it capable of a vindication." " Life of Oliver Cromwell," p. 438. ED.

§ Parr's Life of Uſher, p. 75.

nion,

nion,* that it was not ſafe for him to recal his declaration, and give open liberty to men who were *declared enemies to his government*, but that he ſhould ſuſpend the execution of it as far as their behaviour ſhould deſerve; ſo that in the event here was no great cauſe of complaint; for notwithſtanding this ordinance, the ſober epiſcopal clergy preached publickly in the churches, at London and in the country, as Dr. *Hall*, afterwards biſhop of Cheſter, Dr. *Ball*, Dr. *Wild*, Dr. *Hardy*, Dr. *Griffith*, Dr. *Pearſon*, biſhop of Cheſter, and others. Remarkable are the words of biſhop *Kennet* to this purpoſe; "It is certain, ſays his lordſhip, that the "protector was for liberty, and the utmoſt latitude to all "parties, *ſo far as conſiſted with the peace and ſafety of his "perſon and government*, and therefore he was never jealous "of any cauſe or ſect on the account of hereſy and falſhood, "but on his wiſer accounts of political peace and quiet; and "even the prejudice he had againſt the epiſcopal party was "more for their being royaliſts, than for being of the good "old church. Dr. *Gunning*, afterwards biſhop of Ely, kept "a conventicle in London, in as open a manner as diſſenters "did after the toleration; and ſo did ſeveral other epiſcopal "divines."†

For the ſame reaſons his *highneſs* girt the laws cloſe upon the papiſts, not upon account of their religion, but becauſe

* On this ground when the lord primate went to him a ſecond time to get the promiſe, which the protector, on the firſt application had made of taking off theſe reſtraints, ratified and put into writing, he retracted his engagement, which both grieved and irritated the archbiſhop. He had, indeed, good reaſon to be diſpleaſed. By this it appears, that Mr. *Neal*'s ſtatement above is not accurate. The ordinance was executed: and though ſome worthy epiſcopalians were permitted to officiate, it cannot be doubted but many innocent and worthy men muſt have received very hard meaſure. The ordinance was marked with horrid ſeverity: and it is "a barbarous "thing to prohibit men the uſe of thoſe forms of addreſs to the Deity, "which they imagine are moſt honourable and acceptable to him." Beſides men ought not to ſuffer in their moſt valuable and unalienable rights on *ſuſpicion*; and inſtead of being amenable for *overt-acts*, be puniſhed, as it were, for crimes they have *never committed*. This is injuſtice and cruelty: has its origin in fear and the conſciouſneſs of oppreſſive government: and tends to make the government, which it would protect from danger, odious and hateful. Grey's Remarks, vol. iii. p. 177, 8. Harris's Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 438, 9. ED.

† Conf. Plea, part iv. p. 510. Compl. Hiſt. p. 223.

they

they were enemies to his government; for in the month of May a proclamation was publiſhed for the better executing the laws againſt jeſuits and prieſts, and for the conviction of popiſh recuſants; the reaſons of which the protector gives in his declaration of October 31ſt, publiſhed with the advice of his council, in theſe words; *Becauſe it was not only commonly obſerved, but there remains with us ſomewhat of proof, that jeſuits have been found among diſcontented parties of this nation, who are obſerved to quarrel, and fall out with every form of adminiſtration in church and ſtate.*† The protector gave notice of the like kind to the *republicans*, *fifth monarchy men*, *levellers*, and to the *preſbyterians*, that they ſhould ſtand upon the ſame foot with the royaliſts, in caſe of any future delinquencies.

Such was the protector's latitude, that he was for indulging the Jews, who petitioned for liberty of their religion, and for carrying on a trade in London. *Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael*, one of their chief rabbi's, with ſome others, came from Amſterdam to Whitehall for this purpoſe, whom the protector treated with reſpect, and ſummoned an aſſembly of divines, lawyers, and merchants, to conſult upon the affair.§ The divines were to conſider it as a caſe of conſcience; the lawyers to report how far it was conſiſtent with the laws of England; and the merchants, whether it was for the advantage of trade and commerce. Biſhop *Burnet* apprehends, that the protector deſigned the Jews for ſpies in the ſeveral nations of Europe; however, he was of opinion, that their admiſſion under certain limitations might be for the advantage of commerce; and told the divines, that ſince there was a promiſe in holy ſcripture of the converſion of the Jews, he did not know, but the preaching of the chriſtian religion, as it was then in England, without idolatry or ſuperſtition, might conduce to it. But the aſſembly not agreeing in their opinions, the affair was dropt, and the petitioners returned to Holland, where *Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael* wrote a handſome letter,

† Compl. Hiſt. p. 255, in Marg.

§ It is a proof of the protector's good diſpoſitions towards this buſineſs, and of his reſpect for the rabbi who came to negotiate it, that, by an order of the 24th of March 1655, he directed 200l. to be paid to him out of the treaſury. Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 673. Ed.

now

now before me, which he calls, *An anſwer to certain queſtions propounded by a noble and learned gentleman, touching the reproaches caſt upon the nation of the Jews, wherein all objections are candidly and fully ſtated.* The famous Mr. *Prynne* and Mr. *Dury* a preſbyterian miniſter, wrote fiercely againſt the admiſſion of the Jews; but other divines, whom the protector conſulted, were for admitting them with ſome limitations. I ſhall report their reſolution on this point in their own language.

Queſtion, *Whether the Jews, at their deſire, may be admitted into this nation to traffick and dwell among us, as Providence ſhall give occaſion?*

The anſwer of thoſe who were againſt it was, that they could not think it lawful for the following reaſons:

1. "Becauſe the motives on which *Manaſſeh Ben Iſrael*, "in his book lately printed, deſires their admiſſion into this "commonwealth, are ſuch as we conceive to be very ſinful.

2. "The danger of ſeducing the people of this nation, "by their admiſſion, is very great.

3. "Their having ſynagogues, or any publick meetings "for the exerciſe of their religion, is not only evil in itſelf, "but likewiſe very ſcandalous to other chriſtian churches.

4. "Their cuſtoms and practices concerning marriage "and divorce are unlawful, and will be of very evil example "amongſt us.

5. "The principles of not making conſcience of oaths "made, and injuries done to chriſtians in life, chaſtity, goods, "or good name, have been very notoriouſly charged upon "them by valuable teſtimony.

6. "Great prejudice is like to ariſe to the natives of this "commonwealth in matters of trade, which, beſides other "dangers here mentioned, we find very commonly ſuggeſted "by the inhabitants of the city of London."

Other divines were of opinion, that the civil magiſtrate might tolerate them under the following limitations:

1. "That they be not admitted to have any publick ju-"dicatories civil or eccleſiaſtical.

2. "That they be not permitted to ſpeak, or do any thing "to the defamation, or diſhonour. of the names of our Lord "Jeſus Chriſt, or of the chriſtian religion.

3. "That

3. "That they be not permitted to do any work, or any "thing, to the open prophanation of the Lord's day, or "chriſtian ſabbath.

4. "That they be not permitted to have any chriſtians "dwell with them as their ſervants.

5. "That they have no publick office or truſt in this "commonwealth.

6. "That they be not allowed to print any thing in our "language againſt the chriſtian religion.

7. "That ſo far as may be, they be not ſuffered to diſ-"courage any of their own from uſing any proper means, "or applying themſelves to any who may convince them of "their error, and turn them to chriſtianity. And that ſome "ſevere penalty be impoſed upon them who ſhall apoſtatize "from chriſtianity to judaiſm."

Mr. Archdeacon *Eachard* ſays,* *The Jews offered the protector two hundred thouſand pounds, provided they might have St. Paul's Cathedral for a ſettlement.* And he adds the following malicious reflection, that "*the money made his "highneſs look upon it as the cauſe of God, but that both the "clergy and laity ſo declaimed againſt them, that the religious "juggle would not take place.*" This the archdeacon himſelf could not believe, as being quite out of character, for he knew that the protector did not inrich his family, nor value money, but for the publick ſervice. He concludes, that "*the Jews could never be permitted to live long in a well-ſet-"tled monarchy.*" What then does he call the monarchy of England? where the Jews have been indulged the free exerciſe of their religion, without doing any damage to the religion or commerce of the nation for above ſixty years.

The protector's zeal for the reformed religion made him the refuge of perſecuted proteſtants in all parts of the world. The duke of *Savoy*, at the inſtance of his ducheſs, ſiſter to the queen of England, determined to oblige his reformed ſubjects in the valleys of Piedmont to embrace the Roman *catholick* religion or depart the country. For this purpoſe he quartered an army upon them, which ate up their ſubſtance. The proteſtants making ſome little reſiſtance to the rudeneſs of the ſoldiers, the duke gave orders, that all the

* P. 716.

proteſtant

proteſtant families in the valley of Lucern ſhould go into baniſhment, which ſome obeyed, whilſt the reſt ſent deputies to the court of Turin, to implore mercy; but the *pope*, and the princes of Italy, adviſed the *duke* to improve the preſent opportunity for extirpating the reformed, and making all his ſubjects of one religion. The *duke* accordingly ſent expreſs orders to his general to drive them all out of the country, with their wives and children, and to put to death ſuch as ſhould remain. This was executed with great ſeverity, April 20, 1655. Thoſe who eſcaped the ſword fled into the mountains, from whence, being ready to periſh with hunger and cold, they ſent their agents to the *lord protector* of England, and other proteſtant powers, for relief. It was the beginning of May when his *highneſs* was firſt made acquainted with their diſtreſs, whereupon he appointed a general faſt, and charitable contributions throughout all England for their preſent aſſiſtance; and ſuch was the compaſſion of the people, that the collection amounted to *thirty-ſeven thouſand and ninety-ſeven pounds ſeven ſhillings and three pence.* About thirty thouſand pounds was remitted to their deputies at ſeveral payments, in this and the next year; but the confuſions which followed upon the protector's death prevented the clearing the whole account till the convention parliament at the reſtoration, who ordered the remaining ſeven thouſand pounds to be paid. The protector applied to the proteſtant kings of Sweden and Denmark; to the ſtates of Holland, the cantons of Switzerland, and the reformed churches of Germany and France; and by his powerful inſtances procured large contributions from thoſe parts. He wrote to the king of France, and to cardinal *Mazarine*; and being glad of an opportunity to ſtrike terror into the Roman *catholick* powers, he ſent *Samuel Moreland*, eſq; with a letter to the duke of *Savoy*, in which, having repreſented the cruelty and injuſtice of his behaviour towards the proteſtants in the valleys, he tells him, "That he was pierced with grief at the news of "the ſufferings of the Voudois, being united to them not "only by the common ties of humanity, but by the profeſ-"ſion of the ſame faith, which obliged him to regard them "as his brethren; and he ſhould think himſelf wanting in "his duty to God, to charity, and to his religion, if he

"ſhould

" ſhould be ſatisfied with pitying them only (whoſe miſerable " condition was enough to raiſe compaſſion in the moſt bar- " barous minds;) unleſs he alſo exerted himſelf to the utmoſt " of his ability to deliver them out of it." This awakened the popiſh powers, inſomuch that *Mazarine* wrote in the moſt preſſing language to the court of Turin, to give the protector immediate ſatisfaction; with which the ducheſs reproached him, becauſe he had made no terms for the Engliſh papiſts;* but his eminence replied, " We muſt leave to God " the care of defending the catholicks, whoſe cauſe is moſt " juſt; but that of the hereticks needs for its ſupport the " clemency of princes." Upon this the perſecution immediately ceaſed; the duke recalled his army out of the valleys, and reſtored their goods; the poor people returned to their houſes, and recovered all their ancient rights and privileges. But to ſtrike ſome further terror into the pope, and the little princes of Italy, the protector gave out, that for as much as he was ſatisfied they had been the promoters of this perſecution, he would keep it in mind, and lay hold of the firſt opportunity to ſend his fleet into the Mediterranean to viſit *Civita Vecchia*, and other parts of the eccleſiaſtical territories; and that the ſound of his cannon ſhould be heard in Rome itſelf. He declared publickly that he would not ſuffer the proteſtant faith to be inſulted in any part of the world; and therefore procured liberty to the reformed in Bohemia and France; nor was there any potentate in Europe ſo hardy as to riſk his diſpleaſure by denying his requeſts.

The charitable ſociety for the relief of the widows and children of clergymen, ſince known by the name of the *Corporation for the Sons of the Clergy*, had its beginning this year; the firſt ſermon being preached by the reverend Mr. *George Hall*, ſon of the famous *Joſeph Hall* biſhop of Exeter, then miniſter of Alderſgate, afterwards archdeacon of Canterbury, and biſhop of Cheſter. The ſermon was entitled, *God's appearing for the tribe of Levi, improved in a ſermon preached at St. Paul's, November* 8, 1655, *to the ſons of* MINISTERS *then ſolemnly aſſembled*, from *Numb.* xvii. 8. *The Rod of* Aaron *budded, and bloomed bloſſoms, and yielded almonds.* The preacher's deſign was to enforce the neceſſity and uſefulneſs

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 108, Edin. edit.

of

of a ſettled miniſtry; and though there were ſome paſſages that diſcovered him to be a *prelatiſt*, the main part of the ſermon breathes moderation; "Let thoſe ill-invented terms "(ſays he) whereby we have been diſtinguiſhed from each "other, be ſwallowed up in that name which will lead us "hand in hand to heaven, the name of CHRISTIANS. If "my ſtomach, or any of yours, riſe againſt the name of "brotherly communion, which may conſiſt with our ſeveral "principles retained, not differing in ſubſtantials, God take "down that ſtomach, and make us ſee how much we are "concerned to keep the unity of the ſpirit in the bond of "peace.—Why ſhould ſome, in the height of their zeal for "a liturgy, ſuppoſe there can be no ſervice of God but "where that is uſed? Why ſhould others, again, think their "piety concerned and treſpaſſed upon, if I prefer, and think "fit to uſe a ſet form? There muſt be abatements and allowances of each other; a coming down from our puncttilios, or we ſhall never give up a good account to God." From this time ſermons have been preached annually and large contributions made for the ſervice of this charity. In the reign of king *Charles* II. they became a *body corporate*; and their preſent grandeur is ſufficiently known to the whole nation.

On the 21ſt of March this year, died the moſt reverend and learned archbiſhop *Uſher*, born in Dublin 1580, and educated in Trinity-college.* He proceeded *M. A.* in the year 1600, and next year was ordained deacon and prieſt by his uncle *Henry Uſher*, then archbiſhop of Armagh. In the year 1620 he was made biſhop of Meath, and four years after archbiſhop of Armagh; in which ſtation he remained till the diſſolution of the hierarchy during the civil wars. In his younger years he was a *calviniſt*, but in his advanced

* It is a curious and ſingular circumſtance, that archbiſhop *Uſher* received his firſt elements of learning from two aunts, who were both born blind, yet found out a method of teaching him to read Engliſh. Theſe ladies had vaſt memories, and could repeat moſt part of the ſcripture by heart diſtinctly and without miſtake. When it was debated, whether Dr. *Uſher* ſhould be nominated one of the aſſembly at Weſtminſter, Mr. *Selden* is reported to have ſaid, "that they had as good enquire, whether they had "beſt admit *Inigo Jones*, the king's architect, to the company of mouſetrap-"makers." Britiſh Biography, vol. iv. p. 336, 350. ED.

age

age he embraced the middle way between *Calvin* and *Arminius*. He was one of the moſt moderate prelates of his time, and allowed of the ordinations of foreign proteſtants; which none but he and biſhop *Davenant*, and one or two more among the biſhops of thoſe times, would admit. The archbiſhop having loſt all his revenues by the Iriſh rebellion, the king conferred upon him the biſhoprick of Carliſle in commendam. In 1643 he was nominated one of the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter, but did not appear among them. As long as the king was at Oxford he continued with him, but when the war was ended, he returned to London and lived privately, without any moleſtation. He aſſiſted at the treaty of the Iſle of Wight, but could do no ſervice, the contending parties being then at too great a diſtance to be reconciled. A little before the king's death, the archbiſhop was choſen preacher to the honourable ſociety of Lincoln's-Inn, preaching conſtantly all term time, till his eyes failing, he quitted that poſt, about a year and a half before his death, and retired with the counteſs of *Peterborough* to her houſe at Ryegate. The protector had a high eſteem for this excellent prelate, and conſulted him about proper meaſures for advancing the proteſtant intereſt at home and abroad: He allowed him a penſion, and promiſed him a leaſe of part of the lands of his archbiſhoprick in Ireland for twenty-one years; but his death prevented the accompliſhment of his deſign. About the middle of February the archbiſhop went down to Ryegate, and on the 20th of March was ſeized with a pleuriſy, of which he died the next day, in the ſeventy-ſixth year of his age, having been fifty-five years a preacher, four years biſhop of Meath, and thirty-one years archbiſhop of Armagh. The archbiſhop was one of the moſt learned men of his age; he had a penetrating judgment, a tenacious memory; above all, he was a moſt pious, humble, exemplary chriſtian.* His body was of the ſmaller ſize, his complexion ſanguine,

* "With his great and vaſt learning," it is ſaid, "no man had a better "ſoul and a more apoſtolical mind. Paſſion, pride, ſelf-will, or the love "of the world, ſeemed not to be ſo much as in his nature. He had all the "innocence of the dove in him. But no man is entirely perfect. He was "not made for the governing part of his function. His ſoul was too gentle "to manage the rough work of reforming abuſes; therefore he left things

"as

ſanguine, but his preſence always commanded reverence. The protector did him the honour of a publick funeral, and buried him at his own expence,* in king *Henry* the VII's chapel.†

Stephen Marſhall, B. D. was born at Godmancheſter in Huntingdonſhire, and was educated in Cambridge, and afterwards beneficed at Finchingfield in Eſſex, where he acquired ſuch reputation by his preaching, that he was often called to preach before the long parliament, who conſulted him in all affairs relating to religion. He was one of the aſſembly of divines, and employed in moſt, if not all the treaties between the king and parliament. Mr. *Eachard*, according to his uſual candour, calls him "a famous incendiary, and aſſiſtant "to the parliamentarians, their trumpet in their faſts, their "confeſſor in their ſickneſs, their counſellor in their aſſem-"blies, their chaplain in their treaties, and their champion

"as he found them. He ſaw the neceſſity of cutting off many abuſes, and "hoped for a time of reformation, yet he did not exert himſelf to correct "or remove thoſe corruptions which he apprehended would bring a curſe "and ruin upon the church. It ſeems that this ſat heavy upon his mind in "his laſt illneſs; for he prayed often and with great humility, that God "would forgive his ſins of omiſſion, and his failings in his duty." Life of Bp. Bedel, p. 86, 7. ED.

* Here Mr. *Neal* was, it ſeems, in a miſtake. The protector, though he directed that this prelate ſhould be buried with great pomp in Weſtminſter Abbey; bore but half the expence of the funeral; the other half fell very heavily upon his relations. His Annals of the Old and New Teſtament is eſteemed the moſt valuable of his numerous works; and the firſt draught of this work was drawn up by him, when he was only fifteen years of age. The Weſtern world owes its firſt acquaintance with the Samaritan bible to this prelate. Four copies were procured for him by a factor, and ſent to him, from Syria, in 1625. He gave one copy to the library at Oxford: a ſecond he lodged in ſir *Robert Cotton*'s library: he ſent a third to Leyden, and reſerved the fourth for himſelf. The Old Teſtament in Syriac was obtained for him not long after. Clarke's Martyrology, in the Lives, p. 280, and 292. Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 27. 8vo.

Cromwell prevented the ſale of Archb. *Uſher*'s valuable library of prints and manuſcripts to foreigners; and cauſed it to be purchaſed and ſent over to Dublin, with an intention to beſtow it on a new college, or hall, which he propoſed to build and endow there. The leaſe, which, as Mr. *Neal* ſays, *Cromwell* promiſed to the archbiſhop, was never executed: and it admits a doubt, whether the penſion was ever enjoyed. Dr. *Grey*, on the authority of Dr. *Parr*, the primate's biographer. ED.

† Clarke's General Martyrology, p. 277, &c. of the Lives.

"in their diſputations;"* and then adds, "This great "*Shimei*, being taken with a deſperate ſickneſs, departed the "world mad and raving." An unjuſt aſperſion! for he was a perſon of ſober and moderate principles, inſomuch that Mr. *Baxter* uſed to ſay, that if all the biſhops had been of the ſpirit and temper of archbiſhop *Uſher*, the preſbyterians of the temper of Mr. *Marſhall*, and the independents like Mr. *Jer. Burroughs*, the diviſions of the church would have been eaſily compromiſed. When he was taken ill, and obliged to retire into the country for the air, the Oxford *Mercury* ſaid he was diſtracted, and in his rage conſtantly cried out, that he was damned for adhering to the parliament in their war againſt the king. But he lived to confute the calumny, and publiſhed a treatiſe to prove the lawfulneſs of defenſive arms in caſes of neceſſity. He was an admired preacher, and far from running into the extremes of the times. In the decline of his life he retired from the city, and ſpent the two laſt years of his life in Ipſwich. The reverend Mr. *G. Firmin*, in a preface to one of Mr. *Marſhall*'s poſthumous ſermons, writes, that he had left few ſuch labourers as himſelf behind him; that he was a chriſtian by practice as well as profeſſion; that he lived by faith, and died by faith, and was an example to the believers in word, in converſation, in charity, in faith, and purity. That when he and others were talking with Mr. *Marſhall* about his death, he replied, *I cannot ſay, as he, I have not ſo lived that I ſhould now be afraid to die; but this I can ſay, I have ſo learned Chriſt, that I am not afraid to die.* He enjoyed the full uſe of his underſtanding to the laſt; but loſt the uſe of his hands and appetite, in ſo much that he could eat nothing for ſome months before he died. Mr. *Fuller* ſays, that he performed his exerciſe for batchelor of divinity with general applauſe; that he was a good preacher, but ſo ſupple, that he brake not a joint in all the

* The words of Mr. *Eachard* are almoſt *verbatim* borrowed from *Fuller*. Dr. *Grey*, to confute the character given of Mr. *Marſhall*, as an admired preacher, quotes ſome paſſages from his ſermons; which certainly are not in the taſte of modern eloquence: but they had a point in them, and abounded in antitheſes and compariſons, which, it is eaſy to conceive, might gain admiration. Beſides, compoſitions ſhould be, in part, at leaſt, judged of by the ſpirit and taſte of the age, to which they were adapted. ED.

alteration

alteration of the times; and although ſome ſuſpected him of deſerting his preſbyterian principles, yet upon his death-bed he gave them full ſatisfaction that he had not.* His remains were ſolemnly interred in Weſtminſter-Abbey, but were dug up again at the reſtoration.

The protector having as yet no better than a military title to his high dignity, reſolved to obtain a more legal one as ſoon as the times would admit. He had now cut his way through a great many difficulties, and the ſucceſs of his arms this ſummer having raiſed his reputation to an uncommon pitch of greatneſs, he reſolved to ſummon a new parliament to meet at Weſtminſter, Sept. 17, 1656, to confirm his title to the protectorſhip; and the *republicans* being his moſt dangerous enemies, the protector ſent for ſir *H. Vane* and major-general *Ludlow*, to give ſecurity not to act againſt the preſent government.† He aſked *Ludlow*, what made him uneaſy? or what he would have? *Ludlow* anſwered, He would have the nation governed by its own conſent. I am, ſaid the protector, as much for a government by conſent as any man; but where ſhall we find that conſent; among the prelatical, preſbyterian, independent, anabaptiſt, or levelling parties? The *other* replied, among thoſe of all ſorts who have acted with fidelity and affection to the publick. The *protector*, apprehending that he was for throwing all things back into confuſion, told him, that all men now enjoyed as much liberty and protection as they could deſire, and that he was reſolved to keep the nation from being embrued again in blood. "I "deſire not, ſays he, to put any more hardſhips upon you "than upon myſelf; nor do I aim at any thing by this pro- "ceeding but the publick quiet and ſecurity. As to my "own circumſtances in the world, I have not much improved "them, as theſe gentlemen (pointing to his council) well "know." But *Ludlow*, ſir *Henry Vane*, and colonel *Rich*, perſiſting in their refuſal to give ſecurity, were taken into cuſtody. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that others ſolicited him to reſtore the young king, and that the earl of *Orrery* told him he might make his own terms; but that *Cromwell* replied, *that the ſon could never forgive his father's blood; and that he*

* Fuller's Worthies, book II. p. 53. † Life of Cromwell, p. 340.

was ſo debauched he would undo every thing. It was therefore reſolved to ſet him aſide, and proceed upon the preſent plan.

When the parliament met according to appointment, the reverend Dr. *Owen* preached before them; his text was, Iſa. xiv. 32. *What ſhall one then anſwer the meſſengers of the nation? that the Lord hath founded Zion, and the poor of his people ſhall truſt in it.* From the Abbey, the protector went with the members to the painted chamber, where he made a ſpeech and then diſmiſſed them to their houſe: but to prevent their entering into debates about his title, a guard was placed at the door, with a paper of RECOGNITION for each member to ſubſcribe, wherein they promiſe, *not to act any thing prejudicial to the government as it was eſtabliſhed under a* PROTECTOR. Upon their ſubſcribing this, if they were under no diſqualification, they had a certificate of their return, and *of their being approved by his* HIGHNESS *and* COUNCIL.* This meaſure was certainly inconſiſtent with the freedom of parliaments: for if the crown has a negative upon the return of the members, they are tools of the crown, and not repreſentatives of the people; becauſe, though they are legally choſen and returned by the proper officer, a ſuperior tribunal may ſet them aſide. Beſides, if the parliament was to give a ſanction to the new government, the *recognition* was abſurd, becauſe it obliged them to conſent to that which they had no liberty to debate. It muſt therefore be allowed, that CROMWELL's *protectorſhip* was built ſolely upon the authority of the *council of officers:* this being one of thoſe *fundamentals* which his highneſs would not ſuffer any of his parliaments to debate. But it is highly probable that theſe ſtretches of power might be abſolutely unavoidable at this time, to maintain government under any form; and that without them the ſeveral parties would have fallen to pieces, and involved the nation in confuſion and a new war. The parliament, in their *humble petition and advice*, guarded againſt the excluſion of their members for the future, except by a vote of the houſe, which the protector freely conſented to; ſo that this was only a temporary expedient, and not to be made a precedent of: but at preſent almoſt *one hundred members* refuſed to ſubſcribe, and were therefore excluded. Theſe

* Whitlocke, p. 639.

preſented

preſented a petition to the ſitting members for redreſs, and were anſwered, that the *protector* had promiſed to relieve them if they could ſhew cauſe of complaint. But inſtead of this, they appealed to the people in a ſevere remonſtrance, charging *his highneſs* with invading their fundamental rights and liberties, and preventing the free meeting of the repreſentatives of the people in parliament. To which it was replied, that if they would not ſo much as own the *protector*, they had no colour or pretence to call themſelves members of parliament.

The ſitting members having choſen ſir *Thomas Widdrington* their ſpeaker, approved of the war with Spain, and voted ſupplies to ſupport his *highneſs* in the proſecution of it. They renounced and diſannulled the title of CHARLES STUART; and paſſed an act, making it high treaſon to compaſs or imagine the death of the LORD PROTECTOR. They reviewed the orders and ordinances of the protector, and his council, in the intervals of parliament, and confirmed moſt of them. They abrogated the authority and power of the *major-generals*, conceiving it inconſiſtent with the laws of England, and liberties of the people. Theſe, and ſome other acts hereafter mentioned, were preſented to his highneſs, Nov. 27, for confirmation; and as he was pleaſed to confirm them all, he told them, *that as it had been the cuſtom of the chief governors to acknowledge the care and kindneſs of the commons upon ſuch occaſions, ſo he did very heartily and thankfully acknowledge their kindneſs therein.* But the parliament continued ſitting till next year, when we ſhall meet with more important tranſactions.

The act for ſecurity of the protector's perſon was no ſooner paſſed than a plot was diſcovered againſt his life. *Miles Syndercomb* a leveller, a bold reſolute man, having been diſbanded in Scotland, combined with one *Cecil*, and another of the protector's life-guards, to aſſaſſinate him as he was going to Hampton-court; but being diſappointed once and again by ſome unexpected accidents, the other conſpirators betrayed the deſign. *Syndercomb* put himſelf on his trial, and was condemned on the ſtatute 25th of *Edward* III. the chief juſtice *Glynne* declaring, that by the word *king* in the ſtatute, any chief magiſtrate was underſtood. But *Syndercomb*

comb prevented the execution; for the very morning he was to ſuffer, he was found dead in his bed; whereupon his body was tied to a horſe's tail, and dragged naked to the ſcaffold on Tower-hill, and then buried with a ſtake driven through it. However, a day of publick thankſgiving was appointed for the protector's deliverance, Feb. 20; when his highneſs gave the ſpeaker and members of parliament a ſplendid entertainment at the banqueting-houſe.

The war with Spain this ſummer was attended with vaſt ſucceſs, for no ſooner had the king of Spain ſeized the effects of the *Engliſh* merchants in his country, than the *protector* ordered his admirals, *Blake* and *Montague*, to block up the harbour of Cadiz, and look out for the Plate fleet, which captain *Stayner*, who was left with ſeven men of war upon the coaſt, while the admirals were gone to Portugal for freſh water, diſcovered, conſiſting of eight men of war, making directly for Cadiz; *Stayner* bore up to them with all the ſail he could make, and engaged them within four leagues of their port; the Spaniſh admiral run his ſhip aſhore with ſix hundred thouſand pieces of eight; but the vice-admiral, with twelve hundred thouſand pieces of eight, and another galleon, were fired and ſunk; the rear-admiral, with two millions of plate in her, was taken; and upon the whole, ſix of the eight ſhips were deſtroyed; the plate to the value of two millions, was brought to Portſmouth, and conveyed in carts to London, and carried through the city to the Tower to be coined. Admiral *Blake*, with the reſt of the fleet, wintered upon the coaſt of Spain, and deſtroyed another fleet of much greater value the next ſummer.

After the diſcovery of *Syndercomb*'s plot, the *prelatiſts*, *preſbyterians*, and *levellers*, were pretty quiet, but the quakers began to be very troubleſome. The reader has been informed under the year 1650, that *George Fox* travelled the countries, declaiming in the market-places, and in churches, againſt all ordained miniſters, and placing the whole of religion *in an inward light, and an extraordinary impulſe of the holy ſpirit.* In the year 1652 the quakers ſet up ſeparate aſſemblies in Lancaſhire, and the adjacent parts. In 1654 they opened the firſt ſeparate meeting of the people called *quakers* in the houſe of *Robert Dring*, in Watling-ſtreet, London.

don. Theſe unwary people, by interrupting publick worſhip, and refuſing to pay any reſpect to the magiſtrate, frequently expoſed themſelves to ſufferings.* One of them, in a letter to the protector, ſays, "that though there are no penal laws "in force, obliging men to comply with the eſtabliſhed re-"ligion, yet the quakers are expoſed upon other accounts; "they are fined and impriſoned for refuſing to take an oath; "for not paying their tithes; for diſturbing the publick aſ-"ſemblies, and meeting in the ſtreets, and places of publick "reſort; ſome of them have been whipped for vagabonds, "and for their plain ſpeeches to the magiſtrate." But the *quakers* were ſo far from being diſcouraged, that they opened a publick meeting under favour of the toleration, at the Bull and Mouth inn, in Alderſgate-ſtreet, where women as well as men ſpake as they were moved; and when none were moved, there was no ſpeaking at all.† The novelty of this aſſembly drew great numbers of people thither out of curioſity; nor did any give them diſturbance, as long as they continued quiet within themſelves; but in ſeveral places where they had no buſineſs, the extravagance of their ſpeakers was inſufferable; one of them interrupted the miniſter in Whitechapel church, and diſturbed the whole aſſembly. A female came into Whitehall chapel, *ſtark naked*, in the midſt of

* *Gough* ſays, "that moſt, (though not always) they waited till the "worſhip was ended." The *quakers*, he obſerves, were not ſingular concerning the goſpel-liberty of propheſying. The *baptiſts* and *independents* adopted the opinion, that ordained miniſters had not, either from the appointment of Chriſt, or the practice of the primitive chriſtians, an excluſive right of ſpeaking in the church; but that all properly gifted might ſpeak one by one. During the civil wars it had been uſual for laymen, ſoldiers, and others, with the connivance, if not with the approbation of the ruling powers, to ſpeak or preach in the publick places of worſhip, or elſewhere. *Oliver Cromwell*, in his correſpondence with the miniſters of Scotland, in 1650, had vindicated the practice. The members of this infant-ſociety, who thought it their duty to declare the burden of the word on their minds, were ſanctioned by the opinions and manners of the age. They were reprehenſible only when the impetuoſity of their zeal interrupted the ſervice as it was proceeding. And then the irregularity and rudeneſs of this conduct did not juſtify the violence and outrage with which they were often treated: as contrary to humanity and civilization as to the profeſſed principles of religious liberty.

Gough's Hiſtory of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 87. Ed.

† Sewel's Hiſtory, p. 84.

publick

publick worſhip,‡ the lord protector himſelf being preſent. Another came into the parliament-houſe with a trenchard in her hand, which ſhe broke in pieces, ſaying, *Thus ſhall ye be broke in pieces.* *Thomas Aldam*, having complained to the protector of the impriſonment of ſome friends in the country, and not finding redreſs, took off his cap and tore it in pieces, ſaying, *So ſhall thy government be torn from thee and thy houſe.* Several pretending an extraordinary meſſage from heaven, went about the ſtreets of London, denouncing the judgments of God againſt the protector and his council. One came to the door of the parliament-houſe with a *drawn ſword*, and wounded ſeveral who were preſent, ſaying, *he was inſpired by the Holy Spirit to kill every man that ſat in the houſe.** Others in their prophetick raptures denounced judgments on the whole nation, and frequently diſturbed the publick aſſemblies where the *chief magiſtrate himſelf* was preſent. Many opened their ſhops on the Lord's day, in defiance of the laws, and were ſo very obſtinate and intractable, that it was impoſſible to keep the peace without ſome marks of ſeverity.

But the moſt extravagant quaker that appeared at this time was *James Naylor*, formerly an officer in major-general *Lambert*'s troop in Scotland, a man of good natural parts, and an admired ſpeaker among theſe people; ſome of whom had

‡ It does not appear on what authority Mr. *Neal* brings forward this ſtory. It is not to be met with in *Sewel*, who does relate the two following facts: p. 144. If it were a well-authenticated fact, and if this female were a *quaker*, the impropriety and indecency of her conduct ought not to be imputed to the ſociety, unleſs it directly aroſe from their avowed principles, and had been ſanctioned by their approbation. Mr. *Neal*, further on, ſpeaks of "other extravagancies of this people recorded by our hiſtorians "about that time." The matter of enquiry will be, whether thoſe hiſtorians wrote on good evidence, and were candid and fair in their repreſentations? He ſays, that "the protector was continually teazed with their "importunities:" others may applaud the firmneſs and perſeverance with which their remonſtrances, on the perſecutions they ſuffered, here called *teazing importunities*, were renewed. "*Fox* and others," he adds, "wrote "letters to him, filled with denunciations of the divine judgments." If we may judge by the ſpecimens of theſe letters, which *Sewel* and *Gough* have given us, the candid reader will find reaſon rather to applaud the honeſt ſimplicity, and undiſguiſed plain dealing in them, than contempt of authority, or bitter invectives. ED.

* Whitlocke, p. 592.

ſuch

ſuch a veneration for him, that they ſtiled him in blaſphemous language, the *everlaſting Sun of righteouſneſs; the Prince of peace; the only begotten ſon of God; the faireſt among ten thouſand.* Some of the *friends* kiſſed his feet in the priſon at Exeter, and after his releaſe went before him into the city of Briſtol, after the manner of our Saviour's entrance into Jeruſalem: one walked bareheaded; another of the women led his horſe; others ſpread their ſcarves and handkerchiefs before him in the way, crying continually as they went on, *Holy, holy, holy, is the Lord God of Hoſts; Hoſanna in the higheſt; holy, holy, is the Lord God of Iſrael.** Upon this the magiſtrates of Briſtol cauſed him to be apprehended, and ſent up to the parliament, who appointed a committee to examine witneſſes againſt him, upon a charge of blaſphemy; (1.) For admitting religious worſhip to be paid to him; and, (2.) For aſſuming the names and incommunicable titles and attributes of our bleſſed Saviour, as the name JESUS, *the faireſt amongſt ten thouſand, the only-begotten Son of God, the prophet of the moſt High, the king of Iſrael, the everlaſting Sun of righteouſneſs, the Prince of peace.* All which

* The ſtory of *James Naylor* was too remarkable, both on account of the extravagant deluſions which miſled him and his admirers, and the ſevere and illegal ſentence under which he ſuffered, not to be recorded. But to give it as a picture of *quakeriſm* is not fair or candid: for not only *Sewel* himſelf condemns the behaviour of *Naylor* and his followers, and reſolves it into his being ſtupified in his underſtanding, and beguiled by the wiles of Satan; but informs us that the *quakers* in *general* ſpoke againſt him and his doings. They diſowned him and his adherents. *Gough* therefore, not without reaſon, complains that this has been paſſed over unnoticed, while the enormities of this man, inſtead of being overlooked, have been rather exaggerated. The reflection he makes on this is juſt, and deſerves ſerious attention. "There ſeems to be a pride and malignity in human "nature, while unreformed by religion, diametrically oppoſite to chriſtian "charity, which, unconſcious of ſublime virtue in itſelf, and aiming to "depreſs the reſt of mankind below its own level, delights to dwell on the "dark ſide of characters, to magnify the failings of men, and draw a ſuſ-"picious ſhade over their virtues, or the mitigating circumſtances of their "defects; and this malevolent diſpoſition receives new force from the "ſpirit of party, which peculiarly characteriſed this age, and raged with "unabated violence againſt the *quakers.*"——It may be added, though it ſhould be with deep concern, that even good and liberal minds do not always riſe wholly ſuperior to the influence of theſe diſpoſitions.

Gough's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 251, 247, 8. Sewel's Hiſtory, p. 143, 150. ED.

which he confeſſed,† but alledged in his own defence, that theſe honours were not paid to him, but to *Chriſt who dwelt in him.*

The committee aſked him, why he came in ſo extraordinary a manner into Briſtol? To which he replied, that *he might not refuſe any honours which others who were moved by the Lord gave him.* Being further aſked whether he had reproved the perſons who gave him thoſe titles and attributes? He anſwered, *if they had it from the Lord, what had I to do to reprove them? If the Father has moved them to give theſe honours to Chriſt, I may not deny them; if they have given them to any other but to Chriſt, I diſown them.* He concluded his defence thus; *I do abhor that any honours due to God ſhould be given to me as I am a creature; but it pleaſed the Lord to ſet me up as a ſign of the coming of the righteous one, and what has been done to me paſſing through the town, I was commanded by the power of the Lord to ſuffer to be done to the outward man, as a ſign; but I abhor any honour as a creature.*

From the committee, he was brought to the bar of the houſe, where the report being read, he confeſſed it; upon which the houſe voted him guilty of *blaſphemy*, and ordered him to be ſet in the pillory two hours at Weſtminſter, and two hours at the Old Exchange; that he ſhould be whipped through the ſtreets from Weſtminſter to the Old Exchange; that his tongue ſhould be bored through with an hot iron, and his forehead ſtigmatized with the letter *B;* he was afterwards to be ſent to Briſtol, and to ride through the city with his face to the horſe's tail, and to be whipped the next market-day after he came thither. Laſt of all, he was to be

† This is not accurate. When the ſpeaker *Widdrington* was going to pronounce the ſentence, *J. Naylor* ſaid, "he did not know his offence." To which the ſpeaker replied, "he ſhould know his offence by his puniſh-"ment." The trial was publiſhed, but the extravagancy of the ſentence countenances the ſuſpicion, that the account was partially taken and publiſhed to juſtify the cruelty of it. Some of his anſwers were innocent enough: ſome not clear, and ſome wreſted and aggravated by his adverſaries: they reported the worſt, and more than was true: adding and diminiſhing, it is ſaid, as they were minded; and leaving out much of what was ſpoken to the committee. His words were perverted, and enſnaring queſtions propoſed to him. Sewel's Hiſtory, p. 139, note, and p. 140; or Gough, vol. i. p. 237, 8, note. ED.

committed

committed to Bridewell in London, to be reſtrained from company, and to be put to hard labour till he ſhould be releaſed by parliament; during which time he was to be debarred from pen, ink, and paper, and to have no ſuſtenance but what he got by his daily labour.* A ſentence much too ſevere for ſuch a wrong-headed obſtinate creature.†

December 18, *James Naylor* ſtood in the pillory in the Palace-yard, Weſtminſter, and was whipped to the Old Exchange; the remainder of his ſentence being reſpited for a week, in which time the reverend Mr. *Caryl*, *Manton*, *Nye*, *Griffith*, and *Reynolds*, went to him, in order to bring him to ſome acknowledgment of his crime;‡ but not being able to reclaim

* It ought to be mentioned, to the honour of humanity, and as a proof that *ſome* perſons of equity and moderation exiſted in thoſe times; that ſeveral perſons of different perſuaſions had offered petitions to parliament on his behalf, but it was reſolved not to read them till ſentence had been paſſed: when by the execution of the firſt part of it he was reduced to a ſtate of extreme weakneſs, many again interpoſed in his favour by a petition, which was preſented to the houſe by more than an hundred on behalf of the ſubſcribers, while the execution of the remaining part was reſpited for a week, pleading that this reſpite had refreſhed the hearts of many thouſands altogether unconcerned in his practice, and praying that it might be wholly remitted. But intolerance and vindictiveneſs reſiſted theſe ſolicitations. The protector was then addreſſed; on which he wrote a letter to the houſe; but this, though it occaſioned ſome debate, obtained no reſolution in favour of the priſoner. On this the petitioners preſented a ſecond addreſs to the protector: but it is ſaid, the publick preachers by their influence prevented its effect. Sewel, p. 141; and Gough, vol. i. p. 240, 41. EDIT.

† Mr. *Neal*'s cenſure of this ſentence is too gentle. It was repugnant to humanity, equity, and wiſdom. For though the religious extravagancies of *Naylor* might reaſonably ſhock pious and ſober minds. His *criminality* ought to have been eſtimated not by the ſound of the titles and claims he aſſumed, or which were given to him; but by the delufion and phrenſy which had ſeized his brain: and on this ground he was an object of pity, not of indignation; and he ſhould have been aſſigned over to a phyſician for a cure of his madneſs, and not to the executioner of publick juſtice to be puniſhed. His features, we are told, bore a near reſemblance to the common pictures of Chriſt; which is candidly mentioned by Mr. *Granger* to account for his imagining that he was transformed into Chriſt; and which circumſtance ought to have had its influence with his judges. Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 149, 8vo. ED.

‡ Theſe gentlemen, in many reſpects excellent characters, did not manage this interview in a manner worthy of themſelves, or honourable to their memory. For they would admit no friend of his, nor any other perſon into the room, although requeſted. When *Naylor* inſiſted that what paſſed ſhould

reclaim him, the remainder of his ſentence was executed Dec. 27, when ſome of his followers licked his wounds, and paid him other honours both ridiculous and ſuperſtitious. He was afterwards ſent to Briſtol, and whipped from the middle of Thomas-ſtreet, over the bridge, to the middle of Broad-ſtreet. From Briſtol he was brought back to Bridewell, London, where he remained ſullen for three days, and would not work, but then begged for victuals, and was content to labour.

At length, after two years impriſonment, he recanted his errors ſo far as to acknowledge, that the honours he received at his entrance into Briſtol were wrong; "and all thoſe ranting, wild ſpirits, which gathered about me (ſays he) at that "time of darkneſs, with all their wild acts, and wicked works "againſt the honour of God, and his pure ſpirit and people, "I renounce. And whereas I gave advantage, through "want of judgment, to that evil ſpirit, I take ſhame to myſelf." After the protector's death *James Naylor* was releaſed out of priſon, and wrote ſeveral things in defence of the *quakers*, who owned him as a *friend*, notwithſtanding his extravagant behaviour;* but he did not long ſurvive his enlargement, for retiring into Huntingdonſhire, he died there towards the latter end of the year 1660, about the forty-fourth year of his age.† Mr. *Whitlocke* obſerves very juſtly, that

ſhould be put in writing, and a copy left with him or the jailor, they conſented: but on his remarking afterwards in the courſe of the converſation, on perceiving they meant to wreſt his words, "how ſoon they "forgot the work of the biſhops, who were now treading the ſame ſteps, "ſeeking to enſnaret he innocent," they roſe up in a rage, and burnt what they had written. Sewel, p. 142. Gough, vol. i. p. 242. ED.

* The reflection inſinuated here againſt the *quakers* might have been well ſpared: and it would have been more handſome in our author to have ſtated the matter as *Sewel* has: "*James Naylor*," ſays he, "came to very "great ſorrow and deep humiliation of mind: and therefore, becauſe God "forgives the tranſgreſſions of the penitent, and blotteth them out, and re"membereth them no more, ſo could *James Naylor*'s friends do no other "than forgive his crime, and thus take back the loſt ſheep into their "ſociety." Sewel's Hiſtory, p. 153. ED.

† The expreſſions uttered by *James Naylor*, about two hours before his death, both in juſtice to his name, and on account of their own excellence, deſerve to be preſerved here. "There is a ſpirit which I feel," he ſaid, "that delights to do no evil, nor to revenge any wrong, but delights to "endure

that many thought he was too furiouſly proſecuted by ſome rigid men.*

Other extravagancies of this people, about this time, are recorded by our hiſtorians. The protector was continually teized with their importunities; they waited for him on the road, and watched about his palace, till they got an opportunity to ſpeak to him. *George Fox*, and others, wrote letters filled with denunciations of divine judgments, unleſs he would pull down the remains of antichriſt, by which they underſtood *church miniſters*, and *church maintenance*. To which the protector paid no regard.

As new inroads were made upon the ordinances for obſervation of the ſabbath, the parliament took care to amend them. This year they ordained, that "the ſabbath ſhould "be deemed to extend from twelve of the clock on Saturday "night, to twelve of the clock on Lord's day night; and

"endure all things, in hopes to enjoy its own to the end: Its hope is to "outlive all wrath and contention, and to weary out all exaltation and "cruelty, or whatever is of a nature contrary to itſelf. It ſees to the end "of all temptation: As it bears no evil in itſelf, ſo it conceives none in "thought to any other: if it be betrayed, it bears it; for its ground and "ſpring is the mercies and forgiveneſs of God: Its crown is meekneſs, its "life is everlaſting love unfeigned, and takes its kingdom with intregity "and not with contention, and keeps it by lowlineſs of mind. In God "alone it can rejoice, though none elſe regard it, or can own its life: It is "conceived in ſorrow, and brought forth without any pity to it; nor doth "it murmur at grief and oppreſſion. It never rejoiceth, but through ſuf-"ferings, for with the world's joy it is murdered: I found it alone being "forſaken; I have fellowſhip therein with them who lived in dens and "deſolate places in the earth, who through death obtained this reſurrection "and eternal life." After his fall *James Naylor* was a man of great ſelf-denial, and very diffident and jealous of himſelf. Sewel, p. 159. Gough's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 246. Ed.

* *Whitlocke*'s obſervation on *Naylor*'s ſentence, juſt as it is, is not ſufficiently ſtrong and poignant. In its *cruelty* this ſentence bore a great reſemblance to that paſſed on Dr. *Leighton* by the infamous court of Star-chamber: and it vied with it in *illegality*, for the houſe of commons, as *Gough* remarks, is no court of judicature, nor hath any power to inflict a puniſhment beyond impriſonment during its ſeſſion. Hiſt. of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 239. It ought not to be omitted, that many of the members were very averſe to the ſeverity of the meaſures taken againſt this perſecuted man, whom a temporary phrenſy miſled. Though it may be added here, the recantation of this bewildered victim was not publiſhed till after his releaſe, yet that and other pieces were written by him while he was in priſon: during which period he recovered a ſound ſtate of mind, and repented of his errors. Sewel, p. 144. Ed.

"within

"within that compaſs of time they prohibited all kinds of "buſineſs and diverſions, except works of neceſſity and "mercy. No election of magiſtrates is to be on the Lord's "day; no holding of courts, or return of writs, but if, ac- "cording to their charters, they fall upon the Lord's day, "they are to be deferred to Monday. It is further enacted, "That all perſons not having a reaſonable excuſe, to be al- "lowed by a juſtice of peace, ſhall reſort to ſome church or "chapel, where the true worſhip of God is performed, or "to ſome meeting-place of chriſtians not differing in matters "of faith from the publick profeſſion of the nation, on pe- "nalty of two ſhillings and ſixpence for every offence. It is "further ordered, that no miniſter ſhall be moleſted, or diſ- "turbed in the diſcharge of his office on the Lord's day, or "on any other day, when he is performing his duty, or in "going or coming from the place of publick worſhip. Nor "ſhall any wilful diſturbance be given to the congregation, "on penalty of five pounds, or being ſent to the workhouſe "for ſix months, provided the information be within one "month after the offence is committed."* This ordinance to be read in every church or chapel of this nation annually, the firſt Lord's day in every March.

The oath of abjuration, for diſcovering popiſh recuſants, not being effectual, it was now further ordained, "that all "juſtices of peace, at the quarter-ſeſſions, ſhould charge the "grand juries to preſent all perſons whom they ſuſpected to "be popiſhly affected; and that every ſuch perſon ſhould "appear at the next quarter-ſeſſions, and take and ſubſcribe "the following oath of abjuration, on penalty of being ad- "judged popiſh recuſants convict, to all intents and purpoſes "whatſoever."

"I *A. B.* do abjure and renounce the pope's ſupremacy "and authority over the catholick church in general, and over "myſelf in particular. And I do believe the church of Rome "is not the true church; and that there is not any tranſub- "ſtantiation in the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, or in the "elements of bread and wine after conſecration thereof, by "any perſon whatſoever. And I do alſo believe, that there "is not any purgatory; and that conſecrated hoſts, cruci- "fixes,

* Scobel, p. 438.

"fixes, or images, ought not to be worſhipped; neither that "any worſhip is due unto them. And I alſo believe, that "ſalvation cannot be merited by works. And I do ſincerely "teſtify and declare, that the pope, neither of himſelf, nor "by any authority of the church or ſee of Rome, or by any "other means, with any other, hath any power or authority "to depoſe the chief magiſtrate of theſe nations, or to diſpoſe "of any of the countries or territories thereunto belonging; "or to authorize any foreign prince or ſtate to invade or an-"noy him, or them; or to diſcharge any of the people of "theſe nations from their obedience to the *chief magiſtrate*; "or to give licence or leave to any of the ſaid people to bear "arms, raiſe tumults, or to offer any violence or hurt to the "perſon of the ſaid *chief magiſtrate*, or to the ſtate or go-"vernment of theſe nations, or to any of the people thereof. "And I do further ſwear, that I do from my heart abhor, de-"teſt and abjure, this damnable doctrine and poſition, that "princes, rulers or governors, which be excommunicated, or "deprived by the pope, may, by virtue of ſuch excommuni-"cation or deprivation, be killed, murdered, or depoſed from "their rule or government; or any outrage or violence done "to them by the people that are under them; or by any "other whatſoever upon ſuch pretence. And I do further "ſwear, that I do believe that the pope, or biſhop of Rome, "hath no authority, power, or juriſdiction whatſoever, "within England, Scotland and Ireland, or any or either of "them, or the dominions or territories thereunto belonging, "or any or either of them. And all doctrines in affirmation "of the ſame points I do abjure and renounce, without any "equivocation, mental reſervation, or ſecret evaſion what-"ſoever, taking the words by me ſpoken, according to the "common and uſual meaning of them. And I do believe no "power derived from the pope or church of Rome, or any "other perſon, can abſolve me from this mine oath. And "I do renounce all pardons and diſpenſations to the contrary. "So help me God."*

Upon refuſal of this oath, the protector and his ſucceſſors might, by proceſs in the Exchequer, ſeize upon two-thirds of

* Scobel, p. 444.

their

their eſtates both real and perſonal, for the uſe of the publick, during the time of their recuſancy; but after their deceaſe, the ſame were to return to the right heir, provided they took the abovementioned oath. It was further ordained, "that "no ſubject of this commonwealth ſhall at any time be pre- "ſent at maſs, in the houſe of any foreign ambaſſador, or "agent, or at any other place, on penalty of one hundred "pounds, and impriſonment for ſix months, half to the "protector, and half to the informer."

How far theſe ſeverities were needful or juſtifiable I leave with the judgment of the reader.

The protector had an opportunity this year, of appearing for the proteſtants of France,* as he had done laſt year for thoſe of the Valleys; there happened a quarrel between the burghers of Niſmes, who were moſtly *hugonots*, and the magiſtrates and biſhop of the city; the *intendant* of the province being informed of it, repaired thither to prevent an inſurrection; but the *burghers* ſtanding in their own defence raiſed a tumult, of which the intendant ſent an account to court. The burghers, being ſoon ſenſible of their folly, ſubmitted and begged pardon; but the *court*, laying hold of the opportunity, reſolved to ruin them. Upon which they diſpatched a meſſenger privately to CROMWELL, and begged his interpoſition. The *protector*, having heard the whole account, bid the meſſenger ſtay and refreſh himſelf, and before he could return to Paris, his buſineſs ſhould be done. Accordingly, an expreſs was immediately diſpatched with a letter to the king of France, under cover of the following to cardinal *Mazarine*.

To his eminence the LORD CARDINAL MAZARINE.

"HAVING thought neceſſary to diſpatch this gentle- "man to the king with the incloſed letter, I commanded him

* The conduct of CROMWELL, in this inſtance, does him the more honour, as unhappily for the ſuffering proteſtants of France, it is unparalleled. It was not formed on any precedent; nor has his generous example been followed. "When an opportunity," obſerves an ingenious writer, "offered for "doing ſomething for them at the peace of Ryſwick, in 1697: and again "of Utrecht, in 1713, at which time four hundred were ſtill groaning on "board the gallies, or periſhing in dungeons, there was not one ſtipulation "in their favour." Bicheno's Signs of the Times, part I. p. 46, note. ED.

"to

" to ſalute your *eminence* on my part; and have charged him " to communicate to you certain affairs which I have entruſted " him with: I therefore pray your highneſs to give credit " to what he ſhall ſay, having an entire confidence in him.

" *Your eminence's moſt affectionate,*
" O. CROMWELL, *protector of the*
" *Commonwealth of England, &c.*

" Whitehall, Dec. 28*th*, 1656."

The protector added the following poſtſcript with his own hand; " I have been informed of the tumult at Niſmes: I " recommend to your highneſs the intereſt of the *reformed.*" And in his inſtructions to his ambaſſador *Lockhart*, he commanded him to inſiſt peremptorily, *that the tumult of Niſmes be forgiven*, or elſe to leave the court immediately. *Mazarine* complained of this uſage, as too high and imperious; but his eminence ſtood in too much awe of the protector to quarrel with him, and therefore ſent orders to the *intendant* to make up the matter as well as he could. Mr. *Welwood* ſays, the cardinal would change countenance whenever he heard the name of the PROTECTOR, inſomuch that it became a proverb in France, that *Mazarine* was not ſo much afraid of the devil as of O. CROMWELL. Such was the terror of this great man's name in the principal courts of Europe!

This year* died the right reverend and pious Dr. *Joſeph Hall* biſhop of Norwich, whoſe practical works have been in

* In September, this year, [1656] there happened at Abingdon in Berkſhire a tumult, which was attended with ſingular circumſtances, expreſſive of the political as well as religious phrenſy of the times. It was occaſioned by the burial of Mr. *Pendarvis*, the paſtor of the *baptiſt* church in that town; who died in London, and was brought down to Abingdon by water, in a ſugar-caſk filled up with ſand, to be interred. As he was one of the *fifth-monarchy* men, and the people to whom he miniſtered were of that ſtamp, and famous among the party in general, his interment drew together ſo vaſt a concourſe of people, even from the remoteſt parts of the kingdom, that the governing powers took notice of it, and ſent major-general *Bridges* with a party of ſoldiers to attend on the occaſion. Several days were ſpent by the people in religious exerciſes, in which were thrown out many railing accuſations againſt the exiſting government, and exhortations to " ariſe and " fight the Lord's battles," &c. At laſt the major-general ſent an order to diſſolve the meeting in theſe words: *It is the order of the ſtate, that you depart to your habitations.* They refuſed to obey this order, and perſiſted

in great eſteem among the diſſenters. He was born as Aſhby de la Zouch in Leiceſterſhire, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. When he left the univerſity, he travelled with ſir *Edmund Bacon* to the Spa in Germany. Upon his return, he was taken into the ſervice of prince *Henry*, and preferred to the rectory of Waltham in Eſſex, which he held twenty-two years. King *James* ſent him to the ſynod of Dort with other Engliſh divines, where he preached a *Latin* ſermon; but was forced to retire to England before the ſynod broke up, on the account of his health. Some time after his return, he was preferred to the biſhoprick of Exeter, and from thence tranſlated to Norwich. At the beginning of the troubles between the king and parliament, the biſhop publiſhed ſeveral treatiſes in favour of dioceſan epiſcopacy, which were anſwered by *Smectymnuus*, as has been already related. He was afterwards impriſoned in the Tower with the reſt of the *proteſting* biſhops; upon his releaſe he retired to Norwich, the revenues of which biſhoprick being ſoon ſequeſtered, together with his own real and perſonal eſtate, he was forced to be content with the fifths. The ſoldiers uſed him ſeverely, turning him out of his palace, and threatening to ſell his books, if a friend had not given bond for the money, at which they were appraiſed. The biſhop complained very juſtly of this uſage, in a pamphlet entitled *Hard Meaſure*. At length the parliament, to make him ſome amends, voted him 40*l.* per annum; and when the war was ended, in the year 1647, they took off the ſequeſtration from his eſtate, and the biſhop

in their exerciſes. A guard was then ſet upon the houſe, where they were aſſembled. On this they repaired to the market-place, and continued in the moſt inſolent manner, to rail at the protector, and abuſe the ſoldiers; crying out; *Now, Lord, appear; down with the Prieſts*, &c. the very women exciting the men to violence. The ſoldiers, at laſt, pulled down the men from their ſtools. A fray enſued, and ſwords and canes were brandiſhed together in the greateſt confuſion, and ſome few ſlightly hurt. The major-general then entered the town with his whole brigade of horſe. The ringleaders were apprehended and brought before him: with whom he reaſoned and expoſtulated in the moſt friendly manner, but without ſucceſs. For none of them would own their fault, or acknowledge the exiſting government, nor even promiſe to behave peaceably, ſaying, *they knew not how ſoon they might be called forth to do the Lord's work.* However, five only were committed to priſon, and they were ſoon afterwards releaſed. Thompſon's Collections, under the word Abingdon MSS. Ed.

lived

lived peaceably upon it afterwards, ſpending his ſolitude in acts of charity and divine meditation. He was a learned and pious man, and of great humility and goodneſs in converſation; but his being the tool of archbiſhop *Laud*, in ſupporting the *divine right* of dioceſan epiſcopacy, leſſened him in the eſteem of the parliament. Mr. *Fuller* ſays,* he was frequently called our Engliſh *Seneca*, for the pureneſs, plainneſs, and fulneſs of his ſtile.† He was more happy in his practical than polemical writings. There is one remarkable paſſage in his will, which is this, after having deſired a private funeral, he adds, *I do not hold God's houſe a meet repoſitory for the dead bodies of the greateſt ſaints.* In his laſt ſickneſs he was afflicted with violent pains of the ſtone and ſtranguary, which he bore with wonderful patience, till death put an end to all his troubles, Sept. 8, 1656, in the eighty-ſecond year of his age.

Towards the latter end of this year died the reverend Mr. *Richard Capel*, born at Glouceſter 1586, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxon, where he proceeded *M. A.*‡ His eminence in the univerſity (ſays the Oxford hiſtorian) was great; he had divers learned men for his pupils, who were afterwards famous in the church, as *Accepted Frewen*, archbiſhop of *York*, *William Pemble*, and others. He left the univerſity for the rectory of Eaſtington in his own county, where he became celebrated for his painful and practical preaching, as well as for his exemplary life. When the book of ſports came out 1633, he refuſed to read it, but reſigned his rectory, and commenced phyſician. In 1641 he cloſed with the parliament, and was choſen one of the aſſembly of divines, but declined ſitting among them, chuſing to reſide at his living at Pitchcomb, near Stroud, where he was in great reputation as a phyſician and divine, preaching gratis to his congregation. He publiſhed ſeveral valuable treatiſes, and among others a celebrated one, *of Temptations, their nature, danger, and cure.* He was a good old *puritan*, of the ſtamp

* Fuller's Worthies, book II. p. 130.

† In his younger years he compoſed a book of Satires, and was the firſt writer in that kind, of our Engliſh poets. Mr. *Pope* ſaid high things of this performance. Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 157, 8vo. EDIT.

‡ Fuller's Worthies, p. 260.

of Mr. *Dod*, *Cleaver*, and *Hilderſham;* and died at Pitchcomb in Glouceſterſhire, September 21, 1656,* aged ſeventy-two years.† The

* Mr. *Neal* has paſſed over here a name of great worth and eminence, which ought not to be forgotten in an hiſtory of the progreſs of religious liberty; *that* of the "ever-memorable" JOHN HALES, of ETON, as he has been uſually called, who died on the 19th of May, 1656, aged ſeventy-two years: whoſe writings, though not numerous, eſpecially his "Diſ-"courſe on Schiſm," have much contributed to promote juſt ſentiments and a liberality of ſpirit. He was born at Bath, in 1584, and made ſo early a proficiency in grammar learning, that at 13 years of age he was ſent to Corpus-Chriſti college in Oxford; and ſtudied under *George Abbot*, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, under whom he imbibed an attachment to the doctrines of *calviniſm*. In 1605, by the intereſt of ſir *Henry Saville*, warden of Merton college, whoſe notice and patronage his merit and learning had attracted, he was choſen fellow of the ſame: and his aſſiſtance was engaged in the excellent edition of *Chryſoſtom*'s work by ſir *Henry*; which is the beſt printed *Greek* book England can boaſt, and coſt the learned Editor ſeveral thouſand pounds.* Mr. *Hales* was alſo appointed to read the *Greek* lecture in his college, and in 1612 he was elected *Greek* profeſſor to the univerſity. In 1612-13 he was called upon to compoſe and ſpeak the Funeral Oration for ſir *Thomas Bodley*, founder of the Bodleian library, whoſe corpſe the univerſity determined to inter in the moſt ſolemn manner. On the 24th of May in that year, he was admitted fellow of Eton college, being then in holy orders. In 1618 he accompanied ſir *Dudley Carleton*, king *James*'s ambaſſador to the States of Holland, as his chaplain; and was preſent at many of the ſeſſions of the Synod of Dort; from whence he returned an Arminian: "There," he ſaid, "I "bid *John Calvin* good night." On the 27th of June, 1639, by the intereſt of Archb. *Laud*, he was inſtalled a Canon of Windſor: but he enjoyed this preferment, which he reluctantly accepted, little more than two years, till the beginning of the civil wars in 1642. About the beginning of 1645 he retired into a private chamber at Eton; where he remained a quarter of a year in a very obſcure manner, and is ſaid, during that time, to have lived only upon bread and beer. His fellowſhip was continued, though he refuſed to ſign the covenant; but he was ejected from it on refuſing to take the oath of fidelity to the commonwealth. His neceſſities at length obliged him to ſell his admirable library for 700l. which had coſt him 2500l. His love of retirement and ſtudy induced him to decline a generous offer of one of the Sedleian Family. When he held the fellowſhip and burſar's place of his college, he was wont to ſay, they were worth to him 50l. a year more than he could ſpend. His body, it is reported, was well-proportioned, and his motion briſk and lively. His countenance was ſanguine, cheerful, and full of air. His parts were great: his genius acute and piercing: his judgment profound: his learning various, polite, and univerſal; ſo that he was called "a walking library." His manners were moſt amiable and engaging. He was moſt exemplarily meek and

* Harwood's View of the Editions of the Claſſics, ſecond edit. p. 143.

humble;

The parliament which met Sept. 17, continued ſitting till the next year, having before them an affair of the greateſt conſequence, which was confirming the government under CROMWELL as LORD PROTECTOR, or changing it for the title of KING. Col. *Jephſon*, one of the members from Ireland, moved, that the protector might have the crown, with the title of KING, and was ſeconded by alderman *Pack*, one of the repreſentatives for the city of London; but the republicans in the houſe oppoſed it with great vehemence; however, upon putting the queſtion, it was carried for a *king;* moſt of the lawyers, as ſerjeant *Glyn*, *Maynard*, *Fountain*, *St. John*, and others, being on that ſide. April 4, a petition was preſented to the *protector*, recommending the title and office of a KING, as beſt fitted to the laws and temper of the people of England; and upon his deſiring time to conſider of it, a committee was appointed to give him ſatisfaction in any diffi-

humble; and beyond all example charitable: of great candour and moderation; judging for himſelf, but not others; none more ſtudious of the knowledge of the goſpel, or more curious in the ſearch: of the ſtricteſt integrity, and ſincerely pious. He had a great deteſtation of an impoſing, cenſorious and intolerant ſpirit: and would often ſay, that "he would "renounce the religion of the church of England to-morrow, if it obliged "him to believe that any other Chriſtians would be damned: and that no-"body would conclude another man to be damned, who did not wiſh him "ſo." The force, eloquence, and ſimplicity, with which he wrote to Abp. *Laud*, give a picture of his mind, as well as convey excellent inſtruction. "The purſuit of truth," ſays he, "has been my only care ever ſince I "underſtood the meaning of the word. For this I have forſaken all hopes, "all friends, all deſires, which might biaſs me, and hinder me from dri-"ving right at what I aimed. For this I have ſpent my money, my means, "my youth, my age, and all that I have.—If with all this coſt and pains, "my purchaſe is but error, I may ſafely ſay, to err has coſt me more than "it has many to find the truth; and truth ſhall give me this teſtimony at "laſt, that if I have miſſed of her, it is not my fault, but my misfortune." He was buried, according to his deſire, in Eton college church-yard, on the day after his death: and a monument was erected over his grave by Mr. *Peter Curwen*. A complete edition of his works was, for the firſt time, offered to the publick, from the preſs of the Foulis at Glaſgow, 1765, in three volumes 12mo. undertaken with the approbation of Dr. *Warburton*, the biſhop of Glouceſter. "The greatneſs of his character," obſerves Mr. *Granger*, "has ſtamped a value upon ſome of his compoſitions, which are "thought to have but little merit in themſelves." Hiſt. of England, vol. ii. 8vo. p. 172. Britiſh Biography, vol. iv. p. 368—375; and Works, vol. i. Teſtimonies prefixed, and p. 137, 8.

† Clarke's General Martyrology, p. 303, of the annexed Lives. ED.

culties

culties that might ariſe, who urged, that "the name of "*protector* was unknown to our Engliſh conſtitution—that "his highneſs had already the office and power of a king, "and therefore the diſpute was only about a name.—That "his perſon would never be ſecure till he aſſumed it, becauſe "the laws did not take notice of him as *chief magiſtrate*, and "juries were backward to find perſons guilty of treaſon where "there was no *king*.—They urged the advantages of a mixed "monarchy, and inſiſted on the ſafety and ſecurity of himſelf "and his friends—That by the laws of *Edw.* IV. and *Henry* "VII. whatever was done by a king in poſſeſſion, with the "conſent of a houſe of lords and commons, was valid, and all "that ſerved under him were exempt from puniſhment—"That without this title all the grants and ſales that had "been made were null and void; and all who had collected "the publick moneys were accountable.—In ſhort, that the "inclinations of the nation were for a *king*—That his not "accepting the office would occaſion the changing many an-"cient laws, cuſtoms, and formalities—That there would be "no laſting ſettlement till things reverted to this channel—"To all which they added, that it was the advice and opinion "of the repreſentatives of the three nations; and ſince the "parliament of England, Scotland, and Ireland, adviſed and "deſired him to accept the title, he ought not in reaſon or "equity to decline it."*

The protector attended to theſe arguments, and would no doubt have complied, if he could have relied upon the army, but the chief officers remonſtrated ſtrongly againſt it, and many of his old friends, among whom was his own ſon-in-law *Fleetwood*, threatened to lay down their commiſſions. All the republicans declaimed loudly againſt his accepting the crown, and preſented a petition to the houſe againſt it, drawn up by Dr. *Owen*, and preſented by lieutenant-general *Maſon:* They ſaid, "they had pulled down monarchy with the monarch, "and ſhould they now build it up?—They had appealed to "God in the late war, who had anſwered in their favour, and "ſhould they now diſtruſt him?—They had voted to be true "to the commonwealth, without king or kingſhip, and "ſhould they break their vows, and go back to Egypt for

* Whitlocke, p. 646.

"ſecurity?

"ſecurity?—They thought it rather their happineſs to be "under a *legal danger*, which might make them more cau- "tious and diligent.—Some ſaid, if they muſt have a king, "why not the legal one?"*—Upon theſe grounds they ſtood out, and rejected with ſcorn all limitations of the prerogative under monarchy. So that whatever might be the protector's inclination,† he judged it moſt prudent to decline the crown at preſent; and accordingly, May 8, he ſent for the houſe, and acquainted them, that *as the circumſtances of affairs then ſtood, he could not undertake the government with the title of* KING.‡

Some have been of opinion, that the protector's *great genius* forſook him in this affair; but it is impoſſible, at this diſtance of time, to judge of the ſtrength of the reaſons that determined him the other way. Had he aſſumed the title of KING, the *army* would have revolted; the *cavaliers* would have joined the republicans to have pulled him down from the throne, the whole nation would in all probability have been thrown into confuſion, and himſelf have been the ſacrifice. The protector had made large advances in power already, and he might apprehend it not worth while at preſent, to riſk *the whole* for the ſake of a *name;* though I make no queſtion, but if he had lived to ſee his government eſtabliſhed, and the ſpirits of the people calmed, he would in a proper time have accepted of the ſtile and title, as he had already done the *office* of KING. Nay, Mr. *Welwood*§ ſays, that a crown was actually made, and brought to Whitehall for that purpoſe.

Upon *Cromwell*'s declining the title of *king*, the parliament concluded upon an humble *petition and advice*, which

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 98, 12mo. Edinb. edit.

† The inclinations of *Cromwell* were ſtrongly in favour of kingſhip: for he uſed all poſſible means to prevail with the officers of the army to concur with his ſcheme of royalty. With this view he invited himſelf to dine with colonel *Deſborough*, and carried lieutenant-general *Fleetwood* with him, as he knew the influence of theſe officers and their averſion to his wearing the crown. He then even ſtooped to ſolicit their indulgence: "It is but "a feather in a man's cap," ſaid he, "and therefore he wondered that "men would not pleaſe children, and permit them to enjoy their rattle." Ludlow's Memoirs, 4to. p. 248. ED.

‡ Whitlocke, p. 646. § Memoirs, p. 111.

was

was preſented to the protector May 25, containing, among others, the following articles.—"That his *highneſs* would "exerciſe the office of chief magiſtrate of this nation under "the title of LORD PROTECTOR; and that during life he "would declare his ſucceſſor—That for the future he would "be pleaſed to call parliaments, conſiſting of two houſes, to "meet once in three years, and oftener, if there be occaſion "—That the antient liberties of parliament may be preſer-"ved; and that none who are choſen may be excluded but "by the judgment and conſent of the houſe of which they "are members——That no papiſt, no perſon that has borne "arms againſt the parliament, unleſs he has ſince given proof "of his good affection to the commonwealth; no clergyman, "no atheiſt, or openly profane perſon, be qualified to be "choſen member of parliament—That the other houſe of "parliament be not more than ſeventy, nor leſs than forty, "of which twenty-one to make a houſe—That they may not "vote by proxy—That as any of them die, no new ones be "admitted but by conſent of the houſe itſelf, but the nomi-"nation to be in the protector; and that they may not pro-"ceed in any criminal cauſes but by impeachment of the "commons—That no laws be abrogated, ſuſpended, or re-"pealed, but by act of parliament; and that no perſon be "compelled to contribute to any gift, loans, benevolences, "or taxes, without conſent of parliament—That the number "of his *highneſs*'s council be not more than twenty-one, of "which ſeven to be a *quorum;* and that no privy counſellor "be removed but by conſent of parliament; though in the "intervals of parliament they may be ſuſpended—That the "chancellor, or keeper of the great ſeal, the commiſſioners "of the treaſury, and other chief officers of ſtate, may be "approved by both houſes of parliament——"

The article relating to religion was in theſe words; "That "the proteſtant chriſtian religion contained in the holy ſcrip-"tures of the Old and New Teſtament, and no other, be aſſer-"ted and held forth, as the publick profeſſion of this nation; "and that a confeſſion of faith, to be agreed upon by your "*highneſs* and this preſent parliament, be aſſerted, and re-"commended to the people of the nation; and that none ſhall "be permitted by opprobrious words or writing to revile or

"reproach

" reproach the ſaid confeſſion. That ſuch who profeſs faith " in God the Father, and in Jeſus Chriſt his eternal Son, the " true God, and in the Holy Ghoſt, God co-equal and co- " eternal with the Father and the Son, one God bleſſed for " ever, and do acknowledge the holy ſcriptures of the Old and " New Teſtament to be the revealed will and word of God, " though in other things they may differ in word and doc- " trine, or diſcipline, from the publick profeſſion held forth, " ſhall not be compelled by penalties or reſtraints, from their " profeſſion, but ſhall be protected from all injuries and mo- " leſtations in the profeſſion of their faith, and exerciſe of " their religion, while they abuſe not this liberty to the civil " injury of others, or the diſturbance of the publick peace; " provided this liberty do not extend to popery or prelacy, " or to the countenance of ſuch who publiſh horrid blaſphe- " mies; or who practiſe or hold forth licentiouſneſs or pro- " faneneſs, under the profeſſion of Chriſt; and thoſe mini- " ſters, or publick preachers, who agree with the publick " profeſſion aforeſaid in matters of faith, though they differ " in matters of worſhip or diſcipline, ſhall not only have pro- " tection in the way of their churches or worſhip, but ſhall " be deemed equally fit and capable (being otherwiſe quali- " fied) of any truſt, promotion, or employment in this nation, " with thoſe who agree with the publick profeſſion of faith, " only they ſhall not be capable of receiving the publick " maintenance appointed for the miniſtry. And all miniſters " ſhall remain diſqualified from holding any civil employment, " according to the act for diſabling all perſons in holy orders " to exerciſe any temporal juriſdiction and authority, which " is hereby confirmed."*

The protector having conſented to theſe, and ſome other articles, to the number of eighteen, an oath was appointed to be taken by all privy counſellors and members of parliament for the future, *To maintain the proteſtant religion; to be faithful to the lord protector; and to preſerve the rights and liberties of the people;* and a few days after O. CROMWELL was proclaimed a ſecond time LORD PROTECTOR in the cities of London and Weſtminſter; this being eſteemed a new, and more parliamentary title; and if the houſe had been full and

* Whitlocke's Memoirs, p. 678.

free

free it might have been ſo, but the *council*'s aſſuming a power to approve or diſapprove of the members after they were returned; their forbidding them to debate the fundamentals of the new government, and obliging them to ſign a *recognition* of it before they entered the houſe, looks like a force, or taking the election out of their hands. But lame and imperfect as the protector's title may ſeem, it was as good as that of the Roman emperors, or the original claims of many of the royal houſes of Europe; and in the preſent disjointed ſtate of the Engliſh nation, not only neceſſary, but it may be the beſt thing that could be done; for if the protectorſhip had been ſet aſide, there was hardly a man in the houſe who would have ventured to vote for the king; an abſolute commonwealth could not have been ſupported, and therefore anarchy would inevitably have enſued.

This being the laſt ſettlement of government in the protector's time, the reader will obſerve, that the four fundamental articles already mentioned, (viz.) (1.) That the government be in a ſingle perſon and a parliament. (2.) That parliaments be not perpetual. (3.) The militia. And (4.) Liberty of conſcience in matters of religion; were not ſuffered to be examined or altered, but were ſuppoſed as the baſis upon which the new government was founded. That though OLIVER's title to the government had the ſanction and confirmation of the preſent parliament, it was derived originally from the choice of the *council of officers*, and was never ſuffered to be debated in the houſe afterwards—— That the *humble petition and advice* approaches nearer the old legal conſtitution, by appointing two houſes of parliament, and would moſt likely, in time, have been converted into it —That the regulations it makes in the conſtitution are for the moſt part reaſonable—That the preſbyterians were ſtill left in poſſeſſion of all the eccleſiaſtical revenues of the kingdom, though an open and free liberty was granted to all chriſtians, except papiſts and prelatiſts, who were excluded for reaſons of ſtate; and the penal laws made againſt the latter were dropt, by the parliament's not confirming them. Remarkable are the words of the lord commiſſioner *Fiennes*, at the opening of the ſecond ſeſſion of this parliament, in which he "warns the houſes of the rock on which many

"had

" had ſplit, which was a ſpirit of impoſing upon men's con-
" ſciences in things wherein God leaves them a latitude, and
" would have them free. The prelates and their adherents,
" nay, and their maſter and ſupporter, with all his poſterity,
" have ſplit upon it. The bloody rebels in Ireland, who
" would endure no religion but their own, have ſplit upon
" it; and we doubt not but the prince of thoſe ſatanical ſpirits
" will in due time ſplit upon it, and be brought to the
" ground with his bloody inquiſition. But as God is no re-
" ſpecter of perſons, ſo he is no reſpecter of forms, but in
" what form ſoever the *ſpirit of impoſition* appears, he would
" teſtify againſt it. If men, though otherwiſe good, will turn
" ceremony into ſubſtance, and make the kingdom of Chriſt
" conſiſt in circumſtances, in diſcipline and in forms; and if
" they carry their animoſities to ſuch an height, that if one
" ſays *Sibboleth* inſtead of *Shibboleth*, it ſhall be accounted
" ground enough to cut his throat: if they ſhall account ſuch
" devils, or the ſeed of the ſerpent, that are not within ſuch
" a circle or of ſuch an opinion, in vain do they proteſt
" againſt the perſecution of God's people, when they make
" the definition of *God's people* ſo narrow, that their perſe-
" cution is as broad as any other, and uſually more fierce,
" becauſe edged with a ſharp temper of ſpirit. Bleſſed there-
" fore be God, who in mercy to us and them, has placed the
" power in ſuch hands as make it their buſineſs to preſerve
" peace, and hinder men from biting and devouring one an-
" other.——It is good to hold forth a publick profeſſion of
" the truth, but not ſo as to exclude thoſe that cannot come
" up to it in all points, from the privilege that belongs to
" them as chriſtians, much leſs from the privilege that be-
" longs to them as men."*

His highneſs having now a more parliamentary title, it was thought proper that he ſhould have a more ſolemn inauguration, which was accordingly appointed to be celebrated on June 26, in Weſtminſter-hall, which was adorned and beautified for this purpoſe as for a coronation. At the upper end there was an aſcent of two degrees covered with carpets, in the midſt of which there was a rich canopy, and under it a chair of ſtate. Before the canopy there was a table and

* Whitlocke's Memoirs, p. 93.

chair

chair for the *ſpeaker*,* and on each ſide ſeats for the members of parliament, for the judges, for the lord-mayor and aldermen of London. The protector was conducted from the houſe of lords with all the ſtate and grandeur of a king, and being ſeated under the canopy of ſtate, the ſpeaker of the parliament, the earl of *Warwick*, and commiſſioner *Whitlocke*, veſted him with a purple velvet robe lined with ermine: they delivered into one of his hands a bible richly gilt, and emboſſed with gold; and into the other a ſcepter of maſſy gold; and, laſtly, they girt him with a rich ſword; after this they adminiſtered an oath to the protector, to govern according to law. The ſolemnity concluded with a ſhort prayer pronounced by Dr. *Manton;* and then the herald having proclaimed his *highneſs*'s titles, the people ſhouted with loud acclamations, *Long live the lord protector*, &c. and the day concluded with feaſtings, and all other kinds of publick rejoicing.

The protector, having waded through all theſe difficulties to the *ſupreme government* of theſe nations, appeared on a ſudden like a *comet* or *blazing ſtar*,† raiſed up by providence to exalt this nation to a diſtinguiſhed pitch of glory, and to ſtrike terror into the reſt of Europe.‡ His management for the little time he ſurvived, was the admiration of all mankind; for though he would never ſuffer his title to the ſupreme government to be diſputed, yet his greateſt enemies have confeſſed, that in all other caſes diſtributive juſtice was reſtored to its antient ſplendor. The judges executed their duty according to equity, without partiality or bribery; the laws had their full and free courſe without impediment or delay; men's manners were wonderfully reformed, and the protector's court kept under an exact diſcipline. Trade flouriſhed, and the arts of peace were cultivated throughout the whole nation; the publick money was managed with frugality, and to the beſt advantage; the army and navy were well paid, and ſerved accordingly.§ As the protector proceeded with great

* Dr. *Grey* gives at length the ſpeech with which the ſpeaker, lord *Widdrington*, addreſſed the protector. Ed.

† Eachard, p. 719. ‡ Complete Hiſt. p. 223.

§ Dr. *Grey* controverts the truth of this repreſentation of the happy ſtate of things under *Cromwell*'s government; though Mr. *Neal* courts *Eachard* and

great ſteadineſs and reſolution againſt the enemies of his government, he was no leſs generous and bountiful to thoſe of all parties who ſubmitted to it; for as he would not declare himſelf of any particular ſect, he gave out, that *it was his only wiſh, that all would gather into one ſheepfold, under one ſhepherd, Jeſus Chriſt, and love one another.* He reſpected the clergy in their places, but confined them to their ſpiritual function. Nor was he jealous of any who did not meddle in politics, and endeavour to raiſe diſturbances in the ſtate: even the prejudice he had againſt the epiſcopal party, (ſays biſhop *Kennet*) was more for their being royaliſts, than being of the church of England. But when one party of the clergy began to lift up their heads above their brethren, or to act out of their ſphere, he always found means to take them down. He had a watchful eye over the royaliſts and republicans, who were always plotting againſt his perſon and government; but his erecting *a houſe of lords*, or *upper houſe*, ſo quickly after his inſtalment, rouſed the malecontents, and had like to have ſubverted his government in its infancy.

The protector was in high reputation abroad, and carried victory with his armies and navies wherever they appeared. There had been a negotiation with France concerning an alliance againſt Spain, begun at London 1655, but not concluded till March 13, 1657, by which the protector obliged himſelf to join ſix thouſand men with the French army, and to furniſh fifty men of war to conquer the maritime towns belonging to Spain in the Low Countries, on this condition, that Dunkirk and Mardyke ſhould be put into his hands, and the family of the Stuarts depart the territories of France. That which determined him to join with France rather than Spain, was the numerous parties that were againſt him at home; for if the young king, aſſiſted by France, ſhould have made a deſcent upon England with an army of French *proteſtants*, it might have been of fatal conſequence to his infant

and *Kennet*: whoſe authority Dr. *Grey* does not attempt to invalidate. He refers principally, to a ſpeech of *Cromwell*, 25 Jan. 1657, complaining that the army was unpaid, and that Ireland and Scotland were ſuffering by poverty. For a review of the adminiſtration of *Cromwell*, the reader is referred to Dr. Harris' Life of Cromwell, p. 412—75: and Mrs. Macaulay's Hiſtory of England, vol. 5, 8vo. p. 194—203, who is by no means partial to the protector. ED.

government;

government; whereas the Spaniards were at a diſtance, and having no proteſtant ſubjects, were leſs to be feared. Upon the concluſion of this treaty, king *Charles* entered into an alliance with the Spaniards, who allowed him a ſmall penſion, and promiſed him the command of ſix thouſand men, as ſoon as he was poſſeſſed of any ſea-port in England. In conſequence of this treaty, moſt of the royaliſts inliſted in the Spaniſh ſervice. But the protector's ſix thouſand men in Flanders behaved with undaunted bravery, and took St. Venant, Mardyke, and ſome other places from the Spaniards this ſummer.*

Admiral *Blake* was no leſs ſucceſsful at ſea, for having received advice of the return of the Spaniſh Weſt-India fleet, he ſailed to the Canaries with twenty-five men of war, and on the 20th of April arrived at the Bay of Sancta Cruz, in the iſland of Teneriff, where the galleons, to the number of ſixteen, richly laden, lay cloſe under a ſtrong caſtle, defended by ſeven forts mounted with cannon; the admiral, finding it impoſſible to make them prize, had the good fortune to burn and deſtroy them all, only with the loſs of one ſhip, and one hundred and ſixty men. When the news of this ſucceſs arrived in England, a day of thankſgiving was appointed, and a rich preſent ordered the admiral upon his return; but this great ſea-officer, having been three years at ſea, died as he was entering Plymouth ſound Aug. 17, in the ſixty-ſeventh year of his age.† He was of the antient family of the *Blakes*, of Planchfield, Somerſetſhire, and was educated in Wadham college, Oxford.‡ He was ſmall of ſtature, but the braveſt and boldeſt ſailor that England ever bred, and conſulted the honour of his country beyond all his predeceſſors. When ſome of his men being aſhore at Malaga, refuſed to do honour to the *hoſt* as it paſſed by, one of the prieſts raiſed the mob upon them. Upon which *Blake* ſent a trumpet to the viceroy to demand the prieſt, who ſaying he had no authority to deliver him up, the admiral anſwered, that if he did not ſend him abroad in three hours he would burn the town about their ears; upon which he came, and begged pardon: the admiral,

* Burnet, p. 73.

† Other accounts ſay in the 59th year of his age. Ed.

‡ Eachard, p. 725.

after

after a ſevere reprimand, told him, that if he had complained to him of his ſailors he would have puniſhed them, but he *would have all the world know, that an Engliſhman was only to be puniſhed by an Engliſhman*, and ſo diſmiſſed him, being ſatisfied with having ſtruck terror into the prieſt, and had him at his mercy. When OLIVER read this paſſage of *Blake*'s letter in council, he ſaid, *he hoped to make the name of an Engliſhman as great as ever that of a Roman had been.*‡ The admiral preſerved an exact diſcipline in the fleet, and taught his men to deſpiſe caſtles on ſhore, as well as ſhips at ſea.§ Valour ſeldom miſſed its reward with him, nor cowardice its puniſhment. He had a noble publick ſpirit, for after all his ſervices for his country, and opportunities of acquiring immenſe riches from the Spaniards, he died not five hundred pounds richer than his father left him. His body was brought by water to Greenwich, and depoſited in a moſt magnificent manner, in a vault made on purpoſe in king *Henry* ſeventh's chapel, at the publick expence; but at the reſtoration his body was taken out of the grave, and flung with others into a common pit;‖ and his brother, being a diſſenter, ſuffered ſo many hardſhips for religion in king *Charles* the ſecond's reign, that he was obliged to ſell the little eſtate the admiral left him, and tranſport himſelf and children to Carolina.

‡ Burnet, vol. i. p. 113, 14.

§ It is remarkable, that *Blake* did not take the command of the fleet till he was above fifty years of age. "His want of experience," ſays Mr. *Granger*, "ſeems to have been of great advantage to him; he followed "the light of his own genius only, and was preſently ſeen to have all the "courage, the conduct, and precipitancy of a good ſea-officer." ED.

‖ Biſhop *Kennet*, whom Dr. *Grey* quotes here, being aſhamed, it is probable, of the baſe contempt with which the body of *Blake* was treated, ſays, "it was taken up and buried in the church-yard." But *Wood* plainly ſays, that his body with others, by his majeſty's expreſs command ſent to the dean of Weſtminſter, was taken up and buried in a *pit* in St. Margaret's church-yard. The other bodies treated thus ignominiouſly were admiral *Dean*'s, a brave man, who loſt his life in the ſervice of his country; Col. *Humphrey Mackworth*'s; ſir *W. Conſtable*'s; Col. *Boſcaewn*'s, a Corniſh gentleman of a family diſtinguiſhed by its conſtant attachment to liberty; and many others too long to be here mentioned. "Such," obſerves Dr. *Harris*, "was the politeneſs and humanity introduced by the "reſtoration!" Life of Cromwell, p. 400. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. i. p. 825, 26. ED.

By

By the ſecond article of the *humble advice*, which appoints all future parliaments to conſiſt of two houſes, the form of the preſent government began to change in favour of the antient conſtitution. The *protector*, purſuant to the powers given him, made ſeveral promotions of knights, and lords, and in the month of December iſſued out writs, by advice of his council, to divers lords and gentlemen, to ſit as members of the *other houſe*,‖ at the next ſeſſion of parliament, Jan. 20. His intention was to have this houſe conſidered as a houſe of peers, though he declined giving it that name till a more favourable conjuncture. Some declined the honour, and choſe to ſit in the lower houſe, but between fifty and ſixty appeared, among whom were ſeven or eight of the antient peers, divers knights and gentlemen of good families, and ſome few chief officers of the army. They met in the houſe of lords, whither *his highneſs* came at the time of their meeting, and according to antient cuſtom, ſent the *uſher of the black rod* to bring up the commons, to whom he made a ſhort ſpeech from the throne, beginning with the uſual form, *My lords, and you the knights, citizens, and burgeſſes*, &c. and then as our *kings* uſed to do, he referred them to the lord commiſſioner *Fiennes*, who tired them with a long and perplexed harangue before they entered upon buſineſs.

This haſty reſolution of the protector and his council had like to have ſubverted the infant government, for many of the protector's beſt friends being called out of the lower houſe to the upper, the balance of power among the commons was changed; whereas, if he had deferred the ſettling of the upper houſe till the preſent parliament had been diſſolved, they would have gone through their buſineſs without interruption; but the lower houſe was now in a flame, ſome being diſappointed of their expectations, and others envied for their advancement, inſomuch that as ſoon as they returned to their houſe, they called for the third article of the *humble advice*, which ſays, that no *members legally choſen, ſhall be excluded from performing their duty, but by conſent of the houſe of which they are members;* and then to ſtrengthen their party, they ordered all thoſe who had been excluded laſt ſeſ-

‖ Dr. *Grey* gives a catalogue of the names of the perſons whom the writ ſummoned; with degrading anecdotes of ſome of them. ED.

ſions

ſions, becauſe they would not recognize the new government to return to their places; which was no ſooner done, than they began to call in queſtion the authority and juriſdiction of the *other houſe*, though themſelves had adviſed it, and though there was almoſt as good reaſon for their being an *upper*, as for the other being a *lower houſe;* but theſe gentlemen were determined to erect an abſolute commonwealth, on the ruins of the preſent family. Many degrading ſpeeches were made in the lower houſe againſt the perſons who had been thus promoted, who were no leſs reſolute in defending their honours and characters; ſo that there was no proſpect of an agreement, till the protector himſelf appeared, and having ſent for them to Whitehall, ſpoke with ſuch an accent in favour of the *other houſe*, that they returned and acknowledged it; but then they went on to re-examine the validity of the whole *inſtrument of government*, as being made when many members were excluded. Upon which the *protector*, being out of all patience, went to the houſe and diſſolved them, after they had ſat about fifteen days.

The protector's ſpeech upon this occaſion will give the reader the beſt idea of the ſtate of the nation: "I had com-
"fortable expectations that God would make the meeting
"of this parliament a bleſſing for the improvement of mercy,
"truth, righteouſneſs and peace. I was drawn into this
"office of PROTECTOR by your *petition* and *advice*; there is
"not a man living that can ſay I ſought it; but after I was
"petitioned and adviſed to take the government upon me,
"I expected that the ſame men that made the frame, ſhould
"make it good to me.—I told you at a conference, that I
"would not accept the government, unleſs there might be
"ſome perſons to interpoſe between me and the houſe of
"commons, and it was granted I ſhould name *another houſe*,
"which I did, of men of your own rank and quality, who
"will ſhake hands with you while you love the intereſt of
"England and religion.——Again, I would not have ac-
"cepted the government, unleſs mutual oaths were taken to
"make good what was agreed upon in the *petition and ad-*
"*vice;* and, God knows, I took the oath upon the condition
"expreſſed, and thought we had now been upon a founda-
"tion and bottom, otherwiſe we muſt neceſſarily have been

" in confuſion. I do not ſay what the meaning of the oath " was to you, that were to go againſt my own principles, " but God will judge between us; but if there had been any " intention in you of a ſettlement, you would have ſettled " on this baſis.

" But there have been contrivances in the army againſt " this ſettlement by your conſent. I ſpeak not this to the " gentlemen, or lords, (pointing to his right hand) whatſoever " you will call them, of the *other houſe*, but to you; *you* ad- " viſed me to accept of this office, and now you diſpute the " thing that was taken for granted, and are in danger of " running the nation back into more confuſion within theſe " fifteen days you have ſat, than it has been in ſince the ri- " ſing of the laſt ſeſſion, from an immoderate deſign of re- " ſtoring a commonwealth, that ſome people might be the " men that might rule all, and they are endeavouring to en- " gage the army in the deſign; which is hardly conſiſtent " with the oath you have taken to the preſent government. " Has that man been true to the nation, whoſoever he is, " that has taken an oath, thus to prevaricate? Theſe things " are not according to truth, pretend what you will, but tend " to play the *king of Scots* game, which I think myſelf bound " before God to do what I can to prevent. There are pre- " parations of force to invade us; the king of Scots has an " army at the water-ſide, ready to be ſhipped for England. " I have it from thoſe who have been eye-witneſſes of it; " and while this is doing, there are endeavours of ſome not " far from this place, to ſtir up the people of this town into " tumulting, what if I had ſaid rebellion, and I hope to make " it appear to be no better, if God aſſiſt me. You have " not only endeavoured to pervert the army while you have " been ſitting, but ſome of you have been liſting perſons by " commiſſion from *Charles Stuart* to join with any inſurrec- " tion that may be made; and what is like to be the end of " this but blood and confuſion! Now if this be the caſe, I " think it high time to put an end to your ſitting, and I do " accordingly diſſolve this parliament; and let God judge " between me and you."§

§ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 598, folio.

The

The *protector*, being now convinced that the diſturbances in parliament aroſe from the chief officers of the army, who clogged his affairs, in order to introduce a commonwealth government, reſolved to clear his hands of them at once; *Harriſon* and *Ludlow* were laid aſide; *Fleetwood* was recalled from his government in Ireland; major-general *Lambert* was ordered to ſurrender his commiſſion; and the reſt were obliged to take an oath not to oppoſe the preſent government. By ſuch methods he went on purging the army and navy; and if he had lived a little longer would have had none in power, but ſuch as were thoroughly attached to his perſon and government. It was obſerved after this, that all things ſucceeded at home and abroad according to his wiſh; and that his power and greatneſs were better eſtabliſhed than ever, though there were a few malecontents who were hardy enough to attempt ſome little diſturbances; but the diſaſters that befel the protector's family ſoon after broke the firmneſs of his conſtitution, and haſtened his end.

It was *his highneſs*'s ambition, not only to ſet himſelf at the head, but to ſtrengthen the whole body of the proteſtant intereſt, and unite its ſeveral members, ſo that it might maintain its ground againſt the church of Rome. Biſhop *Burnet*§ informs us, that he had projected a ſort of general council, to be ſet up in oppoſition to the congregation *de Propaganda Fide* at Rome: it was to conſiſt of ſeven counſellors, and four ſecretaries for different provinces; the firſt was for France, Switzerland, and the Vallies; the ſecond for the Palatinate, and other *calviniſts;* the third for Germany, for the North, and for Turkey; the fourth for the Eaſt and Weſt Indies. The ſecretaries were to have five hundred pounds a year each, and to hold a correſpondence every where, to acquaint themſelves with the ſtate of religion all over the world, that ſo all good deſigns for the welfare of the whole, and of the ſeveral parts, might by their means be protected and encouraged. They were to have a fund of ten thouſand pounds a year, and to be further ſupplied as occaſion ſhould require. Chelſea college was to be fitted up for them. This was a noble project, (ſays the biſhop) and muſt have been attended with extraordinary effects under the protection of a *power*,

§ Burnet, vol. i. p. 109, 12mo.

which was formidable and terrible to all nations to whom it was known.

About the beginning of this year Dr. *Bryan Walton*, afterwards biſhop of Cheſter, publiſhed the *Biblia Polyglotta*, in ſix volumes in folio, wherein the ſacred text is printed in the *vulgar Latin*, *Hebrew*, *Greek*, *Syriac*, *Chaldee*, *Samaritan*, *Arabic*, *Æthiopic*, and *Perſic languages*, each having its peculiar *Latin* tranſlation, with an *apparatus* for the better underſtanding thoſe tongues. This laborious performance, by the aſſiſtance of ſeveral who engaged in it, was compleated in about four years, and was reckoned the moſt abſolute edition of the bible that the world had ever ſeen. Several learned perſons, both puritans and others, aſſiſted in correcting the preſs, and in collating the copies. Many noblemen, and gentlemen of quality, contributed to the expence of printing this work, without which it could not have ſeen the light.‖ After the reſtoration, the doctor preſented king *Charles* II. with the ſix volumes, which his majeſty received very graciouſly, and rewarded the author with the biſhoprick of Cheſter.

The learned Dr. *Owen* made ſome remarks on the *prolegomena* of this work; but after an high commendation of the performance in general, complains that he had weakened the certainty of the ſacred text, (1.) By maintaining that the *points* or *vowels* of the *Hebrew* language were of novel invention. (2.) By producing a great number of *various readings* from antient copies of little moment. (3.) By his own critical remarks and amendments not ſupported by antient authorities. The doctor maintains, on the other hand, the antiquity of the *Hebrew* points, and their abſolute neceſſity to fix the determinate ſenſe of ſcripture; that the various readings are of little conſequence, and that conjectural amendments ought not to be admitted without the authority of antient copies. The doctor writes with great modeſty, but the validity of his arguments muſt be ſubmitted to the learned reader.

On the third of July the protector reſigned his chancellorſhip of Oxford, and upon the eighteenth day of the ſame

‖ "This," Mr. *Granger* ſays, "was the firſt book publiſhed in England "by ſubſcription. The deſign of this great work was formed in 1645. "Dr. *Walton* died 1661." Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 29, 8vo. Ed.

month

month his eldeſt ſon RICHARD was choſen his ſucceſſor, and inſtalled* at Whitehall on the twenty-ninth. About ſix weeks after, the new chancellor diſmiſſed Dr. *Owen*, who had been vice-chancellor of the univerſity about five years, and appointed Dr. *John Conant*, rector of Exeter college, to ſucceed him. This gentleman, ſays the Oxford hiſtorian,† was a good *Latiniſt* and *Grecian*, a profound *theologiſt*, a learned, pious, and meek *divine*, and an excellent *preacher*. He had been one of the aſſembly of divines, and was elected rector of this college, upon the death of Dr. *Hakewell*, in June 1649. In the latter end of the year 1654, he became king's profeſſor of divinity in the room of Dr. *Hoyle*. He continued in the vice-chancellorſhip two years with due commendation, keeping a ſevere diſcipline in his college, as did all the heads of colleges in theſe times. He was ejected out of every thing in 1662 for non-conformity; but ſome time after, being perſuaded to comply with the eſtabliſhment, he became vicar of All-Saints in Northampton, archdeacon of Norwich, and prebendary of Worceſter; which places he held till his death, which did not happen till 1693.

Nov. 24, *his highneſs* ſigned a commiſſion, appointing his younger ſon *Henry* to be lord lieutenant of Ireland, with a power of conferring the honour of knighthood. *Henry* was a wiſe and diſcreet governor, and by his prudent behaviour kept the Iriſh in awe, and brought the nation into a flouriſhing condition. Upon the acceſſion of *Richard* to the protectorſhip, he adviſed him to abide by the parliament, and have a watchful eye over the army, whom he ſuſpected to be deſigning miſchief (as appears by his letters now before me.) Nay, he offered to come over to his aſſiſtance, but was forbid till it was too late. When *Richard* was depoſed, his brother *Henry* laid down his charge, and came over to England, and lived privately upon an eſtate of his own, of about 600l. a year, at Spinny-Abbey in Cambridgeſhire, not far from Newmarket, till his death. While he was in Ireland he behaved with ſuch a generous impartiality as gained him the eſteem even of the royaliſts themſelves;

* The ceremonial of the inſtalment may be ſeen in Dr. *Grey*, vol. iii. p. 200, note. ED.

† Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 785.

and

and after his retirement king *Charles* II. did him once the honour of a viſit: he had a ſon *Henry*, who was bred to arms, and had a *major*'s commiſſion, and died in the ſervice of the crown about the year 1711, and left behind him ſeveral children; ſome of the ſons are yet living in good reputation in the city of London, and are the only male deſcendants of the *protector Cromwell*, the poſterity of *Richard* being extinct.

The ROYAL SOCIETY, which has been the ornament of the Engliſh nation, by the vaſt improvements it has made in natural and experimental philoſophy, was formed at Oxford in theſe times, which ſome have repreſented as covered with ignorance, barbariſm, and pedantry: The words of biſhop *Sprat*,§ their hiſtorian, are theſe: "It was ſome ſpace after "the end of the civil wars at Oxford, in Dr. *Wilkins*'s "lodgings, in Wadham college, which was then the place "of reſort for virtuous and learned men, *that the firſt meet-* "*ings were made which laid the foundation of all that followed.* "The univerſity had, at that time, many members of its "own, who had begun a free way of reaſoning, and was "alſo frequented by ſome gentlemen of philoſophical minds, "whom the misfortune of the kingdom, and the ſecurity "and eaſe of a retirement among gownſmen, had drawn thi- "ther. The principal and moſt conſtant of them were, Dr. "*Seth Ward*, Mr. *Boyle*, Dr. *Wilkins*, Sir *William Petty*, Mr. "*Matthew Wren*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Goddard*, Dr. *Willis*, Dr. "*Bathurſt*, Dr. *Chriſtopher Wren*, and Mr. *Rook*, beſides ſe- "veral others who joined them on occaſions.—Their meet- "ings were as frequent as their occaſions would permit; their "proceedings were upon ſome particular trials in *chymiſtry* "*or mechanicks*, which they communicated to each other. "They continued without any great interruption till the "death of the protector, when their meetings were trans- "ferred to London." Here they began to enlarge their deſign, and formed the platform of a philoſophical college, to enquire into the works of nature: They ſet up a correſpondence with learned foreigners, and admitted ſuch into their numbers without diſtinction of names or parties in religion; and were at length incorporated by royal patent or charter, in the year 1663.

§ P. 53, 57.

This

This year [1657] died Mr. *John Langley*, the noted maſter of St. Paul's ſchool, London; he was born near Banbury in Oxfordſhire, and became a commoner or brother of Magdalen-hall about 1612; was alſo prebendary of Gloceſter, where he kept the college ſchool for twenty years. In the year 1640 he ſucceeded Dr. *Gill*, chief maſter of St. Paul's ſchool, where he educated many who were afterwards eminent in church and ſtate. He was an univerſal ſcholar, an excellent linguiſt, grammarian, hiſtorian, coſmographer, a moſt judicious divine, and ſo great an antiquarian, (ſays the Oxford hiſtorian) that his delight and acquaintance in antiquity deſerves greater commendation than can be given in a few lines.‖ He was eſteemed by learned men, and particularly by Mr. *Selden*; but was not regarded by the clergy, becauſe he was a *puritan*, and a witneſs againſt archbiſhop *Laud* at his trial. He was a member of the aſſembly of divines, and died at his houſe next adjoining to St. Paul's ſchool Sept. 13, 1657. Dr. *Reynolds* preached his funeral ſermon, and gave him a very high encomium.*

Mr. *Obadiah Sedgwick* was born at Marlborough in the year 1600, and educated in Magdalen college, Oxford, where he took the degrees in arts, and was afterwards chaplain to Sir *Horatio Vere*, with whom he travelled into the Low Countries. After his return he became reader of the ſentences 1629, and was afterwards choſen preacher to the inhabitants of St. Mildred, Bread-ſtreet, London; but being driven from thence by the ſeverity of the governors of the church, he retired to Coggeſhall in Eſſex, where he continued till the breaking out of the civil wars. In 1643 he was choſen a member of the aſſembly of divines. In 1646 he became preacher at St. Paul's Covent-garden: He often preached before the parliament, and was eſteemed an orthodox,

‖ Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 135.

* Dr. *Fuller* calls him "the able and religious ſchoolmaſter." He had a very awful preſence and ſpeech, that ſtruck a mighty reſpect and fear in his ſcholars; yet his behaviour towards them was ſuch, that they both loved and feared him. When he was buried, all the ſcholars attended his funeral, walking before the corps, hung with verſes inſtead of eſcutcheons, with white gloves, as he died a ſingle man, from the ſchool thro' Cheapſide to Mercer's chapel; where he was buried. He was ſo much in favour with the worſhipful company of Mercers, that they accepted his recommendation of his ſucceſſor. Knight's Life of Dr. John Colet, p. 379, &c. ED.

dox, as well as an admired preacher.* In the year 1653 he was appointed one of the *triers*, and the year after, one of the commiſſioners for ejecting ſcandalous miniſters; but finding his health declining he reſigned his preferments, and retired to his native town of Marlborough, where he died the beginning of January 1657.†

Mr. *Edward Corbet* was born in Shropſhire, and educated in Merton college, Oxford, where he took the degrees in arts, and was made probationer fellow of his college.† In 1638 he was one of the proctors of the univerſity; but being a puritan divine, was denied the rectory of Chatham by archbiſhop *Laud*, then in the Tower; upon which an ordinance of parliament came out May 17, 1643, appointing him rector of Chatham. He was a member of the aſſembly of divines, a witneſs againſt the archbiſhop at his trial; one of the preachers appointed to reconcile the Oxford ſcholars to the parliament; and afterwards one of the viſitors, orator, and canon of Chriſt-church, in the room of Dr. *Hammond*, which he ſoon after quitted, and became rector of Great-Haſely in Oxfordſhire, where he continued to his death. He was a very conſiderable divine, a valuable preacher, and a perſon of remarkable integrity and ſteadineſs of conſcience.

Mr. *James Cranford* was born in Coventry, and ſometime maſter of the free-ſchool there: He was educated in Baliol college, Oxford, where he took the degrees in arts, and was at length rector of St. Chriſtopher's le Stocks, near the Old Exchange, London.§ He was an exact linguiſt, well acquainted with the fathers and ſchoolmen, as well as with the modern divines; a zealous preſbyterian, and a laborious preacher. Mr. *Fuller* adds,‖ that he was a ſubtle diſputant, orthodox in judgment, and a perſon of great humility, charity, and moderation towards all men. In the beginning of the civil wars, he was appointed licenſer of the preſs in London, which gave him an occaſion to write ſeveral epiſtles before books, beſides ſome treatiſes that he publiſhed of his own. He died April 27, 1657, aged about fifty-five years.

* Dr. *Grey* quotes paſſages from ſome of Mr. *Sedgwick*'s ſermons to ſhew, that he was a preacher of treaſon, rebellion, and nonſenſe. Ed.

† Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 138. ‡ Ibid. 749.

§ Ibid. p. 133. ‖ Fuller's Worthies, book iii. p. 128.

The

The protector's arms were no leſs ſucceſsful this ſummer than they had been the laſt, for in the month of June, marſhal *Turenne*, in conjunction with the Engliſh forces, laid ſiege to Dunkirk, then in poſſeſſion of the Spaniards, which brought on an engagement between the two armies: The Spaniſh forces conſiſted of 30,000 men, but major-general *Morgan*, who covered the ſiege, attacked the right wing of the Spaniſh army which came to relieve it with 6000 Engliſh, who routed the whole army, which was followed with the ſurrender of the town June 25. The French looked on, and ſaid, they never ſaw a more glorious action in their lives.* Cardinal *Mazarine* intended to keep this important place in French hands, contrary to the late treaty; of which his highneſs being informed, acquainted the ambaſſador; but his excellency denying any ſuch intended breach of contract, the protector pulled out of his pocket a copy of the cardinal's private order, and deſired him to let his *eminence* know, that if the keys of Dunkirk were not delivered to *Lockhart* within an hour after it was taken, he would come in perſon, and demand them at the gates of Paris;† and the cardinal had too great a dread of the name of *Cromwell*, to deny any

* Dr. *Grey*, though he allows that Mr. *Neal* had the authority of *Eachard* for the merit which he imputes to the Engliſh forces in the ſiege of Dunkirk, yet contends that the French had their ſhare in the glories of the day. And, to prove this, he gives a full detail of the action from the Hiſtory of Viſc. *Turenne*. Impartial Examination, v. iii. p. 207—213. Ed.

† Dr. *Grey*, while he grants that *Cromwell* was a vain man, very much queſtions the truth of what is ſaid above; as it does not agree with what *Whitlocke* ſays concerning the ſurrender of Dunkirk. The ſtory Mr. *Neal* relates is the ſame, that we find in Welwood's Memoirs, p. 97, 6th edition. Dr. *Harris* treats it as all falſehood and invention; and as, authoritatively, confuted by *Thurloe*'s State-Papers, vol. vii. p. 173; where *Lockhart*, in his letter to *Thurloe* written the day before the ſurrender of Dunkirk, has theſe expreſſions: "To-morrow before five of "the clock at night, his Highneſs's forces under my command will be "poſſeſſed of Dunkirk. I have a great many diſputes with the cardinal "about ſeveral things;—nevertheleſs, I muſt ſay, I find him willing to "hear reaſon; and though the generality of court and arms are even mad "to ſee themſelves part with what they call *un ſi bon morceau*, or ſo delicate "a bit, yet he is ſtill conſtant to his promiſes, and ſeems to be as glad in "the generall, (notwithſtanding our differences in little particulars) to "give this place to his highneſs, as we can be to receive it. The king "is alſo exceeding oblyging and civil, and hath more trew worth in him "than I could have imagined." Life of Cromwell, p. 402, 3. Ed.

thing

thing he required. By this conqueſt the protector gained immortal glory, becauſe it gave the Engliſh a ſettlement on the continent, and made them maſters of both ſides of the channel. How baſely it was ſold by lord *Clarendon* to the French, will be ſeen hereafter.

The enthuſiaſtick republicans, or fifth monarchy men, having failed in their deſign in parliament, agreed, to the number of three hundred, to attempt a revolution of government by force, and having killed the protector, to proclaim KING JESUS; but ſecretary *Thurloe*, who never ſpared expence to gain intelligence, had a ſpy among them, who diſcovered their intrigues, and ſeized their arms and ammunition in Shoreditch, with their ſtandard, containing a *lion couchant*, alluding to the lion of the tribe of Judah, with this motto, WHO WILL ROUSE HIM UP? The chief of the conſpirators, as *Venner*, *Grey*, *Hopkins*, &c. were impriſoned in the Gate-Houſe till the protector's death, with their accomplices, major-general *Harriſon*, colonel *Rich*, colonel *Danvers*, and others, after which they created new diſturbances, which haſtened their own deſtruction ſoon after the king's reſtoration.

But the moſt formidable conſpiracy againſt the government, was a new one of the *cavaliers*, with which the protector acquainted the lord-mayor and common-council of the city in a ſpeech, wherein he takes notice, that the marquis of *Ormond* had been privately in London three weeks, to promote the king's affairs, who lay ready on the coaſt with an army of eight thouſand men, and twenty-two ſhips; that there was a deſign to ſeize the Tower; and that ſeveral ill-affected perſons were endeavouring to put themſelves in arms for that purpoſe; he therefore deſired them to put the city into a poſture of defence, profeſſing a more paſſionate regard for their ſafety than his own. The citizens returned *his highneſs* thanks, and in an addreſs promiſed to defend his perſon and government with their lives and fortunes. The like addreſſes came from ſeveral of the regiments at home, and from the Engliſh army in Flanders. This was the plot the protector mentioned in his ſpeech to the parliament, and was diſcovered by one *Stapley*, whoſe father

|| Compl. Hiſt. p. 223. Eachard, p. 730.

had

had been one of the king's judges. Immediately after the diſſolution of the parliament, three of the conſpirators were apprehended, and tried before an *high court of juſtice*, according to the late act *for the ſecurity of his highneſs's perſon*. Mr. *Mordaunt*, youngeſt ſon and brother of the earl of *Peterborough*, was acquitted by one vote; but the other two, Sir *Henry Slingsby* and Dr. *Hewet* were condemned. The doctor was indicted for holding correſpondence with CHARLES STUART, for publiſhing him to be king of England, Scotland, and Ireland; and for ſending him money. He behaved with great boldneſs towards his judges, keeping his hat upon his head while the indictment was reading; but an officer being ſent to take it off, he ſaved him the trouble. The doctor then refuſed to plead three times, diſowning the jurisdiction of the court; but though they read the clauſe in the late act, by which they were empowered to be his judges, he continued mute; upon which one of the judges ſummed up the charge, and was going to pronounce ſentence, when he offered to put himſelf upon his trial, but was told it was then too late, ſo judgment was given againſt him as a *mute*. The doctor had prepared a plea and demurrer to the juriſdiction and proceedings of the court, and exceptions to their judgment, drawn up in form by counſel, and ready to be engroſſed, but was not ſuffered to have them argued. However, he had the favour of being beheaded on Tower-hill, June 8, 1658, being attended by Dr. *Wild*, Dr. *Warmeſtry*, and Dr. *Barwick*. His funeral ſermon was preached the Sunday following, by Mr. *Nath. Hardy*, at St. Dionis Back-Church, in Lime-ſtreet; and ſoon after, both the ſermon and the doctor's intended defence were publiſhed, entitled, *Beheaded Dr.* John Hewet's *Ghoſt crying for juſtice*; containing his legal plea, demurrer, and exceptions to the juriſdiction of the court, &c. drawn up by his council Mr. *Wm. Prynne*. The doctor was a Cambridge divine, but lived at Oxford, and in the army, till the end of the war, when he came to London, and was permitted to preach in the church of St. Gregory's, London, though he was known to be a malignant. After his conviction, the lady *Claypole* and lady *Falconbridge*, the protector's daughters, interceded with their

* Life of Barwick, p. 175.

father

father for his life; but becauſe he diſputed the authority of the court, which ſtruck at the very life of his government, the protector would not pardon him. He told Dr. *Manton*, one of his chaplains, that if Dr. *Hewet* had ſhewn himſelf an ingenuous perſon, and would have owned what he knew was his ſhare in the deſign againſt him, he would have ſpared his life; but he ſaid he would not be trifled with, and the doctor was of ſo obſtinate a temper that he was reſolved he ſhould die; and the protector convinced Dr. *Manton* before they parted, that he knew, without his confeſſion, how far he was engaged in the plot. Three more of the conſpirators were executed in other parts of the city, but the reſt were pardoned.

A little before the protector's death, the independants petitioned *his highneſs* for liberty to hold a ſynod, in order to publiſh to the world an uniform confeſſion of their faith. They were now become a conſiderable body, their churches being increaſed both in city and country,* by the addition of

* The number of theſe churches was, proportionally, much greater in the two counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, than in moſt other parts of the kingdom. This was owing to the particular intercourſe which thoſe counties have with the city of Rotterdam and Holland, where the more rigid *puritans*, who were driven out of England by the ſeverities of the times, before the civil wars began, had taken refuge, and formed ſeveral congregational churches. On the return of the Engliſh exiles to England, at the commencement of thoſe diſſentions, they brought with them their ſentiments on church government, and formed churches on the *independant* plan. Of theſe the moſt ancient was the church of Yarmouth, conſiſting of members reſident in that town and at Norwich: and the Lord's ſupper was adminiſtered alternately at the two places. This, after a time, was found very troubleſome, and by a majority of votes the ſeat of the church was fixed at Yarmouth. This new arrangement was attended with great inconvenience to thoſe who lived at Norwich. They therefore, with the conſent of the other part who reſided at Yarmouth, formed a ſeparate church, June 10, 1644. This conſent was given with expreſſions of the moſt tender and endeared affection; as having been, many of them, "companions "together in the patience of our Lord Jeſus in their own and in a ſtrange "land, and having long enjoyed ſweet communion together in divine or-"dinances." On theſe models other churches were ſettled through theſe counties. As at Denton in May or June of the year 1655. At Tunſtead, North-Walſham, Wymondham, and Gueſtwick, in 1652. In the ſame year was laid the foundation of the congregational church of Beccles in Suffolk, by nine perſons joining together in church fellowſhip, and by July 29, 1653, their number was increaſed to forty. The church at Walpole

of great numbers of rich and ſubſtantial perſons; but they were not agreed upon any ſtandard of faith or diſcipline. The preſbyterians in the aſſembly of divines had urged them to this; and their brethren in New-England had done it ten years ago; nor were the Engliſh independants inſenſible of the defect; for hitherto, (ſay they) there have "been no "aſſociation of our churches, no meetings of our miniſters "to promote the common intereſt; our churches are like "ſo many ſhips launched ſingly, and ſailing apart and alone "in the vaſt ocean of theſe tumultuous times, expoſed to "every wind of doctrine; under no other conduct than the "*word* and *ſpirit*, and their particular elders, and principal "brethren, without aſſociations among themſelves, or ſo "much as holding out a common light to others, whereby "to know where they were."* To remedy this, ſome of their divines and principal brethren in London met together, and propoſed that there might be a correſpondence among their churches in city and country for counſel and mutual edification; and for as much as all ſects and parties of chriſtians had publiſhed a *confeſſion of their faith*, they apprehended the world might reaſonably expect it from them; for theſe reaſons they petitioned the *protector* for liberty to aſſemble for this purpoſe. This was oppoſed by ſome of the court, as tending to eſtabliſh a ſeparation between them and the preſbyterians; nor was the protector himſelf fond of it; however, he gave way to their importunity; and, as Mr. *Eachard* repreſents that matter, when he was moved upon his death-bed to diſcountenance their petition, he replied, *They muſt be ſatisfied, they muſt be ſatisfied, or we ſhall all run back into blood again.*

Walpole was ſettled into fellowſhip in the year 1647. That of St. Edmund's Bury, in 1648. That of Woodbridge, in 1651. That at Wattesfield, May 2, 1678. That of Wrentham was firſt gathered Feb. 1, 1649, under Mr. *John Philip*, and one of its firſt members was *Francis Brewſter*, eſq; lord of the manor of Wrentham, who gave the church plate which bears his arms; and ſome conſiderable legacies were left by him and different branches of his family. The hall was a place of refuge and concealment for the miniſters or any of the people in time of perſecution. Mr. *Thompſon*'s MSS. Collections, under the words Norfolk and Suffolk. ED.

* Confeſſ. Pref. p. 6.

However,

However, the protector did not live to ſee the fruits of this aſſembly, which was appointed to be held at the Savoy, October 12, 1658, where miniſters and meſſengers from above one hundred congregational churches met together, of which the majority were laymen, the reſt paſtors in churches, and ſome younger divines about the court, as the reverend and learned Mr. *John Howe*, at that time chaplain to the young protector and others.* They opened their ſynod with a day of faſting and prayer, and after ſome debate, whether they ſhould adopt the doctrinal articles of the Weſtminſter aſſembly for their own, with ſome amendments and additions, it was thought more adviſeable to draw up a *new confeſſion*, but to keep as near as poſſible to the method and order of the other. A committee of the moſt eminent divines was choſen for this work, viz. Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Phil. Nye*, Mr. *William Bridge* of Yarmouth, Mr. *Joſ. Caryl*, and Mr. *William Greenhill*. While theſe were employed in preparing, and putting together the articles of their confeſſion, the ſynod heard complaints, and gave advice in ſeveral caſes which were brought before them, relating to diſputes or differences in their churches. The particular heads of doctrine agreed to by the committee, were preſented to the ſynod every morning, and read by the reverend Mr. *George Griffith* their ſcribe. There were ſome ſpeeches and debates upon words and phraſes, but at length all acquieſced, and the whole was ſoon after publiſhed in quarto, under the title of *A declaration of the faith and order owned and practiſed in the congregational churches in England, agreed upon, and conſented unto by their elders and meſſengers in their meeting at the Savoy, October* 12, 1658. Next year it was tranſlated into Latin by profeſſor *Hornbeck*, and publiſhed at the end of his *Epiſtola ad Duræum de Independentiſſimo*. Some imputed their unanimity to the authority and influence of Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Nye*, and the reſt of the elder divines over the younger; but they themſelves, in their preface, "look upon it as a great and ſpecial work of the Holy "Ghoſt, that ſo numerous a company of miniſters, and "other principal brethren, ſhould ſo readily, ſpeedily, and "jointly give up themſelves to ſuch a whole body of truths

* Calamy's Abridg. vol. ii. p. 444.

"as

as is there collected." They add further, "that this "agreement of theirs fell out without their having held any "correſpondence together, or prepared conſultation, by "which they might be adviſed of one another's minds." Which I confeſs is very extraordinary, conſidering the confeſſion conſiſts of thirty-three chapters, in which are almoſt two hundred diſtinct articles of faith and diſcipline; and that the whole time of the ſynod's ſeſſions or continuance, was not above eleven or twelve days.

The Savoy *confeſſion* proceeds upon the plan of the Weſtminſter aſſembly, which made the work very eaſy; and in moſt places retains their very words. They tell the world in their preface, that they fully conſent to the Weſtminſter *confeſſion* for the ſubſtance of it, but have taken liberty to add a few things, in order to obviate ſome erroneous opinions that have been more boldly maintained of late than in former times. They have likewiſe varied the method in ſome places, and have here and there expreſſed themſelves more clearly, as they found occaſion. They have omitted all thoſe chapters in the aſſembly's confeſſion which relate to diſcipline, as the 30th and 31ſt, with part of the 20th and 24th, relating to *the power of ſynods, councils, church cenſures, marriage and divorce, and the power of the civil magiſtrate in matters of religion.* Theſe (ſay they) were ſuch doubtful aſſertions, and ſo unſuited to a confeſſion of faith, that the Engliſh parliament would never ratify them, there being nothing that tends more to heighten diſſentions among brethren, than to place theſe doubtful ſpeculations under ſo high a title as *a confeſſion of faith.* After the 19th chapter of the aſſembly's confeſſion, *of the law*, the Savoy divines have added an entire chapter, *of the goſpel*, in which what is diſperſed up and down the aſſembly's confeſſion is collected, and put together. Upon the whole, the difference between theſe two confeſſions, in points of doctrine, is ſo very ſmall, that the modern independants have in a manner laid aſide the uſe of it in their families, and agreed with the preſbyterians in the uſe of the aſſembly's catechiſm.

At the end of the Savoy confeſſion there is a chapter of diſcipline, entitled, *of the inſtitution of churches, and the order appointed in them by Jeſus Chriſt;* in which they aſſert,

"That

" That every particular ſociety of viſible profeſſors agree-
" ing to walk together in the faith and order of the goſpel
" is a complete church, and has full power within itſelf to
" elect and ordain all church officers, to exclude all offenders,
" and to do all other acts relating to the edification and well-
" being of the church.

" That the way of ordaining officers, that is, *paſtors,*
" *teachers, or elders,* is after their election, by the ſuffrage
" of the church, to ſet them apart with faſting and prayer,
" and impoſition of the hands of the elderſhip of the church,
" though if there be no impoſition of hands, they are never-
" theleſs rightly conſtituted miniſters of Chriſt; but they do
" not allow that ordination to the work of the miniſtry,
" though it be by perſons rightly ordained, does convey any
" office-power, without a previous election of the church.

" That no perſons may adminiſter the ſacrament but ſuch
" as are ordained and appointed thereunto. Nor are the
" paſtors of one church obliged to adminiſter the ſacraments
" to any other, than to the members of that church to whom
" they ſtand related in that capacity. Nor may any perſon
" be added to the church, as a private member, but by the
" conſent of the church, after a confeſſion of his faith,† de-
" clared by himſelf, or otherwiſe manifeſted.

" They diſallow the power of all ſtated ſynods, preſby-
" teries, convocations, and aſſemblies of divines, over par-

† It was alſo a practice of the *independants,* at the firſt formation of their churches, to ſign an agreement, or covenant, which they entered on their church-books. This, ſometimes, ran out into various articles, expreſſive of their devotedneſs to the ſervice of God, their truſt in *Chriſt*, their determination to ſtudy the ſcriptures, and to form their faith and worſhip by them, of their mutual engagement to keep the chriſtian ordinances, to watch over one another in the Lord, to bear one another's burthens, and to preſerve union and love, and of their reſolutions to perſevere in a courſe of faith and holineſs. Of theſe forms of agreement, one of the moſt ſimple is that which was adopted by the church at Wattesfield in Suffolk. It was in theſe words: " We do covenant or agree in the preſence of God, through the aſſiſtance " of his holy ſpirit, to walk together in all the ordinances of the Lord " *Jeſus*, as far as the ſame are made clear unto us, endeavouring the ad-" vancement of the glory of our Father, the ſubjection of our will to the " will of our Redeemer, and the mutual edification of each other in his " moſt holy faith and fear." Mr. *Thompſon*'s MSS. Collections, under the name Wattesfield. ED.

" ticular

" ticular churches, but admit, that in caſes of difficulty, or " difference relating to doctrine or order, churches may meet " together by their meſſengers in ſynods or councils, to con- " ſider and give advice, but without exerciſing any juriſ- " diction.

" And laſtly, they agree, that churches, conſiſting of per- " ſons found in the faith and of good converſation, ought " not to refuſe communion with each other, though they " walk not in all things according to the ſame rule of church " order; and if they judge other churches to be true " churches, though leſs pure, they may receive to occaſional " communion ſuch members of thoſe churches as are credi- " bly teſtified to be godly, and to live without offence.

" Theſe opinions (ſay they) may appear new to a great " many people, becauſe they have not been openly and pub- " lickly profeſſed in the Engliſh nation, but we are able to " trace the footſteps of an independant congregational way, " in the antienteſt practice of the church, and in the writings " of the ſoundeſt proteſtant divines." They add, " that " their principles do not in the leaſt interfere with the autho- " rity of the civil magiſtrate, nor do they concern themſelves " upon any occaſions with him, any further than to implore " his protection, for the preſervation of the peace and li- " berty of their churches." They glory in this, that ever ſince they appeared in the world, they have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the cauſe of chriſtian liberty. " We have al- " ways, ſay they, maintained this principle, *that among all* " *chriſtian ſtates and churches, there ought to be a forbear-* " *ance, and mutual indulgence to chriſtians of all perſua-* " *ſions, that keep to, and hold faſt the neceſſary foundations of* " *faith and holineſs.* This principle we have maintained for " the ſake of others, *when we ourſelves had no need of it.*" They conclude with thankfulneſs to their preſent governors, for permitting thoſe who could not comply with the preſby- terian eſtabliſhment to enjoy the liberty of their conſciences, and equal encouragement and protection with others; and that this liberty is eſtabliſhed by a law, as long as they diſturb not the publick peace. This ſhould engage us (ſay they) to promote the honour and proſperity of ſuch a government, to be peaceably diſpoſed one towards another, and to love

as brethren; foraſmuch as the differences between preſbyterians and independants are differences between fellow-ſervants, neither of them having authority from God or man, to impoſe their opinions upon one another.

Mr. *Baxter*, in the main a very peaceable and candid divine, loſes all temper when he ſpeaks of this aſſembly: He finds fault with their definition of *juſtification*, and makes theſe remarks: "They thought it not enough expreſsly to contradict St. *James*, and to ſay unlimitedly, that *we are juſtified by the righteouſneſs of Chriſt only, and not by any works*, but they contradicted St. *Paul* alſo, who ſays, that *faith is imputed for righteouſneſs*; and not only ſo, but they aſſerted, that *we have no other righteouſneſs but that of Chriſt*. A doctrine abhorred by all the reformed and chriſtian churches, and which (ſays he) would be an utter ſhame of the proteſtant name, if what ſuch men held and did, were imputable to ſober proteſtants." But is it poſſible that Mr. *Baxter* could believe, that the Savoy divines denied the neceſſity of ſanctification, or perſonal holineſs? when they have a whole chapter in their confeſſion upon *ſanctification*, another upon repentance and good works, and a third upon the moral law, which they declare does for ever bind all men to obedience, both juſtified and unjuſtified. When Mr. *Baxter* aſked ſome honeſt men who joined them, whether they ſubſcribed the confeſſion? They ſaid, no; he then enquired, why they did not contradict this? To which they anſwered, becauſe the meaning was, that they had no other righteouſneſs but that of Chriſt *to be juſtified by*; which is certainly the doctrine of the Weſtminſter aſſembly. What does Mr. *Baxter* reply to this? Why nothing, but adds very uncharitably, "that the independant confeſſions are like ſuch oaths as ſpeak one thing and mean another; ſo much could two men, [Dr. *Owen* and *Goodwin*] do with many honeſt tractable young men, who had more zeal for ſeparating ſtrictneſs than judgment to underſtand the word of God, the intereſt of the churches and of themſelves." And yet there were in that aſſembly many divines of as great age and learning as himſelf; their deſign was not to undervalue the Weſtmin-

‖ Life, p. 104.

ſter

ſter confeſſion, but rather to anſwer the deſires of that aſſembly, by publiſhing to the world ſuch a declaration of their faith and diſcipline as they had demanded. And the *confeſſion* was ſo far from raiſing any new diviſions, that Mr. *Philip Henry* obſerves, upon the death of *Cromwell*, that there was a great change in the tempers of good people throughout the nation, and a mighty tendency to peace and unity, as if they were by conſent weary of their long claſhings. However, the *independants* loſt their beſt friend in the *protector*, who was not only their patron upon the principle of liberty, but a balance to the preſbyterian pretences to eccleſiaſtical power.

The hierarchy of the church of England was now at a very low ebb, and in danger of being loſt beyond recovery; for if the biſhops, who were now very antient, had all died off, before others had been conſecrated, the line of ſucceſſion muſt have failed; for the church of Rome was ſo far from ſupporting it, that they publiſhed a treatiſe this year, *of the nature of the catholick faith, and of hereſy*; in which they endeavour to invalidate the Engliſh ordinations, and revived the ſtory of the Nags-head club; for the truth of which they appealed to Dr. *Moreton*, the antient biſhop of Durham, who in a ſolemn ſpeech made in full parliament (ſay they) declared in expreſs words, that our firſt biſhops after the reformation had been conſecrated in a tavern; and that this was ſo far from being doubted, that it was a fact moſt notorious to all the world; adding, that the reſt of the biſhops preſent rather approved, than in the leaſt oppoſed what he had ſaid. The biſhop, then in the ninety-fourth year of his age, being adviſed of this calumny, ſent for a publick notary from London, and in the preſence of proper witneſſes, made a ſolemn proteſtation of the falſhood of this ſtory, and ſigned it in due form July 17, 1658. He then ſent his chaplain Dr. *Barwick*, to all the lords ſpiritual and temporal then alive, who had ſat in that parliament, deſiring, that if they believed him undeſervedly aſperſed, they would atteſt it by ſubſcribing their names; which was done by ſix biſhops, and fourteen temporal lords, and by the ſeveral clerks and regiſters of the houſe. The biſhop died ſoon

|| Life, p. 40.

after, but his proteſtation, with the proofs, was afterwards publiſhed by Dr. *Bramhal*, biſhop of Derry, in a treatiſe entitled, *The conſecration and ſucceſſion of proteſtant biſhops juſtified; the biſhop of Dureſme vindicated; and the fable of the ordination of the Nags-head club clearly confuted.* This awakened the clergy to enter upon meaſures for the continuance of a ſucceſſion of biſhops, though they could not be regularly choſen, leſt the validity of the epiſcopal miniſtry ſhould ceaſe; which will come under conſideration in the tranſactions of the next year.

Lord *Clarendon* mentions an addreſs of the *anabaptiſts* to the king, who, being diſappointed in their expectations of a commonwealth, threw themſelves at his majeſty's feet, offering their aſſiſtance to pull down the preſent government. In their addreſs they ſay, "they took up arms in the late "war for liberty and reformation, but aſſure his majeſty "that they were ſo far from entertaining any thoughts of "caſting off their allegiance, or extirpating the royal fa-"mily, that they had not the leaſt intent to abridge him of "his juſt prerogatives, but only the reſtraining thoſe ex-"ceſſes of government, which were nothing but the ex-"creſcencies of a wanton power, and were rather a burthen, "than an ornament to the royal diadem." They then go on to declaim againſt the *protector*, calling him, that *grand impoſtor*, that *loathſome hypocrite*, that *deteſtable traitor*, the *prodigy of nature*, *the opprobrium of mankind*, *a landſkip of iniquity*, *a ſink of ſin*, *a compendium of baſeneſs*. And then, begging pardon for their former offences, they promiſe to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes for his majeſty's reſtoration, provided his majeſty would be ſo gracious as to reſtore the remains of the long parliament; to ratify the treaty of the Iſle of Wight; to eſtabliſh liberty of conſcience; to take away tithes, and provide ſome other maintenance for the national clergy; and to paſs an act of oblivion, for all who had been in arms againſt his father and himſelf, except thoſe who ſhould adhere to that ungodly tyrant who calls himſelf *protector*. His lordſhip adds, that the meſſenger that brought theſe propoſitions, aſking the ſum of two thouſand pounds to carry on the project, his majeſty diſmiſſed him with civil expreſſions, telling him, he had no deſigns to trouble any man

man for his opinion. However, if there had been ſuch an addreſs from the body of the anabaptiſts, it is a little ſtrange that after the reſtoration it was not remembered to their advantage. But his lordſhip ſeems to have had no great acquaintance with theſe men, when he ſays, they always pretended a juſt eſteem and value for all men who faithfully adhered to the king, whereas they were of all ſects the moſt zealous for a commonwealth, and were enemies to the *protector* for no other reaſon but becauſe he was for government by a ſingle perſon. In truth, this whole affair ſeems no more than an artifice to get a little money out of the poor king's purſe.§

The protector's health was now declining, through his advanced age, and exceſſive toils and fatigues. The reſtleſs ſpirits of the royaliſts and republicans put him upon his guard, inſomuch that he uſually wore under his clothes a piece of armour, or a coat of mail. The loſs of his beloved daughter *Glaypole*, who died this ſummer, had alſo a very ſenſible influence on his health. About the middle of Auguſt he was ſeized with a ſlow fever, which turned to a tertian ague; but the diſtemper appeared ſo favourable for a while, that he walked abroad in the gardens at Hampton-court. *Ludlow* ſays, the protector had a humour in his leg, which he deſired the phyſicians to diſperſe, by which means it was thrown into his blood: At length his pulſe began to intermit, and he was adviſed to keep his bed; and his ague fits growing ſtronger, it was thought proper to remove him to Whitehall, where he began to be light-headed; upon which his phyſicians declared his life in danger, and the council being ſummoned to deſire him to nominate his ſucceſſor, he appointed his eldeſt ſon *Richard*. In the intervals of his fits, he behaved with great devotion and piety, but manifeſted no remorſe for his publick actions; he declared in general, that he deſigned the good of the nation, and to preſerve it from anarchy and a new war. He once aſked Dr. *Goodwin*, who attended at his bed-ſide, and is ſaid to have expreſſed an un-

§ Notwithſtanding the ſuſpicions which reſt upon this affair, *Croſby* has ſeen fit to preſerve the addreſs, propoſitions, and letter, in the Appendix to his firſt volume, No. v. ED.

becoming

becoming aſſurance† to Almighty God in prayer of his recovery, *whether a man could fall from grace?* which the doctor anſwering in the negative, the protector replied, *then I am ſafe, for I am ſure I was once in a ſtate of grace.*‡ About twelve hours before he died he lay very quiet, when major *Butler* being in his chamber, ſays he heard him make his laſt prayer to this purpoſe: "Lord, I am a poor fooliſh "creature; this people would fain have me live; they think "it beſt for them, and that it will redound much to thy "glory, and all the ſtir is about this. Others would fain "have me die; Lord pardon them, and pardon thy fooliſh "people, forgive their ſins, and do not forſake them, but "love and bleſs, and give them reſt, and bring them to a "conſiſtency, and give me reſt, for Jeſus Chriſt's ſake, to "whom, with thee, and thy Holy Spirit, be all honour and "glory, now and for ever, *Amen.*" The protector died, Sept. 3, 1658, about three in the afternoon, the day on which he had triumphed in the battles of Marſton-Moor,§ Dunbar, and Worceſter, when he had lived fifty-nine years, four months, and eight days: four years and eight months after he had been declared protector by the *inſtrument of government*; and one year and three months after his confirmation by the *humble petition and advice*. As he had lived moſt part of his life in a ſtorm, his death was attended with one of the greateſt hurricanes that had been known for

† The language of Dr. *Goodwin* was thus extravagant: "Lord, we "beg not for his recovery; for that thou haſt already granted and aſſured "us of; but for his ſpeedy recovery." And when news was brought of his death, Mr. *Peter Sterry* ſtood up, and deſired them not to be troubled. "For" ſaid he, "this is good news: becauſe if he was of great uſe to the "people of God when he was amongſt us, now he will be much more ſo, "being aſcended to heaven to ſit at the right hand of Jeſus Chriſt, there to "intercede for us, and to be mindful of us on all occaſions." *Ludlow's* Memoirs, 4to. p. 258, 9 Dr *Grey* does not fail to notice theſe ſtrange flights. And *Sewel* the hiſtorian's reflection on this laſt inſtance of the flattery, or phrenſy, of theſe courtiers, was juſt. "O horrid flattery! "Thus I call it, though he had been the greateſt ſaint on earth; which "he came much ſhort of, though he was once endued with ſome eminent "virtues." Hiſtory of the Quakers, p. 189. Ed.

‡ Baxter's Life, p. 98.

§ This, as Dr. *Grey* notices, is an error; the battle of Marſton-Moor was fought on the 2d of July, 1644. Ed.

many

many years.* Some have ſaid, that next night after his death, his body was wrapped up in lead and buried in Naſeby-field, according to his deſire. Others, more probably, that it was depoſited privately in a vault in king *Henry* the ſeventh's chapel, ſometime before the publick funeral, which was performed Nov. 23, with all imaginable grandeur and military pomp,‡ from Somerſet-houſe, where he had lain in ſtate, to the Abbey-church in Weſtminſter, where a fine mauſoleum was erected for him, on which his effigies was placed, and exhibited to the view of all ſpectators for a time; but after the king's reſtoration, his coffin was taken out of the vault, and drawn upon a ſledge to Tyburn, where he was hanged up till ſun-ſet, and then buried under the gallows.

Thus died the mighty OLIVER CROMWELL, the greateſt ſoldier and ſtateſman of his age, after he had undergone exceſſive fatigues and labours in a long courſe of warlike actions, and eſcaped innumerable dangers from the plots and conſpiracies of domeſtick enemies. Few hiſtorians have ſpoken of him with temper, though no other genius, it may be, could have held the reins, or ſteered the commonwealth, through ſo many ſtorms and hurricanes, as the factions of theſe times had raiſed in the nation. He was born at Hun-

* Dr. *Grey* tells us alſo, that on the day his coffin was taken up and hung at Tyburn, almoſt as remarkable a ſtorm roſe in the northern parts of the kingdom. Superſtition and a hatred of *Cromwell* conſtrued theſe circumſtances as appearances of nature or the God of nature, by phyſical phœnomena, expreſſing an abhorrence of his character. But ſound philoſophy ſees nothing but a ſingular coincidence of events, happening together, but without any correſpondence in their cauſes: and will reflect, how many ſtorms diſturb the elements, when no wicked tyrant dies in the political world! ED.

‡ The expences of *Cromwell*'s funeral amounted to 60,000l. The body laid in a more private apartment, till the firſt of November; in imitation of the ſolemnities uſed upon the like occaſion for *Philip* II. king of Spain, who was thus repreſented to be in purgatory for two months. It was then removed into the great hall of Somerſet-Houſe; the part where the bed ſtood was railed in, and the rails and ground within covered with crimſon velvet. Four or five hundred candles ſet in flat ſhining candleſticks were ſo placed round near the roof of the hall, that the light they gave ſeemed like the rays of the ſun: by all which he was repreſented to be in a ſtate of glory. This folly and profuſion ſo far provoked the people, that they threw dirt, in the night, on his eſcutcheon, placed over the great gate. Ludlow's Memoirs, 4to. p. 260. ED.

tingdon,

tingdon, April 25, 1599, and deſcended of the family of *Williams*, of Glamorgan in Wales, which aſſumed the name of *Cromwell* by marrying with a daughter of *Cromwell* earl of *Eſſex*, in the reign of king *Henry* VIII. The ſeat of the eldeſt branch of the family was called Hinchinbrook, now belonging to the earl of *Sandwich*, who were reputed to poſſeſs an eſtate of 30,000l. a year. *Oliver*, who was deſcended of a younger branch, was educated in Cambridge, and from thence became a ſtudent of Lincoln's-Inn, being a wild and extravagant youth till about the thirty-fifth year of his age, when he quitted his irregular life, and became remarkably ſober. In the year 1640, he was choſen repreſentative in parliament for the town of Cambridge, and ſat two years undiſtinguiſhed in the houſe, as a mere country gentleman, appearing (ſays Sir *Philip Warwick*) in a plain cloth ſuit of clothes made by a country taylor, his linen not very clean, his band unfaſhionable, his hat without an hatband, and his ſword cloſe by his ſide; his countenance was ſwoln and reddiſh, his voice hoarſe and untunable, but his elocution was full of fervor and warmth, and he was well heard in the houſe. His perſon ſomewhat exceeded the middle ſtature,* but was well proportioned, compact, and ſtrong. He had a maſculine countenance, a ſparkling eye, a manly ſtern look, a vigorous conſtitution, and was an enemy to eaſe and exceſs; the motto upon his coat of arms was, *pax quæritur bello.*

* Sir *John Rereſby* calls *Cromwell* "one of the greateſt and braveſt "men, had his cauſe been good, the world ever ſaw. His figure did not "come up to his character; he was indeed a likely perſon, but not hand-"ſome, nor had he a very bold look with him. He was plain in his ap-"parel, and rather negligent than not. Tears he had at will, and was, "doubtleſs, the greateſt diſſembler on earth." Memoirs, p. 2. Since Mr. *Neal* wrote, various hiſtorians have reviewed the actions and character of *Cromwell*. Amongſt whom the faithful and judicious Dr. *Harris* deſerves particular mention. The candid and copious account of this extraordinary man in the firſt edition of the "Biographia Britannica," has been enriched with new and curious matter by the learned and accurate pen, which has conducted the ſecond edition. The hiſtory of the *Cromwell* family has been accurately inveſtigated by Mr. *Noble*, in his "Memoirs of the Pro-"tectoral Houſe of *Cromwell*:" not to mention other writers, who have elucidated this ſubject. To other particulars, with which Dr. *Kippis* has improved the article *Cromwell*, in the Biogr. Britan. is added an ample exhibition of the characters of him, drawn by foreigners and natives. Ed.

Upon

Upon the breaking out of the civil war he took arms for the parliament, and though he was forty-three years of age before he drew a ſword, he ſoon became colonel of a regiment of choſen men, who declared they fought not for gain, but for the *cauſe of religion and liberty*. He always went to prayer before battle, and returned ſolemn thanks for his ſucceſs afterwards. He was careful to promote an exact diſcipline in the army, and would not have pardoned his own brother, (ſays my author*) if he had found him plundering the country people. The army had not an officer who faced danger with greater intrepidity, or more eagerly ſought occaſions to diſtinguiſh his perſonal valour. He had a great preſence of mind in the heat of action, and taught his ſoldiers to fight in a more deſperate manner than uſual, not allowing them to diſcharge their muſquets, till they were ſo near the enemy as to be ſure of doing execution. His reputation roſe ſo faſt, that he quickly became a major-general, then lieutenant-general under *Fairfax*, and at laſt ſupplanted him. His troops believed themſelves invincible under his conduct; he never loſt a battle where he had the chief command. The victory of Marſton-Moor was chiefly aſcribed to his valour. The reduction of Ireland in leſs than a year made him the terror of his enemies; and the battles of Dunbar and Worceſter compleated his martial glory.

How far his uſurping the *protectorſhip* of the three nations, without the previous conſent of a free parliament, was the reſult of ambition or neceſſity, has been conſidered already; but if we view him as a *ſtateſman*, he was an able politician, a ſteady reſolute governor; and though he had more numerous and powerful enemies than any man of the age, he was never intimidated, having a peculiar art of keeping men quiet, and giving them by turns hopes of his favour. He had a wonderful knowledge of mankind, and an inimitable ſagacity and penetration. If there was a man in England who excelled in any faculty or ſcience, he would find him out, and reward him according to his merit. In nothing was his good underſtanding better diſcovered (ſays biſhop *Burnet*) than in ſeeking out able and worthy men for all employments, which gave a general ſatisfaction. By theſe me-

* Carrington's Life of Cromwell, p. 243. Welwood's Mem. p. 104.

thods,

thods, in the ſpace of four or five years, he carried the reputation and glory of the Engliſh nation as high as it was capable of being raiſed. He was equally dreaded by France, Spain, and the United Provinces, who condeſcended to ſervile compliances to obtain his friendſhip; *Charles Guſtavus*, king of Sweden, thought himſelf honoured by his alliance; and cardinal *Mazarine* ſaid, that nothing but the king of France's having the ſmall-pox could have hindered him from coming over to England, that he might have the honour of waiting on one of the greateſt men.

The protector had an uncommon command of his paſſions, and knew how to behave in character upon all occaſions; though in private life he would be jocoſe and merry with his inferiors; yet no prince was more jealous of his dignity on publick occaſions. His ambaſſadors in foreign courts had all the reſpects paid them that our kings ever had. All Europe trembled at his name! And though he could converſe with no foreigners but in broken Latin, yet no man ever had better intelligence, nor underſtood the views and intereſts of the ſeveral courts of Europe better than himſelf. He had ſpies at Madrid and Paris, and was ſo happy as to fix upon perſons who never failed him. Mr. *Algernon Sydney*, who was not inclined to think or ſpeak well of kings, commended him to biſhop *Burnet*, as one who had juſt notions of publick liberty; and though he made ſome ſevere and cruel laws againſt the epiſcopal clergy, it was not for their religion, but becauſe they were open and declared enemies to his perſon and government.

The protector was a proteſtant, but affected to go under no denomination or party: He had chaplains of all perſuaſions; and though he was by principle an *independant*, he eſteemed all reformed churches as part of the catholick church; and without aiming to eſtabliſh any tenets by force or violence, he witneſſed, on all occaſions, an extreme zeal for the proteſtant religion, and a juſt regard for liberty of conſcience.

As to his moral character, his greateſt enemies have not charged him with any publick vices. Dr. *Welwood* admits, that he was not addicted to ſwearing, gluttony, drunkenneſs, gaming, avarice, or the love of women, but kept cloſe to his marriage

marriage bed. Nor is he chargeable with covetouſneſs, for it has been computed (ſays the writer of his life†) that he diſtributed forty thouſand pounds a year out of his privy purſe to charitable uſes.§ He promoted virtuous men, and was inflexible in his puniſhment of ill actions. His court was regulated according to a moſt ſtrict diſcipline (ſays Mr. *Eachard*) where every vice was baniſhed or ſeverely puniſhed. He maintained a conſtant appearance of piety, and was regular in his private and publick devotions: He retired conſtantly every day to read the ſcriptures and prayer; and ſome who watched him narrowly have reported, that after he had read and expounded a chapter, he proſtrated himſelf with his face on the ground, and with tears poured out his ſoul to God for a quarter of an hour. He was a ſtrict obſerver of the ſabbath, and an encourager of goodneſs and auſterity of life.§ Mr. *Baxter* admits, that "he "kept as much honeſty and godlineſs as his cauſe and in- "tereſt would allow; that he had a zeal for religion, meant "honeſtly in the main, and was pious in the main courſe of "his life,‡ till proſperity corrupted him."

But with all theſe good qualities it is certain, the protector was a ſtrong enthuſiaſt, and did not take up his religion

† Carrington, p. 248.

§ An obſervation of Dr. *Gibbons*, as juſt in itſelf and doing honour to *Cromwell*, deſerves to be mentioned here. It is this; "that it does not "appear that in the height of his power he ever diverted any part of the "national property to the private emolument of himſelf or family, as he "left them poſſeſt of the ſmall eſtates only which he enjoyed before he "arrived to the protectorate." Funeral Sermon for *William Cromwell*, p. 48. Ed.

§ To this muſt be aſcribed his prohibition of all theatrical exhibitions, There was, indeed, a remarkable exception, in his permitting, from hatred to the Spaniards, the repreſentation of a performance entitled, "The "Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru." Roſcius Anglicanus, p. 29, in the Literary Muſeum, 8vo. printed in 1792. Ed.

‡ That his religious character was not originally aſſumed, however it might afterwards be abuſed, to carry political views, and was prior to his dignity and power, it has been obſerved, is evinced from his letters written long before that period, and from what *Milton* ſays of him; "that being "arrived to manly and mature age, which he ſpent as a private perſon, "and noted for nothing than the cultivation of pure religion and integrity "of life, he was grown wealthy in retirement at home." *Gibbons*'s Funeral Sermon for *William Cromwell*, p. 47, 8. Ed.

upon

upon rational or ſolid principles, which led him into ſundry miſtakes, not ſupported by reaſon or ſcripture. One of his favourite principles was a *particular faith*; that is, if any thing was ſtrongly impreſſed upon his mind in prayer, he apprehended it came immediately from God, and was a *rule of action*; but if there were no impreſſions, but a flatneſs in his devotions, it was a *denial*. Upon this maxim he is ſaid to ſuffer the late king to be put to death, in an arbitrary and illegal manner.—Another maxim was, that *in extraordinary caſes ſomething extraordinary, or beyond the common rules of juſtice, may be done; that the moral laws, which are binding in ordinary caſes, may then be diſpenſed with; and that* PRIVATE JUSTICE *muſt give way to* PUBLICK NECESSITY. Which was the protector's governing principle in all his unwarrantable ſtretches of power. A third principle by which the protector was miſled, was, *his determining the goodneſs of a cauſe by the ſucceſs*. An appeal to the ſword was with him *an appeal to God*; and as victory inclined, God owned or diſcountenanced the cauſe.—It is impoſſible that a man's conduct could be juſt or conſiſtent, while it was directed by ſuch miſtaken principles.

It has been further objected to the protector's character, that he was notoriouſly guilty of *hypocriſy and diſſimulation both to God and man; that he mocked God by the pretence of piety and devotion, and by long prayers full of hypocritical zeal.* But who can penetrate the heart, to ſee whether the outward actions flow from an inward principle? With regard to men, it is certain the protector knew how to addreſs their paſſions, and talk to them in their own way; and if in his devotions he uttered with his mouth what his heart never meant, no one can vindicate him: But men are not ſlightly to be arraigned (ſays *Rapin*) for the inward motions of their heart, which paſs all human knowledge.—Beſides, it is not eaſy to conceive the watchful eyes that were upon him, and the vaſt difficulties he had to contend with. Queen *Elizabeth*'s diſſimulation has been extolled, for the very ſame reaſon that the protector's is condemned: If therefore ſuch a conduct was neceſſary to govern the ſeveral parties, there is nothing greatly blame-worthy in it, (ſays the ſame author) unleſs

unleſs it was a crime in him not to put it into the power of his enemies, to deſtroy him with the greater eaſe.

Ambition and thirſt of glory might ſometimes lead the protector aſide, for he imagined himſelf to be a ſecond *Phineas*, raiſed up by Providence to be the ſcourge of idolatry and ſuperſtition, and in climbing up to the pinnacle of ſupreme power, did not always keep within the bounds of law and equity: To this paſſion ſome have aſcribed his aſſuming the protectorſhip, and putting himſelf at the head of three kingdoms; though others are of opinion, it was owing to *hard neceſſity* and *ſelf-preſervation*. I will not venture to decide in this caſe; poſſibly there might be a mixture of both. When he was in poſſeſſion of the ſovereign power, no man ever uſed it to greater publick advantage, for he had a due veneration for the laws of his country, in all things wherein the life of his juriſdiction was not concerned: And though he kept a ſtanding army, they were under an exact diſcipline, and very little burthen to the people.

The charge of *cruelty*, which is brought againſt him, for having put ſome men to death for conſpiring againſt his perſon and government, deſerves no confutation, unleſs they would have had him ſit ſtill, till ſome conſpiracy or other had ſucceeded. Cruelty was not in his nature;‖ he was not for unneceſſary effuſion of blood. Lord *Clarendon* aſſures us, that when a general maſſacre of the royaliſts was propoſed by the officers in council, he warmly oppoſed and prevented it.

Dr. *Welwood* compares the protector to an unuſual meteor, which with its ſurpriſing influences over-awed not only three kingdoms, but the moſt powerful princes and ſtates about us. A great man he was, (ſays he) and poſterity might have paid a juſt homage to his memory, if he had

‖ Such was the ſenſibility of his ſpirit, that if an account were given him of a diſtreſſed caſe, the narration would draw tears from his eyes. It ſpeaks ſtrongly in favour of his temper and his domeſtick deportment, that the daughter of Sir *Francis Ruſſel*, married to his ſecond ſon *Henry*, who before her marriage had entertained an ill opinion of his father *Oliver*, upon her coming into the family felt all her prejudice removed and changed into a moſt affectionate eſteem for her father-in-law, as the moſt amiable of parents. *Gibbons*'s Funeral Sermon for *William Cromwell*, eſq; p. 46. ED.

§ Page 102.

not

not embrued his hands in the blood of his prince, and trampled upon the liberties of his country.

Upon the whole, it is not to be wondered, that the character of this great man has been tranſmitted down to poſterity with ſome diſadvantage, by the ſeveral factions of *royaliſts*, *preſbyterians*, and *republicans*, becauſe each were diſappointed, and enraged to ſee the ſupreme power wreſted from them; but his management is a convincing proof of his great abilities: He was at the helm in the moſt ſtormy and tempeſtuous ſeaſon that England ever ſaw; but by his conſummate wiſdom and valour, he diſconcerted the meaſures and deſigns of his enemies, and preſerved both himſelf and the commonwealth from ſhipwreck. I ſhall only obſerve further, with *Rapin*, that the confuſions which prevailed in England after the death of *Cromwell*, clearly evidence the neceſſity of this uſurpation, at leaſt till the conſtitution could be reſtored. After his death his great atchievements were celebrated in verſe, by the greateſt wits of the age, as Dr. *Sprat*, afterwards biſhop of Rocheſter, *Waller*, *Dryden*, and others, who in their panegyricks out-did every thing, which till that time had been written in the Engliſh language.

Four divines of the aſſembly died this year: Dr. *John Harris*, ſon of *Richard Harris* of Buckinghamſhire, born in the parſonage-houſe of Hardwick in the ſame county, educated in Wickham ſchool near Wincheſter, and in the year 1606 admitted perpetual fellow of New-college. He was ſo admirable a Grecian, and eloquent a preacher, that Sir *Henry Saville* called him a ſecond St. *Chryſoſtom*. In 1619 he was choſen Greek profeſſor of the univerſity. He was afterwards prebendary of Wincheſter, rector of Meonſtoke in Hampſhire, and in the year 1630, warden of Wickham-college near Wincheſter; in all which places he behaved with great reputation. In the beginning of the civil wars he took part with the parliament, was choſen one of the aſſembly of divines, took the covenant, and other oaths, and kept his wardenſhip till his death; he publiſhed ſeveral learned works, and died at Wincheſter, Auguſt 11, 1658, aged ſeventy years.

Mr. *Sydrach Sympſon*, a meek and quiet divine, of the *independant* perſuaſion, was educated in Cambridge, but forced

to

to fly his country for non-conformity, in the times of archbiſhop *Laud*. He was one of the diſſenting brethren in the aſſembly, and behaved with great temper and moderation. Biſhop *Kennet* ſays, he was ſilenced for ſome time from preaching, becauſe he differed in judgment from the aſſembly in points of church diſcipline, but was reſtored to his liberty October 28, 1646. He afterwards gathered a congregation in London, after the manner of the *independants*, which met in Ab-church near Canon-ſtreet. Upon the reſignation of Mr. *Vines* in the year 1650, for refuſing the *engagement*, he was by the viſitors made maſter of Pembroke-hall, Cambridge. He was a divine of conſiderable learning, and of great piety and devotion. In his laſt ſickneſs he was under ſome darkneſs, and melancholy apprehenſions; upon which account ſome of his friends and brethren aſſembled in his own houſe to aſſiſt him with their prayers; and in the evening, when they took their leave, he thanked them, and ſaid, he was now ſatisfied in his ſoul; and lifting up his hands towards heaven ſaid, *He is come, he his come.* And that night died.

Dr. *Robert Harris* was born at Broad-Campden in Glouceſterſhire, 1578, and educated in Magdalen-college, Oxon. He preached for ſome time about Oxford, and ſettled afterwards at Hanwell, in the place of famous Mr. *Dodd*, then ſuſpended for non-conformity; here he continued till the breaking out of the civil wars, when by the king's ſoldiers he was driven to London. He was appointed one of the aſſembly of divines, and miniſter of St. Botolph, Biſhopſgate. In the year 1646, he was one of the ſix preachers to the univerſity of Oxford, and next year one of their viſitors, when he was created *D. D.* and made preſident of Trinity-college, and rector of Garlington near Oxford, which is always annexed to it. Here he continued till his death, governing his college with a paternal affection, being reverenced by the ſtudents as a father. The inſcription over his grave gives him a great character; but the royaliſts charge him, and I believe juſtly, with being a notorious pluraliſt.*

* Againſt this charge, if the truth of it ſhould be admitted, ought to be ſet his charity; which, we are told, exceeded the ordinary proportion of his revenues. ED.

He

He died December 11, 1658, in the eightieth year of his age.§

Mr. *William Carter* was educated in Cambridge, and afterwards a very popular preacher in London. He was a good ſcholar, of great ſerioufneſs, and though a young man, appointed one of the aſſembly of divines. After ſome time he joined the *independants*, and became one of the diſſenting brethren in the aſſembly. He had offers of many livings but refuſed them, being diſſatisfied with the parochial diſcipline of thoſe times; nevertheleſs, he was indefatigable in his miniſtry, preaching twice every Lord's-day to two large congregations in the city, beſides lectures on the week days: This waſted his ſtrength, and put an end to his life about Midſummer 1658, in the fifty-third year of his age. His family were afterwards great ſufferers by the purchaſe of biſhops lands.

§ Clarke's Lives in his Martyrology, p. 314—339.

CHAP. IV.

The Inter-Regnum from the Death of OLIVER CROMWELL *to the Reſtoration of King* CHARLES II. *and the Re-Eſtabliſhment of the Church of England.*

—1659.—

UPON the death of the *protector*, all the diſcontented ſpirits who had been ſubdued by his adminiſtration reſumed their courage, and within the compaſs of one year, revived the confuſions of the preceding ten. RICHARD CROMWELL, being proclaimed protector upon his father's deceaſe, received numberleſs addreſſes from all parts,* congratulating his acceſſion to the dignity of protector, with aſſurances of lives and fortunes chearfully devoted to ſupport his title. He was a young gentleman of a calm and peaceable temper, but had by no means the capacity or reſolution of his father, and was therefore unfit to be at the helm in ſuch boiſterous times. He was highly careſſed by the preſbyterians, though he ſet out upon the principles of general toleration, as appears by his declaration of Nov. 25, entitled, *A proclamation for the better encouraging godly miniſters and others;* and for their enjoying their dues and liberties according to law, without being moleſted with indictments for not uſing the common-prayer book.

The young protector ſummoned a parliament to meet on the 27th of Jan. 1658-9. The elections were not according to the method practiſed by his father, but according to the old conſtitution, becauſe it was apprehended that the ſmaller boroughs might be more eaſily influenced than

* Of theſe addreſſes, Dr. *Grey* ſays, "nothing ever exceeded them in "point of flattery, except thoſe canting addreſſes of the *diſſenters* to king "*James* upon his indulgence:" and he gives ſeveral at length, as ſpecimens of the ſtrain of adulation in which they were drawn up, from different corporations: from which the reader will ſee that mayors, recorders, and aldermen of that day could rival the *independant miniſters*, whom the doctor reproaches as "moſt foully guilty," in their effuſions of flattery. In truth, all were paying their *devoirs* to the riſing ſun. ED.

cities and counties; but it was ill judged to break in upon the inſtrument of government, by which he held his protectorſhip. The parliament met according to appointment, but did little buſineſs, the lower houſe not being willing to own the upper. The army was divided into two grand factions; the Wallingford-houſe party, which was for a commonwealth; and the preſbyterian, which with the majority, of the parliament, was for the protector. The Wallingford-houſe party, of which *Fleetwood* and *Deſborough* were the head, invited Dr. *Owen* and Dr. *Manton* to their conſultations. Dr. *Owen* went to prayer before they entered on buſineſs, but Dr. *Manton*, being late before he came, heard a loud voice from within, ſaying, *He muſt down, and he ſhall down.* *Manton* knew the voice to be Dr. *Owen*'s, and underſtood him to mean the depoſing of *Richard*, and therefore would not go in. But the writer of Dr. *Owen*'s life diſcredits this ſtory; though, in my opinion, it is very probable, for the doctor inclined to a republican government: He ſided with the army, and drew up their addreſs againſt *Oliver*'s being king: upon which he declined in the protector's favour, and as ſoon as *Richard* became chancellor of Oxford, he turned him out of the vice-chancellorſhip. The cabinet council at Wallingford-Houſe having gained over ſeveral to their party, prevailed with *Richard* to conſent to their erecting a *general council* of officers, though he could not but know they deſigned his ruin, being all republicans; and therefore, inſtead of ſupporting the protector, they preſented a remonſtrance, complaining of the advancement of diſaffected perſons, and that the *good old cauſe* was ridiculed. *Richard*, ſenſible of his fatal miſtake, by the advice of lord *Broghil*, diſſolved the council, and then the parliament voted they ſhould meet no more; but the officers bid him defiance, and like a company of ſovereign dictators armed with power, ſent the protector a peremptory meſſage to diſſolve the parliament, telling him that it was impoſſible for him to keep both the parliament and army at his devotion, but that he might chooſe which he would prefer; if he diſſolved the parliament he might depend upon the army, but if he refuſed, they would quickly pull him out of Whitehall. Upon this the timorous gentleman being at a plunge, and deſtitute of his

his father's courage, ſubmitted to part with the only men who could ſupport him.

After the diſſolution of the parliament, *Richard* became a cypher in the government; lord *Broghil*, afterwards earl of *Orrery*, adviſed him to the laſt to ſupport the parliament and declare againſt the council of officers; and if he had allowed the captain of his guard at the ſame time to have ſecured *Fleetwood* and *Deſborough*, as he undertook to do, with the hazard of his life, he might have been eſtabliſhed; but the poor-ſpirited protector told him, that *he was afraid of blood;* upon which the captain, lord *Howard*, made his peace with the king. The officers at Wallingford-houſe, having carried their point, publiſhed a declaration about twelve days after, without ſo much as aſking the protector's leave, inviting the remains of the long-parliament to reſume the government, who immediately declared their reſolutions for a commonwealth without a ſingle perſon, or houſe of peers. Thus was the grandeur of *Cromwell*'s family deſtroyed by the pride and reſentment of ſome of its own branches: *Fleetwood* had married the widow of *Ireton*, one of *Oliver*'s daughters, and being diſappointed of the protectorſhip by his laſt will, was determined that no ſingle perſon ſhould be his ſuperior. *Deſborough*, who had married *Oliver*'s ſiſter, joined in the fatal conſpiracy. *Lambert*, whom *Oliver* had diſmiſſed the army, was called from his retirement to take his place among the council of officers. Theſe, with Sir *H. Vane*, and one or two more behind the curtain, ſubverted the government, and were the ſprings of all the confuſions of this year, as is evident by the letters of Mr. *Henry Cromwell*, lord-lieutenant of Ireland, now before me, who ſaw farther into their intrigues at that diſtance, than the protector who was upon the ſpot. I ſhall take the liberty to tranſcribe ſome paſſages out of them to my preſent purpoſe.

Upon the ſurpriſing news of *Oliver*'s death he writes to his brother, Sept. 18, 1658,——"I am ſo aſtoniſhed at the "news of my dear father's ſickneſs and death, that I know "not what to ſay or write on ſo ſad and grievous an occa- "ſion; but the happy news of leaving your highneſs his "ſucceſſor gives ſome relief, not only on account of the "publick, but of our poor family, which the goodneſs of

" God has preſerved from the contempt of our enemies. I " may ſay without vanity, that your highneſs has been pro- " claimed here with as great joy, and general ſatisfaction (I " believe) as in the beſt-affected places of England; and I " make no doubt of the dutiful compliance of the army. " Now, that the God of your late father and mine, and " your highneſs's predeceſſor, would ſupport you, and pour " down a double portion of the ſame ſpirit that was ſo emi- " nently in him, and would enable you to walk in his ſteps, " and do worthily for his name-ſake and people, and conti- " nually preſerve you in ſo doing, is the prayer of

" Your's, &c.
" H. C."

In another letter of the ſame date, ſent by an expreſs meſ- ſenger, he writes, that " he had cauſed a very dutiful addreſs " to be ſent to the army, which had been already ſigned by " ſeveral of the field officers, and when perfected, ſhould be " ſent to him as a witneſs againſt any ſingle officer that ſhould " hereafter warp from his obedience; ſo that I may and do " aſſure your highneſs of the active ſubjection of this army to " your government, and will anſwer for it with my life.—"

In his letter of October 20, 1658, he ſays, " If the ac- " count be true which I have received of the ſtate of affairs " in England, I confeſs it is no more than I looked for, only " I had ſome hopes it might have been prevented by keep- " ing all officers at their reſpective charges; but as things " now ſtand, I doubt the flood is ſo ſtrong you can neither " ſtem it, nor come to an anchor, but muſt be content to go " adrift and expect the ebb. I thought thoſe whom my fa- " ther had raiſed from nothing would not ſo ſoon have for- " got him, and endeavour to deſtroy his family before he " is in his grave. Why do I ſay I thought, when I know " ambition, and affection of empire, never had any bounds. " I cannot think theſe men will ever reſt till they are in the " ſaddle; and we have of late years been ſo uſed to changes, " that it will be but a nine days' wonder; and yet I fear there " is no remedy, but what muſt be uſed gradually and *pede-* " *tentim.* Sometimes I think of a parliament, but am doubt- " ful whether ſober men will venture to embark themſelves

" when

" when things are in ſo high a diſtraction; or if they would,
" whether the army can be reſtrained from forcing elections.
" —I am almoſt afraid to come over to your highneſs, leſt
" I ſhould be kept there, and ſo your highneſs loſe this
" army, which, for ought I know, is the only ſtay you have,
" though I cannot but earneſtly deſire it. I alſo think it
" dangerous to write freely to you, for I make no queſtion
" but all the letters will be opened that paſs between us,
" unleſs they come by a truſty meſſenger. I pray God
" help you, and bleſs your councils.

" I remain, your's, &c.

" H. C."

In a letter of the ſame date to his brother-in-law *Fleetwood*, he writes:

" *Dear* BROTHER,

" I received your account of the petition of the officers;
" but pray give me leave to expoſtulate with you; how came
" theſe two or three hundred officers together? If they came
" of their own heads, their being abſent from their charge
" without licence would have flown in their face when they
" petitioned for a due obſervance of martial diſcipline. If
" they were called together, were they not alſo taught what
" to ſay and do? If they were called, was it with his high-
" neſs's privity? If they met without leave in ſo great a
" number, were they told their error? I ſhall not meddle
" with the matter of their petition; but, *dear brother*, I muſt
" tell you, I hear that dirt was thrown upon his late high-
" neſs at that great meeting: that they were exhorted to
" ſtand up for that good old cauſe which had long lain aſleep.
" —I thought my father had purſued it to the laſt. He
" died, praying for thoſe that deſired to trample on his duſt.
" Let us then not render evil for good, and make his me-
" mory ſtink before he is under ground. Let us remember
" his laſt legacy, and for his ſake render his ſucceſſor conſi-
" derable, and not make him vile, a thing of nought, and a
" by-word. Whither do theſe things tend? What a hurly-
" burly is there? One hundred independant miniſters called
" together; a council, as you call it, of two or three hun-
" dred officers of a judgment. Remember what has always

" befallen

" befallen impoſing ſpirits. Will not the loins of an impo-
" ſing independant, or anabaptiſt, be as heavy as the loins of
" an impoſing prelate, or preſbytery? And is it a dangerous
" opinion, that *dominion is founded in grace*, when it is held
" by the church of Rome, and a ſound principle when it is
" held by the fifth monarchy men. *Dear brother*, let us
" not fall into the ſins of other men, leſt we partake of their
" plagues. Let it be ſo carried, that all the people of God,
" though under different forms; yea, even thoſe whom you
" count *without*, may enjoy their birthright and civil liberty;
" and that no one party may tread upon the neck of ano-
" ther. It does not become the magiſtrate to deſcend into
" parties; but can the things you do tend to this end? Can
" theſe things be done, and the world not think his high-
" neſs a knave or a fool, or oppreſſed with mutinous ſpirits?
" *Dear brother*, my ſpirit is ſorely oppreſſed with the conſi-
" deration of the miſerable ſtate of the innocent people of
" theſe nations: What have theſe ſheep done that their blood
" ſhould be the price of our luſt and ambition? Let me beg
" you to remember, how his late highneſs loved you; how
" he honoured you with the higheſt truſt, by leaving the
" ſword in your hand, which muſt defend or deſtroy us.
" And his declaring his *highneſs* his ſucceſſor, ſhews, that
" he left it there to preſerve him and his reputation. *O*
" *brother!* uſe it to curb extravagant ſpirits, and buſy-bodies,
" but let not the nations be governed by it. Let us take
" heed of arbitrary power; let us be governed by the known
" laws of the land; and let all things be kept in their proper
" channels; and let the army be ſo governed, that the world
" may never hear of them unleſs there be occaſion to fight.
" And truly, *brother*, you muſt pardon me, if I ſay God and
" man may require this duty at your hand, and lay all miſ-
" carriages of the army, in point of diſcipline, at your door.
" You ſee I deal freely and plainly with you, as becomes
" your friend, and a good ſubject. And the great God, in
" whoſe preſence I ſpeak, knows that I do it not to reproach
" you, but out of my tender affection and faithfulneſs to
" you. And you may reſt aſſured, that you ſhall always
" find me, *Your true friend, and loving brother*,

" H. C."

In

In other letters to lord *Broghil*, afterwards earl of *Orrery*, with whom he maintained an intimate correſpondence, "he "complains of his being forbid to come over into England; "and that the clauſe in his new commiſſion was left out; "namely, the power of appointing a deputy, or juries, in "order to prevent his coming over to England, which he "hopes his highneſs will permit, there being much more "cauſe to preſs it now than ever." "I find (ſays he in a "letter to the protector) that my enemies have ſentenced "me to an honourable baniſhment; I am not conſcious of "any crime which might deſerve it; but if they can de-"nounce judgment upon my innocence they will eaſily be "able to make me criminal. They have already begot a "doubt among my friends, whether all be right; but I will "rather ſubmit to any ſufferings with a good name, than be "the greateſt man upon earth without it."—In a letter to ſecretary *Thurloe*, he writes, "that ſince he was not allowed "to leave Ireland, he could do no more than ſit ſtill and look "on. The elections for parliament are like to be good here, "(ſays he) though I could wiſh the writs had come ſo timely "that the members might have been there before they had "been excluded by a vote, which, it is ſaid, will be the firſt "thing brought upon the ſtage.—". From theſe, and ſome other of his letters, it is natural to conclude, that lieutenant-general *Fleetwood* was at the head of the councils which depoſed *Richard*, which might be owing either to his republican principles, or to his diſappointment of the protector-ſhip. However, when he found he could not keep the army within bounds, who were for new changes, he retired from publick buſineſs, and ſpent the remainder of his life privately among his friends at Stoke-Newington, where he died ſoon after the revolution, being more remarkable for piety and devotion than for courage and deep penetration in politicks.†

† "He thought that prayers ſuperſeded the uſe of "carnal weapons," and that "it was ſufficient to truſt in the hand of Providence without ex-"erting the arm of fleſh." "He would fall on his knees and pray when he "heard of a mutiny among the ſoldiers; and was with the utmoſt difficulty "rouſed to action on ſeveral emergencies." Granger's Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. 8vo. p. 17. Ed.

To

To return:—After the rump parliament had ſat about a week, the officers petitioned "1. That the laws might have "their free courſe. 2. That all publick debts unſatisfied "might be paid. 3. That all who profeſs faith in the holy "trinity, and acknowledge the holy ſcriptures to be the re-"vealed will of God, may have protection and encourage-"ment in the profeſſion of their religion, while they give no "diſturbance to the ſtate, except papiſts, prelatiſts, and per-"ſons who teach licentious doctrines. 4. That the two "univerſities, and all ſchools of learning, may be counte-"nanced. 5. That thoſe who took part with the king in "the late wars, or are notoriouſly diſaffected to the parlia-"ment's cauſe, may be removed from all places of truſt. "6. That the protector's debts be paid, and an allowance "of ten thouſand pounds *per ann.* be allowed to *Richard* "and his heirs for ever. 7. That there may be a repreſen-"tative of the people, conſiſting of one houſe, ſucceſſively "choſen by the people; and that the government of the "nation may be placed in ſuch a repreſentative body, with a "ſelect ſenate co-ordinate in power; and that the admini-"ſtration of all executive power of government may be in "a council of ſtate, conſiſting of a convenient number of "perſons eminent for godlineſs, and who are in principle for "the preſent cauſe."

The parliament thanked the officers for their petition, but poſtponed the affair relating to *Richard*, till he ſhould acquieſce in the change of government. The protector, having parted with the parliament who were his chief ſupport, had not the reſolution to ſtrike a bold ſtroke for three kingdoms, but tamely ſubmitted to reſign his *high dignity*,§ by a writing under

§ *Richard Cromwell* has been reproached as "extremely puſillanimous," as "a fool and a ſot," and "a titmouſe prince," becauſe he yielded to the times, and relinquiſhed power and royalty. "But, in the name of common-"ſenſe," ſays Dr. *Harris*, with virtuous animation, "what was there "weak and fooliſh in laying down a burthen too heavy for the ſhoulders? "What in preferring the peace and welfare of men, to blood and confu-"ſion, the neceſſary conſequences of retaining the government? Or what, "in a word, in reſigning the power to ſuch as, by experience, had been "found fully equal to it, and intent on promoting the common welfare? "Ambition, glory, fame, ſound well in the ears of the vulgar; and men, "excited by them, have ſeldom failed to figure in the eyes of the world: "but

under his hand, after he had enjoyed it eight months. How little the ſoul of OLIVER ſurvived in his ſon *Richard* may be ſeen by this conduct! His brother *Henry*, who was at the head of an army in Ireland, offered to come immediately to his aſſiſtance, but was forbid, and the timorous young gentleman returned to a private life, with more ſeeming ſatisfaction than he had accepted the ſovereignty. Upon his quitting Whitehall, and the other royal palaces, the parliament voted him a maintenance, but refuſed to concern themſelves with his father's debts,* the payment whereof ſwept away the greateſt part of his eſtate, which was far from being large, conſidering the high preferments his father had enjoyed for ſeveral years. This was a further contempt thrown upon the *protector*'s memory; former obligations were forgotten, and a new council of ſtate being choſen, the nation ſeemed to ſlide peaceably into a commonwealth government.

The preſbyterians would have been content with *Richard*'s government; but ſeeing no likelihood of reſtoring the covenant, or coming into power, by the rump parliament,

" but the man who can diveſt himſelf of empire for the ſake of his fellow-
" men, muſt, in the eye of reaſon, be entitled to a much higher renown,
" than the purpled hero who leads them on to ſlaughter, though provinces
" or kingdoms are gained to him thereby."

' Ambition, ceaſe: the idle conteſt end:
' 'Tis but a kingdom thou canſt win or loſe.
' And why muſt murder'd myriads loſe their all,
' (If life be all) why deſolation lour,
' With famiſh'd frown on this affrighted ball,
' That thou may'ſt flame the meteor of an hour.'

Harris's Life of Charles II. vol. i. p. 214. ED. MASON.

* The parliament inſtituted, however, an enquiry into the debts of *Richard Cromwell*, and a ſchedule of them was given in; by which it appeared, that *Richard*, even after having reduced his father's debts from 28,000l. to 23,550l. owed 29,640l. It was reſolved to acquit *Richard Cromwell* from this debt, and to provide for the payment of it by the ſale of the plate, hangings, goods, and furniture, in Whitehall and Hampton-Court, belonging to the ſtate, which could be conveniently ſpared. It was alſo reſolved to ſettle on him an annuity of 8700l. ſo as to make to him with his own fortune a yearly income of 10,000l. But, through the changes that followed, *Richard Cromwell* derived no benefit from theſe reſolutions. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 241. Dr. Harris's Life of Charles II. vol. i. p. 208, &c. ED.

which

which was chiefly made up of enthuſiaſts, and declared enemies to monarchy, they entered into a kind of confederacy with the royaliſts, to reſtore the king and the old conſtitution. The particulars of this union (ſays *Rapin*) are not known, becauſe the hiſtorians who write of it, being all royaliſts, have not thought fit to do ſo much honour to the preſbyterians. But it is generally agreed, that from this time the preſbyterians appeared no longer among the king's enemies, but very much promoted his reſtoration. Upon the foundation of this union, an inſurrection was formed in ſeveral parts of the country, which was diſcovered by ſir *Richard Willis*, a correſpondent of ſecretary *Thurloe*'s, ſo that ſir *George Booth*, a preſbyterian, had an opportunity of appearing about Cheſter, at the head of five or ſix hundred men, declaring for a free parliament, without mentioning the king; but he and ſir *Thomas Middleton*, who joined him, were defeated by *Lambert*, and made priſoners.* The king and duke of *York* came to Calais, to be in readineſs to embark in caſe it ſucceeded, but upon the news of its miſcarriage they retired, and his majeſty, in deſpair, determined to rely upon the Roman catholick powers for the future. Several of the preſbyterian miniſters appeared in this inſurrection, as the reverend Mr. *Newcomb* of Mancheſter, Mr. *Eaton* of Walton, and Mr. *Finch* chaplain to ſir *George Booth*, all afterwards ejected by the act of uniformity.

The parliament, to ſecure the *republican* government, firſt appointed an oath of abjuration, whereby they renounced allegiance to *Charles Stuart*, and the whole race of king *James*, and promiſed fidelity to the commonwealth, without a ſingle perſon or the houſe of peers. They then attempted the reduction of the army, which had ſet them up, depending upon the aſſurances general *Monk* had given them from Scotland, of his army's entire ſubmiſſion to their orders; but the Engliſh officers, inſtead of ſubmitting, ſtood in their own defence, and preſented another petition to the houſe, deſiring their former addreſs from Wallingford-Houſe might not lie aſleep, but that *Fleetwood*, whom they had choſen for their general, might be confirmed in his high ſtation. The houſe

* The parliament ſo much reſented this inſurrection, that they *diſfranchiſed* the city of Cheſter. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 242. Ed.

demurred

demurred upon the petition, and ſeeing there was like to be a new conteſt for dominion, endeavoured to divide the officers, by caſhiering ſome, and paying others their arrears. Upon this the officers preſented a third petition to the ſame purpoſe; but the parliament, being out of all patience, told them their complaints were without juſt grounds, and caſhiered nine of the chiefs, among whom were lieutenant-general *Fleetwood*, *Lambert*, *Deſborough*, *Berry*, *Kelſey*, *Cobbet*, and others of the firſt rank: by means whereof things were brought to this criſis, that the army muſt ſubmit to the parliament, or inſtantly diſſolve them. The diſcarded officers reſolved on the latter, for which purpoſe, October 13, *Lambert* with his forces ſecured all the avenues to the parliament houſe, and as the *ſpeaker* paſſed by Whitehall he rode up to his coach, and having told him there was nothing to be done at Weſtminſter, commanded major *Creed* to conduct him back to his houſe. At the ſame time all the members were ſtopped in their paſſage, and prevented from taking their ſeats in parliament; *Fleetwood* having placed a ſtrong guard at the door of the parliament-houſe for that purpoſe. Thus the remains of the long parliament, after they had ſat five months and ſix days, having no army to ſupport them, were turned out of their houſe a ſecond time, by a company of headſtrong officers, who knew how to pull down, but could not agree upon any form of government to ſet up in its place.

There being now a perfect anarchy, the officers, who were maſters of the nation, firſt appointed a council of ten of their own body to take care of the publick, and having reſtored their general officers, they concluded upon a ſelect number of men to aſſume the adminiſtration, under the title of a *Committee of ſafety*, which conſiſted of twenty-three perſons, who had the ſame authority and power that the late *council of ſtate* had, to manage all publick affairs, till they could agree upon a new ſettlement. The people of England were highly diſguſted with theſe changes, but there was no parliament nor king to fly to; many of the gentry therefore from ſeveral parts, ſent letters to general *Monk* in Scotland, inviting him to march his army into England to obtain a free parliament, and promiſing him all neceſſary aſſiſtance.

The

The *committee of ſafety*, being aware of this, attempted an accommodation with *Monk* by *Clarges* his brother-in-law, but without ſucceſs, for they had not ſat above a fortnight before they received letters from Scotland, full of reproaches for their late violation of faith to the parliament, and of the general's reſolution to march his army into England to reſtore them. Upon this *Lambert* was ſent immediately to the frontiers, who, quartering his ſoldiers about Newcaſtle, put a ſtop to *Monk*'s march for about a month. In the mean time, the general, in order to gain time, ſent commiſſioners to London, to come to terms with the *committee of ſafety*, who were ſo ſupple, that a treaty was concluded November 15, but when it was brought to *Monk* he pretended his commiſſioners had exceeded their inſtructions, and refuſed to ratify it. The *council of ſtate*, therefore, which ſat before the rump parliament was interrupted, taking advantage of this, reſolved to gain over *Monk* to their party, and being aſſembled privately, ſent him a commiſſion, conſtituting him *general of the armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland*, which was the very thing he deſired.

At this juncture died ſerjeant *Bradſhaw*, who ſat as judge and pronounced ſentence of death on king *Charles* at his trial: He died with a firm belief of the juſtice of putting his majeſty to death in the manner it was done, and ſaid that if it were to do again, he would be the firſt man that ſhould do it: He was buried in a very pompous manner in Weſtminſter-Abbey, being attended by moſt of the members of the long parliament, and other gentlemen of quality, Nov. 22, 1659, but his body was not ſuffered to reſt long in its grave.

The general having ſecured Scotland, and put garriſons into the fortified places, marched to the borders with no more than five thouſand men; but while *Lambert* was encamped about Newcaſtle to oppoſe his progreſs, it appeared that the nation was ſick of the frenzies of the officers, and willing to prefer any government to the preſent anarchy; Portſmouth, and part of the fleet revolted, and declared for a *free parliament*, as did ſeveral detachments of the army; upon which *Lambert* retired towards London, and made way for *Monk*'s entering England. The *committee of ſafety*, ſeeing all things in confuſion, and not knowing whom to truſt, reſigned their authority,

thority, and reſtored the parliament, which met again Dec. 26, and would now have been glad to have had *Monk* back again in Scotland: for this purpoſe they ſent letters to acquaint him with their reſtoration, and that now he might return to his government in Scotland: but the general, having entered England, Jan. 2, continued his march towards London, deſigning a new as well as a free parliament. When he came to York, lord *Fairfax* received him into that city, and declared for a new and free parliament; as did the London apprentices, and great numbers of all ranks and orders of men both in city and country. The rump, being ſuſpicious that *Monk* had ſome further deſign, either of eſtabliſhing himſelf after the example of *Cromwell*, or of reſtoring the king, obliged him to take the oath of abjuration of *Charles Stuart*, already mentioned, and to ſwear, that by the grace and aſſiſtance of Almighty God, he would be true, faithful, and conſtant to the parliament and commonwealth; and that he would oppoſe the bringing in, or ſetting up any ſingle perſon or houſe of lords in this commonwealth. They alſo ſent Mr. *Scot* and *Robinſon* to be ſpies upon his conduct, who came to him at Leiceſter, where he received addreſſes from divers parts, to reſtore the ſecluded preſbyterian members of 1648, which was the firſt ſtep towards the king's reſtoration. Thus a few giddy politicians at the head of an army, through ambition, envy, luſt of power, or becauſe they knew not what to carve out for themſelves, threw the whole kingdom back into confuſion, and made way for that reſtoration they were moſt afraid of, and which, without their own quarrels, and inſulting every form of government that had been ſet up, could not have been accompliſhed.

When the general came to St. Albans, he ſent a meſſage to deſire the parliament to remove the regiments quartered in the city to ſome diſtance, which they weakly complied with, and made way for *Monk*'s entrance with his forces in a ſort of triumph, February 3, 1659-60. Being conducted to the parliament-houſe, the ſpeaker gave him thanks for his great and many ſervices; and the general, having returned the compliment, acquainted the houſe, "that ſeveral applications had been made to him in his march from Scotland, for a full and free parliament; for the admiſſion of "the

" the ſecluded members in 1648, without any previous oath " or engagement, and that the preſent parliament would de- " termine their ſitting. To all which he had replied, that " they were now a *free* parliament, and had voted to fill up " their houſe in order to their being a *full* parliament; but " to reſtore the ſecluded members without a previous oath " to the preſent government, is what had never been done " in England; but he took the liberty to add, that he was " of opinion, that the fewer oaths the better, provided they " took care that neither the *cavaliers* nor *fanaticks* ſhould " have any ſhare in the adminiſtration."

The citizens of London being preſbyterians fell in with *Monk*, in hopes of a better eſtabliſhment, and came to a bold reſolution in common-council Feb. 17, to pay no more taxes till the parliament was filled up. Upon this the houſe, to ſhew their reſentments, ordered the general to march into the city; to ſeize eleven of the moſt active common-councilmen, and to pull down their gates, chains, and portculliſes. This was bidding them defiance, at a time when they ought to have courted their friendſhip. *Monk*, having arreſted the common-councilmen, prayed the parliament to ſuſpend the execution of the remaining part, but they inſiſting upon his compliance, he obeyed. The citizens were enraged at this act of violence; and *Monk*'s friends told him, that his embroiling himſelf with the city in this manner would inevitably be his ruin, for without their aſſiſtance he could neither ſupport himſelf, nor obtain another parliament; people being now generally of opinion with *O. Cromwell*, that *the rump parliament was deſigned to be perpetual, and their government as arbitrary as the moſt deſpotick king*. *Monk* therefore, convinced of his miſtake, reſolved to reconcile himſelf to the magiſtracy of the city, in order to which, he ſent his brother *Clarges* to aſſure them of his concern for what he had done; and having ſummoned a council of officers in the night, he ſent a letter to the parliament, inſiſting upon their iſſuing out writs to fill up their houſe, and when filled, to riſe at an appointed time, and give way to a full and free parliament. Upon reading this letter the houſe voted him thanks, and ſent to acquaint him, that they were taking meaſures to ſatisfy his requeſt; but the *general*, not willing

to

to truſt himſelf in their hands, broke up from Whitehall, and having been invited by the lord-mayor of London, and the chief preſbyterian miniſters, marched his whole army into the city; and a common-council being called, he excuſed his late conduct, and acquainted them with the letter he had ſent to the houſe, aſſuring them, that he would now ſtand by them to the utmoſt of his power. This appeaſed the angry citizens, and cauſed them to treat him as their friend, notwithſtanding what had happened the day before. When the news of this reconciliation was ſpread through the town, the parliament were ſtruck with ſurprize; but there was a perfect triumph among the people, the bells rung, bonfires were made, and numbers of *rumps* thrown into them, in contempt of the *parliament*.

The general, being now ſupported by the citizens, proceeded to reſtore the ſecluded members of 1648, who were of the preſbyterian party;§ for this purpoſe he appointed a conference between them and ſome of the ſitting members, which miſcarried, becauſe the ſitting members could not undertake that the parliament would ſtand to their agreement. Upon which *Monk* reſolved to reſtore them immediately by force, leſt the parliament and their army ſhould come to an accommodation, and diſlodge him from the city. Accordingly he ſummoned the ſecluded members to Whitehall, Feb. 21, and having acquainted them with his deſign, exhorted them to take care of the true intereſt of the nation, and told them, "that the citizens of London were for a *common-*
"*wealth*, the old foundations of *monarchy* being ſo broken
"that it could not be reſtored but upon the ruins of the
"people, who had engaged for the parliament; for if the
"king ſhould return (ſays he) he will govern by arbitrary
"will and power. Beſides, if the government of the ſtate
"be *monarchical*, the church muſt follow, and prelacy be
"brought in, which I know the nation cannot bear, and
"have ſworn againſt; and therefore a moderate, not a rigid
"preſbyterian government, with liberty of conſcience, will
"be the moſt acceptable way to the church's ſettlement."
He then obliged them to ſubſcribe the following articles:

§ Dr. *Grey* has given a liſt of thoſe ſecluded members. Examination, vol. iii. p. 250. ED.

* Kennet's Chron. p. 63, 64. "1. To

" 1. To ſettle the armies ſo as to preſerve the peace. 2. " To provide for their ſupport, and pay their arrears. 3. " To conſtitute a council of ſtate for Scotland and Ireland. " And 4. To call a new parliament and diſſolve the preſent." And ſo diſmiſſed them with a ſtrong party of guards to ſee them take their places in the houſe. This ſpeech was very different from what is pretended the general had in view, and ſeems to have been drawn up by ſome of the moderate preſbyterians, with whom he kept a cloſe correſpondence. And though he did not turn the members out of the houſe as *Cromwell* did, yet his diſcharging the parliament guards, and placing a ſtrong body of his own horſe at the door, without leave of the parliament, gave them ſufficiently to underſtand, what would be the conſequence of their making oppoſition.

The houſe thus enlarged became entirely preſbyterian. They ratified the vote of December 1648, viz. That the king's conceſſions at the Iſle of Wight were a ſufficient ground for peace.—They annulled the *engagement* of 1649. —They put the militia into new hands, with this limitation, that *none ſhould be employed in that truſt but who would firſt declare under their hands, that they believed the war raiſed by both houſes of parliament againſt the king was juſt and lawful, till ſuch time as force and violence was uſed upon the parliament in* 1648.—They repealed the oath of abjuration of *Charles Stuart*.—They appointed a new council of ſtate, and declared for a free commonwealth—for a learned and pious miniſtry—for the continuance of tithes, and for the augmentation of ſmaller livings by the tenths and firſt-fruits.—They reſolved to encourage the two univerſities, and all other ſchools of learning.—And (to content the *independents*) they voted, that proviſion ſhould be made for a due liberty of conſcience in matters of religion, according to the word of God.

Thus all things ſeemed to return to the condition they were in at the treaty of the Iſle of Wight. The preſbyterians being now again in the ſaddle, a day of thankſgiving was kept; after which the city miniſters petitioned for the redreſs of ſundry grievances; as, 1. " That a more effectual " courſe be taken againſt papiſts. 2. That the quakers be " prohibited

"prohibited opening their ſhops on the ſabbath-day. 3. "That the publick miniſters may not be diſturbed in their "publick ſervices." They requeſted the houſe to eſtabliſh the aſſembly's confeſſion of faith, directory, and catechiſms; to appoint perſons for approbation of miniſters, till the next parliament ſhould take further order; and to call another aſſembly of divines, to be choſen by the miniſters of the ſeveral counties, to heal the diviſions of the nation.*

In anſwer to theſe requeſts, the houſe agreed to a bill, March 2, for approbation of publick miniſters, according to the directory, and named Mr. *Manton*, and ſeveral others of the preſbyterian perſuaſion, for that ſervice; which paſſed into an act March 14. They declared for the aſſembly's confeſſion of faith, except the 30th and 31ſt chapters of diſcipline, and appointed a committee to prepare an act, declaring it to be the *publick confeſſion of faith of the church of England.* The act paſſed the houſe March 5, and was ordered to be printed; Dr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Manton*, and Mr. *Calamy*, to have the care of the preſs. On the ſame day they ordered *the ſolemn league and covenant* to be re-printed, and ſet up in every church in England, and read publickly by the miniſter once every year.

Thus preſbytery was reſtored to all the power it had ever enjoyed; and the miniſters of that perſuaſion were in full poſſeſſion of all the livings in England. A reform was made in the militia; and the chief places of profit, truſt, and honour, were put into their hands. The army was in diſgrace; the *independants* deprived of all their influence, and all things managed by the preſbyterians, ſupported by *Monk*'s forces. After this the long parliament paſſed an act for their own diſſolution, and for calling a new parliament to meet April 25, 1660, the candidates for which were to declare under their hands, *that the war againſt the late king was juſt and lawful*;† *and all who had aſſiſted in any war againſt the par-*

* Kennet's Chron. p. 52, 75.

† This was the requiſition put to ſuch as ſought a commiſſion in the army, rather than to candidates for a ſeat in parliament. though *Kennet*, in his margin, applies it to the eligibility of members. He ſays nothing of the candidates being obliged to *ſign* the declaration. So that Mr. *Neal* is not quite accurate in his ſtatement of this matter. ED.

liament ſince January 1, 1641, *they and their ſons, were made incapable of being elected, unleſs they had ſince manifeſted their good affection to the parliament.*‡ They then appointed *a new council of ſtate*, conſiſting of thirty-one perſons, to take care of the government; and diſſolved themſelves March 16, after they had ſat, with ſundry intermiſſions, nineteen years, four months, and thirteen days.

We are now come to the dawn of the reſtoration, of which general MONK has had the reputation of being the chief inſtrument. This gentleman was ſon of ſir *Thomas Monk*, of Potheridge in Devonſhire, and ſerved the king in the wars for ſome years, but being taken priſoner he changed ſides, and acted for the parliament. He afterwards ſerved *O. Cromwell*, and was by him left commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, from whence he now marched into England to reſtore the parliament. Lord *Clarendon* and *Eachard* ſay, "he was of a reſerved nature, of deep thoughts, and "of few words; and what he wanted in fine elocution he "had in ſound judgment. That he had a natural ſecrecy in "him, prevalent upon all his qualifications of a ſoldier; a "ſtrong body, a mind not eaſily diſordered, an invincible "courage, and a ſedate and uniform contempt of death, "without any frenzy of fanaticiſm or ſuperſtition to turn "his head." This is the language of flattery. Others have ſet him forth in a very different light; they admit, that he was bold and enterprizing, but had nothing of the gentleman, nor had any depth of contrivance; that he was perpetually wavering, and betrayed all whom he ſerved but *Cromwell*. *Ludlow* ſays, he was a man of a covetous temper, and of no principles; of a vicious life and ſcandalous converſation. Father *Orleans* ſays, that he was a man of ſlow underſtanding. And *Whitlocke* reports, that the French ambaſſador ſaid, he had neither ſenſe nor breeding. The truth is, he had a cloudy head, and in no action of his life diſcovered a quick or fine genius. In the latter part of life he was ſordidly covetous, and ſunk into moſt of the vices of the times. No man ever went beyond him in diſſimulation and falſehood, as appears in this very affair of the king's reſtoration. He took the *abjuration oath* once under *Oliver*;

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 85.

and

and again this very year, whereby he renounced the title of *Charles Stuart*, and ſwore *to be true to the commonwealth, without a ſingle perſon or houſe of lords.*§ And yet in his firſt meſſage to the king by ſir *John Grenville*, he aſſures his majeſty, *that his heart had been ever faithful to him, though he had not been in a condition to ſerve him till now.** When he came with his army to London, he aſſured the rump parliament of his chearful obedience to all their commands, and deſired them to be very careful that the cavalier party might have no ſhare in the civil or military power. When he reſtored the ſecluded members, he promiſed the parliament *to take effectual care that they ſhould do no hurt.* When the *commonwealth's men* expreſſed their fears, and aſked the general whether he would join with them againſt the king? he replied, *I have often declared my reſolution ſo to do*; and taking ſir *Arthur Haſlerigge* by the hand, he ſaid, *I do here proteſt to you, in the preſence of all theſe gentlemen, that I will oppoſe to the utmoſt, the ſetting up of* Charles Stuart, *a ſingle perſon, or a houſe of peers.* He then expoſtulated with them about their ſuſpicions; *What is it I have done in bringing theſe members into the houſe*, (ſays he) *are they not the ſame that brought the king to the block, though others cut off his head, and that juſtly?* And yet this very man, within ſix months, condemned theſe perſons to the gallows. Nay further, the general ſent letters to all the regiments, aſſuring *them that the government ſhould continue a* COMMONWEALTH, *that they had no purpoſe to return to their old bondage, that is, monarchy; and if any made diſturbances in favour of* Charles Stuart, *he deſired they might be ſecured.* So that if this gentleman was in the ſecret of reſtoring the king from his entrance into England, or his firſt coming to London, I may challenge all hiſtory to produce a ſcene of hypocriſy and diſſimulation equal to his conduct. Dr. *Welwood* adds,† that he acted the part of a politician much better than that of a chriſtian; and carried on the thread of diſſimulation with wonderful dexterity. Biſhop *Burnet* differs from the doctor, and ſays, that "though he had both the praiſe and the reward, yet "a very ſmall ſhare of the reſtoration belonged to him.— "The tide ran ſo ſtrong that the general only went into it

§ Welwood's Mem. p. 117, &c. * Hiſtory of the Stuarts, p. 459.

† Memoirs, p. 117, 120.

"dexterouſly

liament ſince January 1, 1641, *they and their ſons, were made incapable of being elected, unleſs they had ſince manifeſted their good affection to the parliament.*‡ They then appointed *a new council of ſtate*, conſiſting of thirty-one perſons, to take care of the government; and diſſolved themſelves March 16, after they had ſat, with ſundry intermiſſions, nineteen years, four months, and thirteen days.

We are now come to the dawn of the reſtoration, of which general MONK has had the reputation of being the chief inſtrument. This gentleman was ſon of ſir *Thomas Monk*, of Potheridge in Devonſhire, and ſerved the king in the wars for ſome years, but being taken priſoner he changed ſides, and acted for the parliament. He afterwards ſerved *O. Cromwell*, and was by him left commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, from whence he now marched into England to reſtore the parliament. Lord *Clarendon* and *Eachard* ſay, "he was of a reſerved nature, of deep thoughts, and "of few words; and what he wanted in fine elocution he "had in ſound judgment. That he had a natural ſecrecy in "him, prevalent upon all his qualifications of a ſoldier; a "ſtrong body, a mind not eaſily diſordered, an invincible "courage, and a ſedate and uniform contempt of death, "without any frenzy of fanaticiſm or ſuperſtition to turn "his head." This is the language of flattery. Others have ſet him forth in a very different light; they admit, that he was bold and enterprizing, but had nothing of the gentleman, nor had any depth of contrivance; that he was perpetually wavering, and betrayed all whom he ſerved but *Cromwell*. *Ludlow* ſays, he was a man of a covetous temper, and of no principles; of a vicious life and ſcandalous converſation. Father *Orleans* ſays, that he was a man of ſlow underſtanding. And *Whitlocke* reports, that the French ambaſſador ſaid, he had neither ſenſe nor breeding. The truth is, he had a cloudy head, and in no action of his life diſcovered a quick or fine genius. In the latter part of life he was ſordidly covetous, and ſunk into moſt of the vices of the times. No man ever went beyond him in diſſimulation and falſehood, as appears in this very affair of the king's reſtoration. He took the *abjuration oath* once under *Oliver*;

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 85.

and

and again this very year, whereby he renounced the title of *Charles Stuart*, and ſwore *to be true to the commonwealth, without a ſingle perſon or houſe of lords.*§ And yet in his firſt meſſage to the king by ſir *John Grenville*, he aſſures his majeſty, *that his heart had been ever faithful to him, though he had not been in a condition to ſerve him till now.** When he came with his army to London, he aſſured the rump parliament of his chearful obedience to all their commands, and deſired them to be very careful that the cavalier party might have no ſhare in the civil or military power. When he reſtored the ſecluded members, he promiſed the parliament *to take effectual care that they ſhould do no hurt.* When the *commonwealth's men* expreſſed their fears, and aſked the general whether he would join with them againſt the king? he replied, *I have often declared my reſolution ſo to do*; and taking ſir *Arthur Haſlerigge* by the hand, he ſaid, *I do here proteſt to you, in the preſence of all theſe gentlemen, that I will oppoſe to the utmoſt, the ſetting up of* Charles Stuart, *a ſingle perſon, or a houſe of peers.* He then expoſtulated with them about their ſuſpicions; *What is it I have done in bringing theſe members into the houſe*, (ſays he) *are they not the ſame that brought the king to the block, though others cut off his head, and that juſtly?* And yet this very man, within ſix months, condemned theſe perſons to the gallows. Nay further, the general ſent letters to all the regiments, aſſuring *them that the government ſhould continue a* COMMONWEALTH, *that they had no purpoſe to return to their old bondage, that is, monarchy; and if any made diſturbances in favour of* Charles Stuart, *he deſired they might be ſecured.* So that if this gentleman was in the ſecret of reſtoring the king from his entrance into England, or his firſt coming to London, I may challenge all hiſtory to produce a ſcene of hypocriſy and diſſimulation equal to his conduct. Dr. *Welwood* adds,† that he acted the part of a politician much better than that of a chriſtian; and carried on the thread of diſſimulation with wonderful dexterity. Biſhop *Burnet* differs from the doctor, and ſays, that "though he had both the praiſe and the reward, yet "a very ſmall ſhare of the reſtoration belonged to him.— "The tide ran ſo ſtrong that the general only went into it

§ Welwood's Mem. p. 117, &c. * Hiſtory of the Stuarts, p. 459.

† Memoirs, p. 117, 120.

"dexterouſly enough to get much fame and great rewards. "—If he had died ſoon after, he might have been more "juſtly admired; but he lived long enough to make it known "how falſe a judgment men are apt to make upon outward "appearance."*

But before we relate the particulars of the reſtoration, it will be proper to conſider the abject ſtate of the church of England, and the religion of the young king. If CROMWELL had lived ten or twelve years longer, epiſcopacy might have been loſt beyond recovery, for by that time the whole bench of biſhops would have been dead, and there would have been none to conſecrate or ordain for the future, unleſs they could have obtained a new conveyance from the church of Rome, or admitted the validity of preſbyterian ordination. This was the *caſe in view*, which induced ſome of the ancient biſhops to petition the king to fill up the vacant ſees with all expedition, in which they were ſupported by ſir *Edward Hyde*, chancellor of the *exchequer*, who prevailed with his majeſty to nominate certain clergymen for thoſe high preferments, and ſent over a liſt of the names to Dr. *Barwick*, to be communicated by him to the biſhops of London, Ely, Sarum, and others who were to be concerned in the conſecration. It was neceſſary to carry on this deſign with a great deal of ſecrecy, leſt the governing powers ſhould ſecure the biſhops, and by that means put a ſtop to the work. It was no leſs difficult to provide perſons of learning and character who would accept the charge, when it would expoſe them to ſufferings, as being contrary to the laws in being, and when there was no proſpect of reſtoring the church. But the greateſt difficulty of all was, how to do it in a canonical manner, when there were no *deans* and *chapters* to elect, and conſequently no perſons to receive a *congé d' elire*, according to antient cuſtom.

Several expedients were propoſed for removing this difficulty. Sir *Edward Hyde* was of opinion, that the proceeding ſhould be by a mandate from the king to any three or four biſhops, by way of collation, upon the lapſe, for the dean and chapters' non-election. But it was objected, that the ſuppoſal of a *lapſe* would impair the king's prerogative

* Burnet's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 126, 12mo.

more

more than the collation would advance it, becauſe it would preſuppoſe a power of election *pleno jure* in the deans and chapters, which they have only *de facultate regia*; nor could they petition for ſuch a licence, becauſe moſt of the deans were dead, ſome chapters extinguiſhed, and all of them ſo diſturbed, that they could not meet in the chapter-houſe, where ſuch acts regularly are to be performed.

Dr. *Barwick*,* who was in England, and correſponded with the *chancellor*, propoſed, that his majeſty ſhould grant his commiſſion to the biſhops of each province reſpectively, aſſembled in provincial council, or otherwiſe, as ſhould be moſt convenient, to elect and conſecrate fit perſons for the vacant ſees, with ſuch diſpenſative clauſes as ſhould be found neceſſary upon the emergency of the caſe, (his majeſty fig-

* The Dr. *Barwick*, to whom Mr. *Neal* refers, was a ſingular and eminent character at this period; an active and zealous adherent to the kings *Charles* I. and II. He managed with great addreſs and dexterity the correſpondence of the firſt with the city of London, when he was at Oxford. He correſponded with the ſecond, while he was abroad: and was ſent by the biſhops, as will afterwards appear, with their inſtructions to him at Breda, where he preached before him, and was made one of his chaplains. He had the chief hand in the "Querela Cantabrigienſis," and wrote againſt the covenant. It was much owing to his influence, that the Cambridge plate was preſented to the king: and he is ſaid to have furniſhed lord *Clarendon* with a great part of the materials for his hiſtory. He was ſo dextrous in all his communications, as to elude the vigilance of *Thurloe*. He was born April 20, 1612, at Wetherſlack in Weſtmoreland, and received his claſſical learning at Sedberg-School in Yorkſhire, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by acting the part of *Hercules* in one of *Seneca*'s tragedies. In the eighteenth year of his age he was ſent to St. John's college, Cambridge. Where, ſo eminent were his abilities and attainment, he was choſen, when he was little more than twenty, by the members of his college, to be their advocate in a controverted election of a maſter, which was heard before the privy-council. He reſided, ſome time, in Durham-Houſe in London, as chaplain to the biſhop, Dr. *Morton*; who beſtowed on him a prebend in his cathedral, and the rich rectories of Wolſingham and of Houghton-in-le-Spring. In 1660, *Charles* II. promoted him to the deanery of Durham; and before the end of the year he was removed from that dignity to the deanery of St. Paul's. On the 18th of February, 1661, he was choſen prolocutor of the convocation. He died in the year 1664, aged fifty-two. He united in his character, with his loyalty, ſincere devotion with ſanctity of manners, and an undaunted ſpirit under his ſufferings in the royal cauſe, for which he was impriſoned in a dungeon in the Tower. He was then far gone in a conſumption; but living upon gruel and vegetables, he, after ſome time, recovered to a miracle. See his Life, and Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 257, 8vo. ED.

nifying

nifying his pleaſure concerning the perſons, and the ſees,) which commiſſion may bare date before the action, and then afterward upon certificate, and petition to have his majeſty's ratification and confirmation of the whole proceſs, and the regiſter to be drawn up accordingly by the chief actuary, who may take his memorials hence, and make up the record there.*

Dr. *Bramhall*, biſhop of Derry, was for the Iriſh way, where the king has an abſolute power of nomination, and therefore no way ſeemed to him ſo ſafe as conſecrating the perſons nominated to void ſees in Ireland, and then removing them to others in England, which he apprehended would clearly elude all thoſe formalities which ſeemed to perplex the affair; but this was thought an ill precedent, as it opened a door for deſtroying the privileges of the church of England in their capitular elections. The old biſhop of *Ely* was ſo far from wiſhing, with Dr. *Bramhall*, that the Iriſh method might be introduced into England, that he ſaid, if he ſhould live to ſee the church reſtored, he would be an humble ſuitor to his majeſty, that the privileges of the Engliſh church, in their elections of biſhops, might be introduced into Ireland.

Dr. *Wren* biſhop of Ely, and Dr. *Coſins* of Peterborough, were for an expedient ſomething like the ſecond, to which the court agreed, and Mr. chancellor *Hyde* wrote to Dr. *Barwick* for the form of ſuch a commiſſion as they judged proper, and urged, that it might be diſpatched with all poſſible expedition. The chancellor had this affair very much at heart, but the old biſhops were fearful leſt it ſhould be diſcovered, in which caſe they were ſure to be the ſufferers. Dr. *Brownrigge* of Exeter, and Dr. *Skinner* of Oxford, declined meddling in the affair; the reſt declared their willingneſs to advance the work, but lived in hopes there might be no occaſion for the hazard. The chancellor, in one of his letters ſays, *the king was much troubled that no more care was taken of the church, by thoſe who ſhould be the guardians of it.* He cenſures the ſlowneſs of the clergy, and ſays, it was very indecent, that when their afflicted mother was in extremity, any of her ſons ſhould be timorous and fearful.

* Life of Barwick, p. 204. Kennet's Chron. p. 14, 15.

Such

Such were the chancellor's narrow principles, who ſeemed to hang the eſſence of chriſtianity, and the virtue of all divine ordinances, upon the conveyance of eccleſiaſtical power by an uninterrupted ſucceſſion from the apoſtles.

The nonjurors had the like *caſe in view* after the revolution, and provided for it in the beſt manner they could. But is not the chriſtian world in a ſad condition, if the chriſtian biſhop cannot be choſen or conſecrated without a royal mandate, and the ſuffrage of a dean and chapter, when there were no ſuch officers in the church for three hundred years after the apoſtles? and if the validity of all ſacerdotal miniſtrations muſt depend on a regular uninterrupted ſucceſſion from St. *Peter?* eſpecially as *Baronius* a popiſh hiſtorian confeſſes, that in a ſucceſſion of fifty popes not one pious or virtuous man ſat in the chair; that there had been no popes for ſome years together; and at other times two or three at once; and when the ſame writer admits, between twenty and thirty ſchiſms, one of which continued fifty years, the popes of Avignon and Rome excommunicating each other, and yet conferring orders upon their ſeveral clergy. How impoſſible is it to trace the right line through ſo much confuſion?

But with regard to the king, his concern for the regular conſecration of proteſtant biſhops was a mere farce; for if he was not a papiſt before this time, it is certain he was reconciled to the church of Rome this year, at the *Pyrenæan* treaty concluded between France and Spain at Fontarabia, whither he had repaired *incognito* to engage them in his intereſt. Here the king ſtayed twenty days, in which time his majeſty, with the earl of *Briſtol* and ſir *H. Bennet* embraced the Roman-catholick religion. The ſecret of this affair was well known to lord *Clarendon*, though he is pleaſed to mention it with great tenderneſs. "It is believed, ſays his lordſhip, by "wiſe men, that in that treaty ſomewhat was agreed to the "prejudice of the proteſtant intereſt; and that in a ſhort time "there would have been much done againſt it, both in France "and Germany, if the meaſures they had then taken had not "been ſhortly broken, chiefly by the ſurprizing revolution "in England, which happened the next year, and alſo by "the death of the two great favourites of the two crowns, "*Don Lewis de Haro*, and cardinal *Mazarine*, who both "died

" died not long after it."† But the ſecret of the king's reconciliation to the church of Rome has been more fully acknowledged of late years, by the eldeſt ſon of lord *Clarendon*, and by the duke of *Ormond*, who declared to ſeveral perſons of honour, that " he himſelf, to his great ſurpriſe " and concern, accidentally in a morning early, ſaw the king " in the great church on his knees before the high altar, " with ſeveral prieſts and eccleſiaſticks about him. That he " was ſoon after confirmed in his ſentiments by ſir *Henry* " *Bennet* and the earl of *Briſtol*, who both owned the king " to be a catholick as well as themſelves; but it was agreed, " that this change ſhould be kept as the greateſt ſecret ima- " ginable." There is another ſtory (ſays biſhop *Kennet*) which I have reaſon to think true: " Sir *H. Bennet* was ſoon " after ſeen to wait on the king from maſs, at which ſight " the lord *Culpeper* had ſo much indignation, that he went " up to *Bennet*, and ſpoke to this effect; *I ſee what you are* " *at; is this the way to bring our maſter home to his three* " *kingdoms? Well, Sir, if ever you and I live to ſee England* " *together, I will have your head, or you ſhall have mine;* " which words ſtruck ſuch a terror upon ſir *Harry Bennet*, " that he never durſt ſet his foot in England till after the " death of lord *Culpeper*, who met with a very ſurpriſing " end, ſoon after the king's return."‡

But though the prime miniſters of France and Spain were now firſt witneſſes of his majeſty's abjuring the proteſtant religion, there are ſtrong preſumptions that he was a papiſt long before, even before his brother *James*, if we may credit the teſtimony of his confeſſor *Father Huddleſton*.* To the proofs of this fact already mentioned under the year 1652, I would add the teſtimony of the author of the Myſtery of Iniquity, printed 1689, who writes thus; " The " king's [*Charles* the ſecond's] apoſtacy, is not of ſo late a " date as the world is made commonly to believe, for though " it was many years concealed, and the contrary pretended " and diſſembled, yet it is certain he abjured the proteſtant " religion ſoon after the exilement of the royal family, and " was reconciled to the church of Rome at St. Germains in

† Eachard, p. 751. ‡ Kennet, p. 238.

* Welwood's Memoirs, p. 126.

" France.

"France. Nor were ſeveral of the then ſuffering biſhops "and clergy ignorant of this, though they had neither in- "tegrity nor courage to give the nation warning of it."§ Biſhop *Burnet*, in the *Hiſtory of his Life and Times*, confirms this teſtimony from the cardinal miniſter, who ſent an adver- tiſement of it to the biſhop himſelf; he ſays, "that before "the king left Paris, (which was in June 1654) he changed "his religion, but by whoſe perſuaſion is not yet known, "only cardinal *De Retz* was in the ſecret, and lord *Aubigny* "had a great hand in it. Chancellor *Hyde* had ſome ſuſpi- "cion of it, but would not ſuffer himſelf to believe it quite."‖ And ſir *Allen Broderick* declared upon his death-bed, that king *Charles* the ſecond made profeſſion of the popiſh re- ligion at Fontainbleau, before he was ſent out of France to Cologne.

The Dutch proteſtants ſuſpected the change, but the king denied it in the moſt publick manner; for when he was at Bruſſels in the year 1658, he wrote the following letter to the reverend Mr. *Caruton*, the preſbyterian miniſter of the Engliſh congregation at Rotterdam.

"CHARLES REX.

"TRUSTY and well-beloved, we greet you well. We "have received ſo full teſtimony of your affection to our per- "ſon, and zeal for our ſervice, that we are willing to recom- "mend an affair to you in which we are much concerned. "We do not wonder, that the malice of our enemies ſhould "continue to lay all manner of ſcandals upon us, but are "concerned that they ſhould find credit with any *to make "our affection to the proteſtant religion ſuſpected, ſince the world "cannot but take notice of our conſtant and uninterrupted pro- "feſſion of it in all places.—No man has, or can more mani- "feſt his affection to, and zeal for the proteſtant religion than "we have done.* Now, as you cannot but have much con- "verſation with the miniſters of the Dutch church, we "preſume and expect that you will uſe your utmoſt diligence "and dexterity to root out thoſe unworthy aſperſions, ſo ma- "liciouſly and groundleſly laid upon us by wicked men;

§ Kennet's Chron. p. 598. ‖ Burnet, vol. i. p. 103, 4, 12mo.

"and

" and that you aſſure all that will give credit to you, that " we value ourſelves ſo much upon that part of our title, of " being *defender of the faith*, that no worldly conſideration " can ever prevail with us to ſwerve from it, and the pro- " teſtant religion in which we have been bred, the propaga- " tion whereof we ſhall endeavour with our utmoſt power. " Given at Bruxels, Nov. 7, in the 10th year of our reign."

To carry on the diſguiſe, Dr. *Morley*, afterwards biſhop of Wincheſter, was employed to write an apologetical letter to Dr. *Trigland*, the Dutch miniſter at the Hague, to aſſert and prove the king's ſtedfaſtneſs to the reformed faith and communion. The letter was dated June 7, 1659, a little before the king's going to the *Pyrenæan* treaty, to engage the Roman catholick powers for his reſtoration.§

But to confirm the preſbyterians further, and to put an end to all ſuſpicions of his majeſty's being turned papiſt, ſir *Robert Murray* and the counteſs of *Balcarres* were employed to engage the moſt eminent reformed miniſters in France, to write to their preſbyterian brethren in England, and aſſure them *of the king's ſtedfaſtneſs in the proteſtant faith*, and to excuſe his not joining with the church at Charenton. Accordingly theſe credulous miniſters, not being acquainted with the ſecret, wrote to their brethren at London to the following purpoſe:

Monſieur *Raymond Gaches*, paſtor of the reformed church at Paris, to the reverend Mr. *Baxter*, March 23, 1659-60. —" I know what odium has been caſt upon the king; ſome " are diſſatisfied in his conſtancy to the true religion.—I " will not anſwer what truly may be ſaid, that it belongs not " to ſubjects to enquire into the prince's religion: be he " what he will, if the right of reigning belongs to him, " obedience in civil matters is his due. *But this prince never* " *departed from the publick profeſſion of the true religion;* nor " did he diſdain to be preſent at our religious aſſemblies at " Roan and Rochel, though he never graced our church at " Paris with his preſence, which truly grieved us.—"*

Monſieur *Drelincourt*, another of the French paſtors at Paris, writes March 24,—" A report is here, that the thing " which will hinder the king's reſtoration, is the opinion

§ Kennet's Chron. p. 95. * Ibid. p. 91, 92.

" conceived

"conceived by ſome, of his being turned Roman catholick,
"and the fear that in time he will ruin the proteſtant religion.
"But I ſee no ground for the report, his majeſty making no
"profeſſion of it, but on the contrary has rejected all the
"aids and advantages offered him upon that condition.—
"Charity is not jealous, and if it forbids us to ſuſpect on
"ſlight grounds private perſons, how can it approve jea-
"louſies upon perſons ſo ſacred! Beſides, there are in the
"king's family, and among his domeſticks, ſome gentlemen
"of our religion, and my old friends; who at ſeveral times
"have given me aſſurances of the piety of this prince, and
"his ſtability in the profeſſion he makes. Your preſbyte-
"rians are now entruſted with the honour of our churches;
"if they recal this prince without the intervening of any
"foreign power, they will acquire to themſelves immortal
"glory, and ſtop their mouths for ever, who charge us
"falſely as enemies to royalty, and make appear that the
"maxim, *No biſhop, no king*, is falſely imputed to us.—"

The famous monſieur *Daillé* of Paris, in his letter of April 7, 1660, writes to the ſame purpoſe:—"I know it is re-
"ported that the king has changed his religion; but who
"can believe a thing ſo contrary to all probability? No-
"thing of this appears to us; on the contrary we well know,
"that when he has reſided in places where the exerciſe of
"his religion is not permitted, he has always had his chap-
"lains with him, who have regularly performed divine ſer-
"vice. Moreover, all Paris knows the anger the king ex-
"preſſed at the endeavours that were uſed to pervert the
"duke of Gloceſter. And though it is objected, that he
"never came to our church at Charenton, yet as we are
"better informed of this than any one, we can teſtify, that
"religion was not the cauſe of it, but that it was upon po-
"litical and prudential conſiderations, which may be pecu-
"liar to our church, for he has gone to ſermon in Caen,
"and ſome other towns; and in Holland he heard ſome ſer-
"mons from the famous monſieur *More*, our preſent col-
"league. Thus, ſir, it is more clear than the day, that what-
"ſoever has been reported till this time, of the change of
"this prince's religion, is a mere calumny.—"†

† Kennet's Chron. p. 94, 95.

Monſieur

Monſieur *de L'Angle*, miniſter of the proteſtant church at Rouen, wrote upon the ſame ſubject to his friend in London, more fully to evidence the king's ſtedfaſtneſs in the proteſtant religion. Theſe letters were printed and induſtriouſly ſpread over the whole kingdom.

The king himſelf in his letter to the houſe of commons ſays, "Do you deſire the advancement of the proteſtant religion? We have by our conſtant profeſſion and practice "given ſufficient teſtimony to the world, that *neither the unkindneſs of thoſe of the ſame faith towards us, nor the civilities and proteſtations of thoſe of a contrary profeſſion, could in the leaſt degree ſtartle us, or make us ſwerve from it.*"

It is a ſurpriſing reflection of Mr. *Baxter*,* upon occaſion of theſe letters: "Theſe divines (ſays he) knew nothing of "the ſtate of affairs in England. They knew not thoſe "men who were to be reſtored with the king. They pray "(ſays he) for the ſucceſs of my labours, when they are "perſuading me to put an end to my labours by ſetting up "thoſe *prelates*, who will ſilence me and many hundreds "more. They perſuade me to that which will ſeparate me "from my flock, and then pray, that I may be a bleſſing "to them; and yet (ſays he) I am for reſtoring the king, "that when we are ſilenced, and our miniſtry at an end, and "ſome of us lie in priſons, we may there and in that condition, have peace of conſcience in the diſcharge of our "duty, and the exerciſe of faith, patience, and charity in our "ſufferings." Was there ever ſuch reaſoning as this! But the reader will make his own remarks upon theſe extraordinary paragraphs.

To return back to general *Monk* in Scotland. As long as the army governed affairs at Weſtminſter, the *general* was on their ſide, and entertained Mr. *John Collins*, an *independant* miniſter, for his chaplain; but upon the quarrel between the army and parliament, and *Monk*'s declaring for the latter, it was apprehended he had changed ſides, and would fall in with the *preſbyterians*; upon which Mr. *Caryl* and *Barker* were ſent to Scotland with a letter from Dr. *Owen*, expreſſing their fears of the danger of their religious

* Life, part ii. p. 216.

liberties

liberties upon a revolution of government. The general received them with all the marks of eſteem; and after a few days returned the following anſwer, in a letter directed to Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Greenhill*, and Mr. *Hook*, to be communicated to the churches, in and about London.

" *Hon. and dear friends*,

" I Received yours, and am very ſenſible of your kind-
" neſs expreſſed to the army in Scotland, in ſending ſuch
" honourable and reverend perſons, whom we received with
" thankfulneſs and great joy as the meſſengers of the
" churches, and the miniſters of *Chriſt* of theſe three na-
" tions. *I do promiſe you for myſelf, and the reſt of the officers*
" *here, that your intereſt, liberty, and encouragement, ſhall be*
" *very dear to us.* And we ſhall take this as a renewed ob-
" ligation to aſſert to the utmoſt, what we have already de-
" clared to the churches of Jeſus Chriſt. I doubt not, but
" you have received ſatisfaction of our inclinations to a
" peaceable accommodation. I do hope, that ſome diffe-
" rences being obviated, we ſhall obtain a fair compoſure.
" *I do aſſure you, that the great things that have been upon*
" *my heart to ſecure and provide for, are our liberties and*
" *freedom, as the ſubjects and ſervants of Jeſus Chriſt, which*
" *we have conveyed to us in the covenant of grace, aſſured*
" *in the promiſes purchaſed by the blood of our Saviour for*
" *us, and given as his great legacy to his church and people;*
" in compariſon of which we eſteem all other things as
" dung and droſs, but as they have a relation to, and de-
" pendance upon this noble end. The others are our laws
" and rights as men, which muſt have their eſteem in the
" ſecond place; for which many members of the churches
" have been eminent inſtruments to labour in ſweat and blood
" for theſe eighteen years laſt paſt, and our anceſtors for
" many hundred years before; the ſubſtance of which may
" be reduced to a *parliamentary government, and the people's*
" *conſenting to the laws by which they are governed.* That
" theſe privileges of the nation may be ſo bounded, that the
" churches may have both ſecurity and ſettlement, is my
" great deſire, and of thoſe with me. So that I hope you
" will own theſe juſt things, and give us that aſſiſtance that

" becomes

" becomes the churches of Chriſt, in purſuance of this work.
" And we do aſſure you, we ſhall comply as far as poſſible,
" with reſpect had to the ſecurity and ſafety of the nation,
" and the preſervation of our ancient birth-right and liberties.
" And we ſhall pray, that we may be kept from going out
" of God's way in doing God's work.

" I do, in the name of the whole army and myſelf, give
" all our affectionate thanks for this your work of love;
" and though we are not able to make ſuch returns as are
" in our hearts and deſires to do, yet we ſhall endeavour
" by all ways and means, to expreſs our care and love to
" the churches, and ſhall leave the reward to him who is
" the God of peace, and has in ſpecial aſſured all bleſſings
" to the peace-makers. I conclude with the words of
" *David*, 1 Sam. xxv. 32, Bleſſed be the Lord God of
" Iſrael, and bleſſed be your advice, and bleſſed be you all.
" Now the Lord God be a wall of fire round about you,
" and let his preſence be in his churches, and they filled with
" his glory. I have no more, but to intreat your prayers
" for an happy iſſue of this unhappy difference; which is
" the prayer of him, who is, reverend ſirs, and dear friends,
" your very affectionate brother and ſervant,

" Edinburgh, Nov. 23, 1659. *G. Monk.*"

In one of the general's letters to the parliament, written about June 1659, he declares ſtrongly for liberty of conſcience, and an abſolute commonwealth, in language which in another would be called the *fumes of fanaticiſm*. " You
" are the people (ſays he) who have filled the world with
" wonder, but nothing is difficult to faith; and the promiſes
" of God are ſure and certain. We acknowledge that we
" ourſelves have very much contributed to the Lord's de-
" parting from our Iſrael, but we ſee God's hour is come,
" and the time of the people's deliverance, even the ſet
" time is at hand. *He cometh ſkipping over all the mountains*
" *of ſin, and unworthineſs, &c.* We humbly beſeech you,
" not to heal the wounds of the daughter of God's people
" ſlightly, but to make ſo ſure and laſting proviſion for both
" chriſtian and civil rights, as both this and future genera-
" tions may have cauſe to riſe up and call you bleſſed, and

" the

"the blackeſt of deſigns may never be able to caſt dirt in "your faces any more.—"† He then deſires them to encourage none but godly miniſters and magiſtrates, that no yoke may be impoſed upon conſcience but what is agreeable to the word of God, and that they would eſtabliſh the government in a *free* ſtate or commonwealth. Signed by general *Monk* and twenty-five of his chief officers.

Upon the *general*'s coming to London, he was transformed at once into a zealous preſbyterian, and thought no more of the independant churches; he received the ſacrament at Mr. *Calamy*'s church, and would ſuffer none to preach before him but whom *he* approved. He conſulted the preſbyterian miniſters, and aſked their advice in all important affairs. It ſeems theſe were the gentlemen that beat him out of his commonwealth principles, if we may believe the reverend Mr. *Sharp*, afterwards archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, whoſe words are theſe, in one of his letters to the reverend Mr. *Douglas* in Scotland, "Sunday laſt, March 11, the general "ſent his coach for Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Aſh*, and me; we had "a long converſation with him in private, and convinced "him, that a *commonwealth* was impracticable; and to our "ſenſe beat him off that ſconce he has hitherto maintained. "—We urged upon him, that the *preſbyterian intereſt which "he had eſpouſed*, was much concerned in keeping up this "houſe, and ſettling the government upon terms. But the "ſubtle general replied, that in regard he had declared ſo "lately againſt a houſe of lords, and the continuing this "houſe of commons, he could not ſo reputably do it."§ Afterwards, when ſome gentlemen of quality, ſuſpecting the *king* to be at the bottom, were earneſt with the general, that if the king muſt be brought in by the next parliament, it might be *upon the terms of his late majeſty's conceſſions at the Iſle of Wight*; the general at firſt recoiled, and declared he would adhere to a *commonwealth*; but at laſt ſeeming to be conquered into a compliance, he intimated to them, that *this was the utmoſt line he could or would advance in favour of the king;* and yet when this was moved in the convention parliament by ſir *Matthew Hale*, the general ſtood up, and

† Welwood's Memoirs, Appendix, No. xi.

§ Kennet's Chron. p. 81.

declared

declared againſt all conditions, and threatened them that ſhould encourage ſuch a motion with all the miſchiefs that might follow. Thus the credulous preſbyterians were gradually drawn into the ſnare, and made to believe, that *preſbytery* was to be the eſtabliſhed government of the church of England under king *Charles* II.

The Scots were equally concerned in this affair, and much more zealous for their diſcipline. The *general* therefore ſent letters to the kirk, with the ſtrongeſt aſſurances that he would take care of their diſcipline.* But the Scots, not willing to truſt him, commiſſioned Mr. *Sharp* to be their agent, and gave him inſtructions to uſe his beſt endeavours, that the kirk of Scotland might, without interruption or encroachment, enjoy the freedom and liberty of her eſtabliſhed judicatories, and to repreſent the ſinfulneſs and offenſiveneſs of a *toleration* in that kingdom. *Sharp* was to concert meaſures with Mr. *Calamy*, *Aſh*, *Manton*, and *Cowper*; but theſe gentlemen being not very zealous for the diſcipline, *Sharp* informed his principals, that it was feared the king would come in, and with him moderate epiſcopacy, at leaſt in England, but that the more zealous party were doing what they could to keep on foot the covenant. To which *Douglaſs* replied, "It is beſt that the preſbyterian government be ſet-"tled ſimply, for you know that the judgment of honeſt "men here is for admitting the king on no other but co-"venant terms."

The *independants* and *anabaptiſts* were in ſuch diſgrace, that their leaders had not the honour of being conſulted in this weighty affair. General *Monk* and the preſbyterians were united, and had force ſufficient to ſupport their claims: the tide was with them, and the parliament at their mercy. The independants offered to ſtand by their friends in parliament, and to raiſe four new regiments from among themſelves, to force the general back into Scotland. Dr. *Owen* and Mr. *Nye* had frequent conſultations with Mr. *Whitlocke* and *St. John*; and at a private treaty with the officers at Wallingford-Houſe, offered to raiſe one hundred thouſand pounds for the uſe of the army, provided they would protect them in their religious liberties, which they were apprehen-

* Kennet's Chron. p. 50.

ſive

ſive *Monk* and the preſbyterians deſigned to ſubvert; but thoſe officers had loſt their credit; their meaſures were diſconcerted and broken; one party was for a treaty and another for the ſword, but it was too late; their old veteran regiments were diſlodged from the city, and *Monk* in poſſeſſion. In this confuſion their general *Fleetwood*, who had brought them into this diſtreſs, retired, and left them a body without a head, after which they became inſignificant, and in a few months quite contemptible. Here ended the power of the army, and of the independants.

Being now to take leave of this people, it may be proper to obſerve, that the *independants* ſprang up and mightily increaſed in the time of the civil wars, and had the reputation of a wiſe and politick people: they divided from the preſbyterians upon the foot of diſcipline, and fought in the parliament's quarrel, not ſo much for hire and reward, as from a real belief that it was *the cauſe of God*; this inſpired their ſoldiers with courage, and made them face death with undaunted bravery, in ſo much that when the army was new modelled, and filled up with men of this principle, they carried all before them. When the war was ended, they boldly ſeized the perſon of the king, and treated him with honour till they found him unſteady to his promiſes of a *toleration of their principles*, and then they became his moſt determined enemies; when they were aſſured afterwards by the treaty of the Iſle of Wight, that they were to be cruſhed between both parties, and to loſe their religious liberty, for which they had been fighting, they tore up the government by the roots, and ſubverted the whole conſtitution. This they did, not in conſequence of their religious principles, but to ſecure their own ſafety and liberty. After the king's death they aſſumed the chief management of publick affairs, and would not part with it on any terms, leſt they ſhould be diſbanded and called to account by a parliamentary power, and therefore they could never come to a ſettlement, though they attempted it under ſeveral forms: the firſt was an *abſolute commonwealth*, as moſt agreeable to their principles, but when the commonwealth began to clip their military wings, they diſpoſſeſſed them, and ſet up their own general, with the title of *protector*, who had ſkill enough to keep

them in awe, though they were continually plotting againſt his government. After his death they diſpoſſeſſed his ſon, and reſtored the commonwealth. When theſe again attempted to diſband them, they turned them out a ſecond time, and ſet up themſelves under the title of a *committee of ſafety;* but they wanted *Oliver*'s head, their new general *Fleetwood* having neither courage nor conduct enough to keep them united. Thus they crumbled into factions, while their wanton ſporting with the ſupreme power, made the nation ſick of ſuch diſtractions, and yield to the return of the old conſtitution.

The officers were made up chiefly of independants and anabaptiſts, moſt of them of mean extraction, and far from being as able ſtateſmen as they had been fortunate ſoldiers; they were brave and reſolute men, who had the cauſe of religion and liberty at heart; but they neglected the old nobility and gentry ſo much, that when they fell to pieces, there was hardly a gentleman of eſtate or intereſt in his country that would ſtand by them. As to their moral character, they ſeem to have been men of piety and prayer; they called God into all their councils, but were too much governed by the falſe notions they had imbibed, and the enthuſiaſtick impulſes of their own minds. I do not find that they conſulted any number of their clergy, though many of the independent miniſters were among the moſt learned and eminent preachers of the times, as Dr. *Goodwin*, *Owen*, *Nye*, and *Greenhill*, &c. ſome of whom had no ſmall reputation for politicks; but their pulling down ſo many forms of government, without adhering ſteadily to any, iſſued in their ruin. Thus as the army and independants outwitted the preſbyterians in 1648, the preſbyterians in conjunction with the Scots blew up the independants at this time; and next year the epiſcopal party, by dexterous management of the credulous preſbyterians, undermined and deceived them both.

This year died Dr. *Ralph Brownrigge* biſhop of Exeter, born at Ipſwich in the year 1592, educated in Pembroke-hall, Cambridge, and at length choſen maſter of Katherine-hall in that univerſity.* He was alſo prebendary of Durham, and

* He was eſteemed one of the greateſt ornaments of his time to this ſeminary. He was one of thoſe excellent men with whom archbiſhop *Til-*

lotſon

rector of Barly in Hertfordshire. In the year 1641, he was nominated to the see of Exeter, and installed June 1, 1642, but the wars between the king and parliament did not allow him the enjoyment of his dignity. He was nominated one of the assembly of divines; and was vice-chancellor of the university of Cambridge in the year 1644, when the earl of *Manchester* visited it; and complied so far as to keep his mastership till the next year, when he was deprived for a sermon he preached upon the anniversary of his majesty's inauguration. He was no favourer of archbishop *Laud*'s innovations;‡ for while he was vice-chancellor he sent for one of Mr. *Barwick*'s pupils, and said to him, "I wonder your "tutor, no ill man in other respects, does not yet abstain "from that form of worship [bowing towards the East] "which he knows is disagreeable to our excellent parlia-"ment, and not very acceptable to God himself; but be "you careful to steer your course clear of the dangerous "rock of every error, whether it savour of the impiety of "*arminianism*, or of the superstition of popery."†

He was succeeded by Dr. *Spurstow*; and suffered in common with the rest of the bishops; but being a *calvinist*, and a person of great temper and moderation, he was allowed by the protector *Cromwell* to be a preacher at the Temple, in which employment he died, Dec. 7, 1659, about the sixty-seventh year of his age. Dr. *Gauden* says,

lotson cultivated an acquaintance at his first coming to London, and by whose preaching and example he formed himself. His sermons were not exceeded by any published in that period; and they derived great advantage in the delivery, from the dignity of his person, and the justness of his elocution. Granger's History of England, vol. ii. p. 161, 8vo. Ed.

‡ Dr. *Grey* neglects not to inform the reader, on the authority of Dr. *Gauden*, that bishop *Brownrigge* was tenacious of the doctrine, worship, devotion, and government of the church of England; "which, he said, he "liked better and better as he grew older." He seems to have been very free in his advice to *Cromwell:* for when the protector, with some shew of respect to him, demanded his judgment in some publick affairs, then at a *nonplus*, bishop *Brownrigge*, with his wonted gravity and freedom, replied, "My lord, the best counsel I can give you is that of our Saviour, *Render* "*unto* CÆSAR *the things that are* CÆSAR'S, *and unto God the things that* "*are God's:*" with which free answer the protector rested rather silenced than satisfied. Dr. *Grey*'s Examination, vol. iii. p. 258. Ed.

† Life of Barwick, p. 17.

he was a perſon of great candour, ſweetneſs, gravity and, ſolidity of judgment. He was conſulted by Mr. *Baxter*, and others, in ſeveral points of controverſy, and was indeed a moſt humble chriſtian, and very patient under moſt ſevere fits of the ſtone, which were very acute and tedious for ſome time before his death.

The reverend Mr. *Charles Herle*, ſometime prolocutor of the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter, was born of honourable parents at Prideaux-Herle, near Lyſtwithyel in Cornwall, in the year 1598.* He was educated in Exeter college, Oxon. In the year 1618, he took the degrees in arts, and was afterwards rector of Winwick in Lancaſhire, one of the richeſt livings in England, and was always eſteemed a puritan. When the wars broke out, he took part with the parliament, was elected one of the members of the aſſembly of divines, and upon the death of Dr. *Twiſſe* in 1646, was appointed prolocutor. After the king's death, he retired to his living at Winwick, and was in very high eſteem with all the clergy in that country. In the year 1654, he was appointed one of the aſſiſtant commiſſioners for ejecting ſcandalous miniſters, together with Mr. *Iſaac Ambroſe* and Mr. *Gee*. He was a moderate preſbyterian, and left behind him ſome practical and controverſial writings. Mr. *Fuller* ſays,‖ he was ſo much of a chriſtian, ſcholar, and gentleman, that he could agree in affection with thoſe who differed from him in judgment. He died at his parſonage at Winwick in the ſixty-firſt year of his age, and was buried in his own church, Sept. 29, 1659.

The reverend Mr. *Thomas Cawton*, born at Raynham in Norfolk, and educated in Queen's college, Cambridge; he was afterwards miniſter of Wivenhoe in Eſſex, 1637, and at laſt of St. Bartholomew behind the Exchange. He was (ſays the Oxford hiſtorian†) a learned and religious puritan, driven into exile for preaching againſt the murder of king *Charles* I. and for being in the ſame plot with Mr. *Love*, for raiſing money to ſupply the army of king *Charles* II. when he was coming into England to recover his right. He

* Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 151, 2.

‖ Fuller's Worthies, p. 205. † Wood's Athenæ Ox. vol. ii. p. 432.

fled

fled to Rotterdam, and became preacher to the Engliſh church there, where he died Auguſt 7, 1659, in the fifty-fourth year of his age.§

The new year [1660] began with the reſtoration of king *Charles* II. to the throne of his anceſtors. The long parliament diſſolved themſelves March 16, and while the people were buſy in chooſing a new one, general *Monk* was courted by all parties. The *republicans* endeavoured to fix him for a commonwealth; the French ambaſſador offered him the aſſiſtance of France, if he would aſſume the government either as *king* or *protector*, which, it is ſaid, he would have accepted, if ſir *Anthony Aſhley Cooper* had not prevented it, by ſummoning him before the council, and keeping the doors locked till he had taken away the commiſſions from ſome of his moſt truſty officers, and given them to others of the council's nomination. But be this at it will, it is certain *Monk* had not as yet given the king any encouragement to rely upon him, though his majeſty had ſent him a letter as long ago as July 21, 1659, by an expreſs meſſenger, with the largeſt offers of reward.

The preſbyterians were now in poſſeſſion of the whole power of England; the council of ſtate, the chief officers of the army and navy, and the governors of the chief forts and garriſons, were theirs; their clergy were in poſſeſſion of both univerſities, and of the beſt livings in the kingdom. There was hardly a loyaliſt, or profeſſed epiſcopalian, in any poſt of honour or truſt; nor had the king any number of friends capable of promoting his reſtoration, for there was a diſabling clauſe in the qualification act, that *all who had been in arms againſt the long parliament, ſhould be diſqualified from ſerving in the next.* The whole government therefore was with the preſbyterians, who were ſhy of the *independants* as of a body of men more diſtant from the church,

§ Mr. *Cawton* had few equals in learning, and ſcarcely a ſuperior in piety. Thoſe great works the *Polyglot* Bible, and Dr. *Caſtle's Polyglot Lexicon*, owed much to his encouragement and exertions. It ſhewed a moſt deep ſerioufneſs of ſpirit, though probably mingled with ſuperſtitious notions of the Lord's ſupper, that he fainted, when he firſt received it; and he ever afterwards expreſſed, at that ſolemnity, the profoundeſt reverence and moſt elevated devotion. Granger's Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. 8vo. p. 47. Ed.

and

and more inclined to a commonwealth. They were no leſs vigilant to keep out of parliament the *republicans* of all ſorts, ſome of whom, ſays *Burnet*,* ran about every where like men that were giddy or amazed, but their time was paſt. On the other hand, they ſecretly courted the epiſcopalians, who diſperſed papers among the people, proteſting their reſolutions to forget all paſt injuries, and to bury all rancour, malice, and animoſities, under the foundation of his majeſty's reſtoration. "We reflect (ſay they) upon our ſufferings "as from the hand of God, and therefore do not cheriſh "any violent thoughts or inclinations againſt any perſons "whatſoever who have been inſtrumental in them; and if "the indiſcretion of any particular perſons ſhall tranſport "them to expreſſions contrary to this general ſenſe, we ſhall "diſclaim them."† This was ſigned by eighteen noblemen, and about fifty knights and gentlemen.‖ Dr. *Morley* and ſome of his brethren met privately with the preſbyterian miniſters, and made large profeſſions of lenity and moderation, but without deſcending to particulars. The king and chancellor *Hyde* carried on the intrigue. The chancellor in one of his letters from Breda, dated April 20, 1660, ſays, that "the king very well approved that Dr. *Morley* and ſome of "his brethren ſhould enter into conferences, and have fre-"quent converſation with the preſbyterian party, in order "to reduce them to ſuch a temper as is conſiſtent with the "good of the church; and it may be no ill expedient (ſays "he) to aſſure them of preſent good preferments; but in "my opinion you ſhould rather endeavour to win over thoſe "who, being recovered, will both have reputation, and de-"ſire to merit from the church, than be over-ſolicitous to "comply with the pride and paſſion of thoſe who propoſe "extravagant things."‡ Such was the ſpirit or profeſſions of the church party, while they were decoying the others into the ſnare! The preſbyterian miniſters did not want for cautions from the independants and others, not to be too forward in truſting their new allies, but they would neither

* Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 123, 12mo.

† Baxter, p. 216, 218. Hiſtory of the Stuarts, p. 458.

‖ Kennet's Chron. p. 121, 144. Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 217.

‡ Life of Barwick, p. 525.

hear,

hear, ſee, or believe, till it was too late. They valued themſelves upon their ſuperior influence, and from an ambitious deſire of graſping all the merit and glory of the reſtoration to themſelves, they would ſuffer none to act openly with them, but deſired the epiſcopal clergy to lie ſtill for fear of the people, and leave the conducting this great affair to the hands it was in.

Accordingly the preſbyterian miniſters wrote to their friends in their ſeveral counties, to be careful that men of republican principles might not be returned to ſerve in the next parliament, ſo that in ſome counties the elections fell upon men void of all religion. And in other places the people broke through the diſabling cauſe. Dr. *Barwick* ſays, they paid no regard to it; and *Monk* declared, that if the people made uſe of their natural rights in chooſing whom they thought fit, without reſerve, no injury ſhould be done them. So that when the houſes met it was evident to all wiſe men it would be a court parliament.

But the Scots were more ſteady to the *covenant*, and ſent over the reverend Mr. *James Sharp*, with the earls of *Crawford* and *Lauderdale* to Holland, humbly to put his majeſty in mind, that the kirk of Scotland expected protection upon the footing of the preſbyterian eſtabliſhment, without indulgence to *ſectaries*. Their brethren in the north of Ireland joined in the addreſs to the ſame purpoſe: And ſome of the Engliſh preſbyterians were of the ſame mind; ten of whom met the Scots commiſſioners at London, and made earneſt applications to the general, not to reſtore the king but upon the conceſſions made by his father in the Iſle of Wight.§ But this was only the reſolution of a few; the majority (ſays Mr. *Sharp*) were for moderate epiſcopacy, upon the ſcheme of archbiſhop *Uſher*, and therefore willing to hearken to an accommodation with the church. Dr. *Barwick* adds,* "What the preſbyterians aimed at, who were "now ſuperior to the *independants*, was, that all matters "ſhould be ſettled according to the treaty of the Iſle of "Wight," which gave the court a fair opportunity of referring all church matters to a conciliatory ſynod, the divines of each party to be ſummoned when the king ſhould be

§ Kennet's Chron. p. 101, 104, 110. * Life, p. 256.

ſettled

ſettled on his throne. This was the bait that was laid for the preſbyterians, and was the ruin of their cauſe. The Scots kirk ſtood to their principles, and would have bid defiance to the old clergy, but Mr. *Calamy*, *Manton*, and *Aſh*, informed them, in the name of the London miniſters, that the general ſtream and current being for the old prelacy, in its pomp and height, it was in vain to hope for eſtabliſhing preſbytery, which made them lay aſide the thoughts of it, and fly to archbiſhop *Uſher*'s moderate epiſcopacy. Thus they were beaten from their firſt works.

But if the tide was ſo ſtrong againſt them, ſhould they have opened the ſluices and let in the enemy at once, without a ſingle article of capitulation? It is hard to account for this conduct of the preſbyterians, without impeaching their underſtandings. Indeed the epiſcopal clergy gave them good words, aſſuring them, that all things ſhould be to their minds when the king was reſtored; and that their relying upon the royal word, would be a mark of confidence which his majeſty would always remember, and would do honour to the king, who had been ſo long neglected. But ſhould this have induced the miniſters to give up a cauſe that had coſt ſo much treaſure and blood, and become humble petitioners to thoſe who were now almoſt at their mercy? For they could not but be ſenſible, that the old conſtitution muſt return with the king, that dioceſan epiſcopacy was the only legal eſtabliſhment, that all which had been done in favour of preſbytery not having had the royal aſſent, was void in law, therefore they and their friends who had not epiſcopal ordination and induction into their livings, muſt be looked upon as intruders, and not legal miniſters of the church of England.

But notwithſtanding this infatuation, and vain confidence in the court and the clergy, Mr. *Eachard* would ſet aſide all their merit, by ſaying, "Whatever the preſbyterians did in "this affair, was principally to relieve themſelves from the "oppreſſion of the *independants*, who had wreſted the "power out of their hands, and not out of any affection to "the king and church." Directly contrary to his majeſty's declaration concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs, which ſays, "When we were in Holland we were attended with

|| Kennet's Chron. p. 228.

"many

"many grave and learned miniſters of the preſbyterian per-
"ſuaſion, whom to our great ſatisfaction and comfort we
"found to be *full of affection to us, of zeal for the peace of*
"*the church and ſtate, and neither enemies* (as they have been
"given out to be) *to epiſcopacy or liturgy.*" Biſhop *Burnet* acknowledges,* that many of the preſbyterian miniſters, chiefly in the city of London, had gone into the deſign of the reſtoration in ſo ſignal a manner, and with ſuch ſucceſs, that they had great merit, and a juſt title to very high preferments. Mr. *Baxter*† gives the following reaſons of their conduct. "The preſbyterians (ſays he) were influenced by
"the covenant, by which, and by the oaths of allegiance
"to the king and his heirs, they apprehended themſelves
"bound to do their utmoſt to reſtore the king, let the event
"be what it will." But then he adds, "Moſt of them had
"great expectations of favour and reſpect; and becauſe the
"king had taken the covenant, they hoped he would re-
"move ſubſcriptions, and leave the common-prayer and ce-
"remonies indifferent; that they might not be caſt out of
"the churches. Some, who were leſs ſanguine, depended
"on ſuch a liberty as the proteſtants had in France; but
"others, who were better acquainted with the principles and
"tempers of the prelates, declared that they expected to
"be ſilenced, impriſoned, and baniſhed, but yet they would
"do their parts to reſtore the king, becauſe no foreſeen ill
"conſequence ought to hinder them from doing their duty."
Surely theſe were better chriſtians than caſuiſts! When the miniſters waited on his majeſty in Holland, he gave them ſuch encouraging promiſes, (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) as raiſed in ſome of them high expectations. When he came to Whitehall he made ten of them his chaplains; and when he went to the houſe to quicken the paſſing the act of indemnity, he ſaid, "My lords, if you do not join with me in extin-
"guiſhing this fear, which keeps the hearts of men awake,
"you keep me from performing my promiſe, which if I had
"not made, neither I nor you had been now here. *I pray*
"*let us not deceive thoſe who brought or permitted us to come*
"*hither.*" Here is a royal declaration, and yet all came to nothing. The reader will judge hereafter who were moſt

* Vol. i. p. 259. † Life, p. 216.

to

to blame, the epiſcopal party, for breaking through ſo many ſolemn vows and proteſtations; or the preſbyterians, for bringing in the king without a previous treaty, and truſting a ſet of men, whom they knew to be their implacable enemies. I can think of no decent excuſe for the former; and the beſt apology that can be made for the latter is, that moſt of them lived long enough to ſee their error and heartily repent it.

In the interval between the diſſolution of the long parliament, and the meeting of the *convention* which brought in the king, general *Monk*, ſeeing which way the tide ran, fell in with the ſtream, and ventured to correſpond more freely with the king by ſir *J. Grenville*, who brought the general a letter, and was ſent back with an aſſurance that he would ſerve his majeſty in the beſt manner he could. He deſired the king to remove out of the Spaniſh dominions, and promiſed, that if his majeſty wrote letters to the parliament, he would deliver them at the opening of the ſeſſions. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that he had like to have let the honour ſlip through his fingers, and that a very ſmall ſhare of it really belonged to him.*

The *convention* met April 25, the earl of *Mancheſter* being choſen ſpeaker of the houſe of peers, and ſir *Harbottle Grimſtone* of the commons. At the opening the ſeſſions Dr. *Reynolds* preached before the houſes. April 30 was appointed for a faſt, when Dr. *Reynolds* and Mr. *Hardy* preached before the lords, and Dr. *Gauden*, Mr. *Calamy*, and *Baxter*, before the commons; all except *Gauden* of the preſbyterian party. Lord *Clarendon* ſays, the preſbyterian party in the houſe were rather troubleſome than *powerful*; but others with great probability affirm, that the body of the commons were at firſt of that party. Next day after the faſt, the king by the advice of the general, having removed privately to Breda, and addreſſed letters to both houſes; the general ſtood up and acquainted the ſpeaker, that one ſir *J. Grenville* had brought him a letter from the king, but that he had not preſumed to open it; and that the ſame gentleman attended at the door with another to the houſe. Sir *John* was immediately called in, and having delivered his letter at the bar

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 123.

withdrew,

withdrew, and carried another to the lords.§ The letter contained an earneſt invitation to the commons to return to their duty, as the only way to a ſettled peace; his majeſty promiſing an act of oblivion for what was paſt, and all the ſecurity they could deſire for their liberties and properties, and the rights of parliament, for the future.

Under the ſame cover was incloſed his majeſty's *declaration* from Breda, granting "a general pardon to all his loving "ſubjects who ſhould lay hold of it within forty days, ex- "cept ſuch who ſhould be excepted by parliament. Thoſe "only excepted, (ſays he) let all our ſubjects, how faulty "ſoever, rely upon the word of a king ſolemnly given, that "no crime committed againſt us, or our royal father, ſhall "ever be brought into queſtion to the prejudice of their "lives, eſtates, or reputation. *We do alſo declare a liberty "to tender conſciences, and that no man ſhall be diſquieted or "called in queſtion for differences of opinion in matters of re- "ligion, which do not diſturb the peace of the kingdom.* And "we ſhall be ready to conſent to ſuch an act of parliament "as upon mature deliberation ſhall be offered to us for the "full granting that indulgence.—" Upon reading theſe letters, the *commons* voted, that according to the ancient conſtitution, the government of this kingdom is, and ought to be, by king, lords, and commons; and a committee was appointed to draw up a dutiful letter, inviting his majeſty to return to his dominions: Money was voted to defray his expences; a deputation of lords and commons was ſent to attend his majeſty; and the fleet was ordered to convey him home. Sir *Matthew Hale* moved, that a committee might be appointed to review the propoſitions of the Iſle of Wight, and was ſeconded in the motion; but *Monk*, who was prepared for ſuch a motion, ſtood up and ſaid, "the "nation was now quiet, but there were many incendiaries "upon the watch trying where they could firſt raiſe a flame;

§ Two days after ſir *John Grenville* received the thanks of the houſe, for delivering the king's letter, in a high ſtrain of joy and adulation: and the houſe voted him 500l. to buy a jewel, as a badge of the honour due to the perſon whom "the king had honoured to be the meſſenger of his "gracious meſſage." The city of London alſo preſented to him and lord *Mordaunt*, who brought them his majeſty's letter, 300l. to buy them rings. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 260, 61, and note (°). ED.

"that

" that he could not anſwer for the peace of the kingdom " or army, if any delays were put to the ſending for the " king. What need is there of it, (ſays he) when he is to " bring neither arms nor treaſure along with him." He then added, " that he ſhould lay the blame of all the blood " and miſchief that might follow, on the heads of thoſe who " ſhould inſiſt upon any motion that might retard the preſent " ſettlement of the nation."† Which frightened the houſe into a compliance. And this was all the ſervice general *Monk* did towards the king's reſtoration, for which he was rewarded with a *garter*, *a dukedom*, *a great eſtate in land*, *and with one of the higheſt poſts of honour and profit in the kingdom.*

Thus was the king voted home in a hurry, which was owing to the flattering repreſentations made by lord *Clarendon* in his letters of the king's good-nature, virtue, probity, and application to buſineſs;‖ ſo that when the earl of *Southampton* ſaw afterwards what the king was like to prove, he ſaid once in great wrath to the *chancellor*, " that it was to " him they owed all they either felt or feared; for if he had " not poſſeſſed them in all his letters with ſuch an opinion of " the king, they would have taken care to have put it out of " his power either to do himſelf or them any miſchief, which " was like to be the effect of their truſting him ſo entirely." To which *Hyde* anſwered, that " he thought the king had " ſo true a judgment, and ſo much good-nature, that when " the age of pleaſure ſhould be over, and the idleneſs of his " exile, which made him ſeek new diverſions for want of " other employment, was turned to an obligation to mind " affairs, then he would have ſhaken off theſe entangle- " ments." But here the chancellor was miſtaken.

When the lords and commons ſent over a deputation to the king at Breda, the London miniſters moved that a paſs might be granted to ſome of their number, to wait upon his majeſty with an addreſs from their brethren; accordingly Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Spurſtow*, Mr. *Calamy*, Mr. *Hall*, Mr. *Manton*, and Mr. *Caſe*, were delegated, who went over with three or four attendants, and had an audience May 17, wherein, according to lord *Clarendon*, " they magnified their

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 123, 4, 12mo.

‖ Clarendon, p. 88, 89.

" own,

" own, and the affection of their friends, who had always " wiſhed his majeſty's reſtoration, according to the covenant, " and had lately informed the people of their duty to invite " him home. They thanked God for his majeſty's conſtancy " to the proteſtant religion, and declared themſelves no ene- " mies to moderate epiſcopacy, only they deſired that ſuch " things might not be preſſed upon them in God's worſhip, " which in their judgments that uſed them were indifferent, " but by others were held to be unlawful."* But the tables were now turned: The king ſpoke kindly to them, and acknowledged their ſervices, but told them, he would refer all to the wiſdom of the parliament. At another audience (if we may believe the noble hiſtorian) they met with very different uſage; for when they intreated his majeſty at his firſt landing not to uſe the book of common-prayer entire and formally in his chapel, it having been long laid aſide, the king replied with ſome warmth, " that while he gave *them* " liberty he would not have his own taken away. That " he had always uſed that form of ſervice which he thought " the beſt in the world, and had never diſcontinued it in " places where it was more diſliked than he hoped it was " by them. That when he came into England he ſhould " not ſeverely enquire how it was uſed in other churches, " but he would have no other uſed in his own chapel."† They then beſought him with more importunity, that the uſe of the ſurplice might be diſcontinued by his chaplains, becauſe it would give offence; but the king was as inexorable in that point as the other, and told them, that it was a decent habit, and had been long uſed in the church; that it had been ſtill retained by him, and that he would never diſcountenance that good old practice of the church in which he had been bred. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, the king gave them ſuch encouraging promiſes of peace, as raiſed ſome of them to high expectations. He never refuſed them a private audience when they deſired it; and to amuſe them further, while they were once waiting in an anti-chamber, his majeſty ſaid his prayers with ſuch an audible voice in the room adjoining, that the miniſters might hear him; " he thanked " God that he was a covenanted king; that he hoped the

* Kennet's Chron. p. 139. Compl. Hiſt. p. 247.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 152. " Lord

"Lord would give him an humble, meek, forgiving ſpirit; "that he might have forbearance towards his offending ſub- "jects, as he expected forbearance from offended heaven." Upon hearing which old Mr. *Caſe* lifted up his hands to heaven,§ and bleſſed God who had given them a *praying king*.

Though the biſhops held a private correſpondence with chancellor *Hyde*, and by him were aſſured of the king's favour, they were not leſs forward than the preſbyterians in their application to his majeſty himſelf; for while he remained at Breda, Mr. *Barwick* was ſent over with the following inſtructions:—

1. He was to wait upon the right honourable the lord chancellor of England, and beg his lordſhip's aſſiſtance to preſent a moſt humble petition to his majeſty in the name of the biſhops, and then to deliver their lordſhips' letters to the chancellor, to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, and to the ſecretary of ſtate, wherein they returned thoſe great men their moſt thankful acknowledgments, for their piety and affection to the church in the late moſt afflicted ſtate.

2. He was then to give his majeſty a diſtinct account of the preſent ſtate of the church in all the particulars wherein his majeſty deſired to be informed; and to bring the biſhops back his majeſty's commands, with regard to all that ſhould be thought proper for them, or any of them, to do.

3. He was humbly to aſk his majeſty's pleaſure, with regard to ſome of the biſhops waiting on the ſea-coaſt to pay their duty to his majeſty, when by God's bleſſing he ſhould ſoon land in England; and whether it was his royal pleaſure, that they ſhould attend him there in their epiſcopal habits;

§ Mr. *Daniel Dyke*, who, ſoon after the reſtoration, voluntarily reſigned the living of Hadham-Magna in Hertfordſhire, ſhewed more diſcernment and judgment. For when Mr. *Caſe*, to induce him to continue in it, related the king's behaviour, and argued what a hopeful proſpect it gave them, Mr. *Dyke* wiſely anſwered, "That they did but deceive and flatter them- "ſelves; that if the king was ſincere in his ſhew of piety and great reſpect "for them and their religion; yet, when he came to be ſettled, the party "that had formerly adhered to him, and the creatures that would come over "with him, would have the management of publick affairs, and would cir- "cumvent all their deſigns, and in all probability not only turn them out, "but take away their liberty too." Croſby's Hiſtory of the Baptiſts, vol. i. p. 357, and Palmer's Nonconformiſts' Memorial, vol. ii. p. 43. Ed.

and

and at what time and place, and how many, and which of them his majeſty pleaſed ſhould wait his arrival.

4. He was alſo to enquire concerning the number of his majeſty's chaplains; whether any of them, beſides thoſe in waiting, ſhould attend his arrival upon the coaſt; and to beg that his majeſty would vouchſafe to appoint how many, and who.

5. He was moſt humbly to beſeech his majeſty, that if Dr. *Luſhington*, formerly the king's chaplain, ſhould offer to officiate in that capacity, his majeſty would be pleaſed not to indulge him in that favour, till enquiry ſhould be made concerning his ſuſpected faith and principles. [He was a *ſocinian.*]

6. Since it has been cuſtomary for our kings to celebrate publick thankſgivings in St. Paul's cathedral, he was humbly to beſeech his majeſty, to ſignify what was his royal pleaſure in this behalf, conſidering the ruinous eſtate of that church.

7. His laſt inſtruction was to give a juſt and due account to his majeſty, why the affair of filling up the vacant ſees had met with no better ſucceſs.

Mr. *Barwick* was moſt graciouſly received by the king and his miniſters, and the Sunday after his arrival at Breda was appointed to preach before his majeſty.* The court was as yet very much upon their guard with reſpect to the preſbyterians; but the flames began to kindle at home; the epiſcopal clergy not obſerving any meaſures of prudence in their ſermons; Dr. *Griffith*, having preached an angry ſermon before the general at Mercers-Hall, March 25, on *Prov.* xxiv. 21. *My ſon, fear thou the Lord and the king, and meddle not with them that are given to change*, was for a pretence confined to Newgate, but in a few days was releaſed, and publiſhed his ſermon with a dedication to the general.—Others in their ſermons took upon them to threaten thoſe who had hitherto had the power in their hands; of which the king being adviſed, commanded chancellor *Hyde* to acquaint his correſpondents, that he was extremely apprehenſive of inconvenience and miſchief to the church and himſelf, from offences of that kind, and ordered him to deſire

* Life of Barwick, p. 519, note.

Mr.

Mr. *Barwick* and Dr. *Morley* to uſe their credit and authority with ſuch men, and to let them know from his majeſty the tenderneſs of the conjuncture. The *chancellor* accordingly, in his letter from Breda, April 16, 1660, wrote the king's ſenſe, and added, that if occaſion required they were to ſpeak to the biſhops of Ely and Saliſbury to interpoſe their authority, to conjure theſe men, to make a better judgment of the ſeaſon, and not to awaken thoſe jealouſies and apprehenſions which all men ſhould endeavour to extinguiſh. "And truly I hope, (ſays the chancellor) if faults of this "kind are not committed, that both the church and the "kingdom will be better dealt with than is imagined; and "I am confident theſe good men will be more troubled that "the church ſhould undergo a new ſuffering by their in-"diſcretion, than for all that they have ſuffered hitherto "themſelves."

The clouds gathering thus thick over the late managers, every one began to ſhift for himſelf. RICHARD CROMWELL reſigned his chancellorſhip of the univerſity of Oxford the very day the king was invited home, and retired beyond ſea: he had offered to relinquiſh it when he was diveſted of the protectorſhip, as appears by his letter on that occaſion, which ſays,—"You ſhould have had fuller experience "of my high eſteem for learning and learned men, if Pro-"vidence had continued me in my high ſtation; but as I ac-"cepted of the honour of being your chancellor in order "to promote your proſperity, I aſſure you I will diveſt my-"ſelf of the honour when it will contribute to your advan-"tage."* Accordingly, as ſoon as the king's return was voted, he ſent them the following reſignation:

"*Gentlemen*,

"I SHALL always retain a hearty ſenſe of my former "obligations to you, in your free election of me to the "office of your chancellor; and it is no ſmall trouble to my "thoughts, when I conſider how little ſerviceable I have "been to you in that relation. But ſince the all-wiſe pro-"vidence of God, which I deſire always to adore, and bow "down unto, has been pleaſed to change my condition,

* Kennet's Chron. p. 141.

"that

"that I am not in a capacity to anſwer the ends of the of-
"fice.—I do therefore moſt freely reſign, and give up all
"my right and intereſt therein, but ſhall always retain my
"affection and eſteem for you, with my prayers for your
"continual proſperity, that, amidſt the many examples of the
"inſtability and revolutions of human affairs, you may ſtill
"abide flouriſhing and fruitful. *Gentlemen*,

"Hurſley, "*Your affectionate friend and ſervant*,
"May 8, 1660. "RICH. CROMWELL."

Thus RICHARD went off the ſtage of publick action. "As
"he was innocent of all the evil his father had done (ſays
"*Burnet**) ſo there was no prejudice laid againſt him. Upon
"his advancement to the protectorſhip, the city of London,
"and almoſt all the counties of England, ſent him addreſſes
"of congratulation; but when he found the times too boiſ-
"terous he readily withdrew, and became a private man;
"and as he had done no hurt to any body, ſo no-body ever
"ſtudied to hurt him. A rare inſtance of the inſtability of
"human greatneſs; and of the ſecurity of innocence!" In his younger years he had not all that zeal for religion as was the faſhion of the times; but thoſe who knew him well in the latter part of life have aſſured me, that he was a perfect gentleman in his behaviour, well acquainted with publick affairs, of great gravity, and real piety; but ſo very modeſt, that he would not be diſtinguiſhed or known by any name but the feigned one of Mr. *Clarke*.† He died at Theobalds about the year 1712.

The king landed at Dover, May 26, and came the ſame night to Canterbury, where he reſted the next day, and on Tueſday, May 29, rode in triumph with his two brothers, through the city of London to Whitehall, amidſt the acclamations of an innumerable croud of ſpectators.‡ As he

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 116, 17.

† Under this name he lived, for ſome years, privately at Hurſley about ſeven miles from Romſey, now the ſeat of ſir *Thomas Heathcote*, bart. and attended the meeting-houſe in Romſey. The pew in which he uſed to ſit is ſtill in being, and preſerved entire at the church's removal to their new houſe, as a relick worthy of notice. Mr. Thompſon's MS. Collections, under the word ROMSEY. ED.

‡ Dr. *Grey*, gives from *Eachard* and *Heath*, a deſcription of the proceſſion. ED.

paſſed along, old Mr. *Arthur Jackſon*, an eminent preſbyterian miniſter, preſented his majeſty with a rich emboſſed bible, which he was pleaſed to receive, and to declare it his reſolution to make that book the rule of his conduct.*

Two days after the king's arrival at Whitehall, his majeſty went to the houſe of peers, and after a ſhort congratulatory ſpeech paſſed an act, turning the preſent convention into a parliament. After which the houſes for themſelves, and all the commons of England, laid hold of his majeſty's moſt gracious pardon, and appointed a committee to prepare an act of indemnity for all who had been concerned in the preceding commotions, except the late king's judges, and two or three others.

Had the directions given for the choice of this parliament been obſerved, no royaliſt could have ſat in the houſe; however, their numbers were inconſiderable; the convention was a *preſbyterian parliament*, and had the courage to avow the juſtice and lawfulneſs of taking arms againſt the late king till the year 1648;‡ for when Mr. *Lenthall*, ſpeaker of the long parliament, in order to ſhew the ſincerity of his repentance, had ſaid, that *he that firſt drew his ſword againſt the late king, committed as great an offence as he that cut off his head;* he was brought to the bar, and received the following reprimand from the preſent ſpeaker, by order of the houſe.

"*Sir*,

"THE houſe has taken great offence at what you "have ſaid, which, in the judgment of the houſe, contains "as high a reflection upon the juſtice of the proceedings of "the lords and commons of the laſt parliament, in their act-"ings before 1648, as could be expreſſed. They appre-"hend there is much poiſon in the ſaid words, and that they "were ſpoken out of deſign to inflame, and to render them "*who drew the ſword to bring delinquents to puniſhment*, "*and to vindicate their juſt liberties*, into balance with them "who cut off the king's head; of which they expreſs their "abhorrence and deteſtation. Therefore I am commanded "to let you know, that had theſe words fallen out at any

* Baxter's Life, p. 218. ‡ Eachard, p. 765.

"other

" other time in this parliament, but when they had conſide-
" rations of mercy and indemnity, you might have expected a
" ſharper and ſeverer ſentence. Nevertheleſs, I am, accord-
" ing to command, to give you a ſharp reprehenſion, and I
" do as ſharply and ſeverely as I can reprehend you for it."

But it was to little purpoſe to juſtify the civil war, when they were yielding up all they had been contending for to the court;† for though they ſtopt ſhort of the lengths of the next parliament, they increaſed his majeſty's revenues ſo much, that if he had been a frugal prince he might have lived without parliaments for the future. The reſtoring the king after this manner without any treaty, or one ſingle article for the ſecuring men in the enjoyment of their religious and civil liberties, was (as biſhop *Burnet* obſerves*) the foundation of all the misfortunes of the nation under this reign. And as another right reverend prelate obſerves, the reſtoration of the king in this high and abſolute manner, laid the foundation of all the king's future miſcarriages; ſo that if the revolution by king *William* and queen *Mary* had not taken place, the reſtoration had been no bleſſing to the nation.

But it ought to be remembered, that this was not a legal parliament, for the *rump* had no power to appoint *keepers of the liberties of England;* nor had the *keepers* a right to iſſue out writs for election of a new parliament; nor could the king's writ, without the ſubſequent choice of the people, make them ſo. All the laws therefore made by this convention, and all the puniſhments inflicted upon offenders in purſuance of them, were not ſtrictly legal; which the court were ſo apprehenſive of, that they prevailed with the next parliament to confirm them. When this convention parliament had ſat about eight months, it was diſſolved December 29, partly becauſe it was not legally choſen, and becauſe it was too much preſbyterian; the prime miniſter [*Hyde*] having now formed a deſign in concert with the biſhops, of evacuating the church of all the preſbyterians.

The managing preſbyterians ſtill buoyed themſelves up with hopes of a comprehenſion within the church, though

† Rapin, p. 258. * Page 126.

they had parted with all their weight and influence; and from *directors* were become humble ſupplicants to thoſe very men who a few months before lay at their feet. They had now no other refuge than the king's clemency, which was directed by chancellor *Hyde* and the biſhops; but to keep them quiet, his majeſty condeſcended, at the inſtance of the earl of *Mancheſter*, to admit ten of their number into the liſt of his chaplains in ordinary, viz.

Dr. *Reynolds*	Mr. *Calamy*
Dr. *Spurſtow*	Mr. *Aſhe*
Dr. *Wallis*	Mr. *Caſe*
Dr. *Manton*	Mr. *Baxter*
Dr. *Bates*	Mr. *Woodbridge*.‡

But none of theſe divines were called to preach at court, except Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Spurſtow*, Mr. *Calamy*, and Mr. *Baxter*, each of them once. Here again the preſbyterians were divided in their politicks, ſome being for going as far as they could with the court, and others for drawing back. Of the former ſort were Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Reynolds*, and Mr. *Aſhe*, who were entirely directed by the earl of *Mancheſter*, and had frequent aſſemblies at his houſe; to them were joined Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, and moſt of the city miniſters; but Dr. *Seaman*, Mr. *Jenkins*, and others, were of another party; theſe were a little eſtranged from the reſt of their brethren, and meddled not with politicks, (ſays Mr. *Baxter**) becauſe the court gave them no encouragement, their deſign being only to divide them; but the former had more confidence in their ſuperiors, and carried on a treaty, till by force and violence they were beaten out of the field.

Upon the king's arrival at Whitehall, the liturgy of the church of England was reſtored in his majeſty's chapel, and in ſeveral churches both in city and country; for it was juſtly obſerved, that all acts and ordinances of the long parliament, which had not the royal aſſent, were in themſelves null, and therefore prelacy was ſtill the legal eſtabliſhment, and the common-prayer the only legal form of worſhip, and that they were puniſhable by the laws of the land who officiated by any other. The king in his *declaration* had deſired, that

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 162. * Baxter's Life, p. 229.

the

the preſbyterians would read ſo much of the liturgy as they themſelves had no exception againſt, but moſt of them declined the propoſal.§ But to ſet an example to the reſt of the nation, the houſe of peers, two days after the king was proclaimed, appointed Mr. *Marſton* to read divine ſervice before them, in his formalities, according to the common-prayer book; and the Sunday following Dr. *Gauden* preached, and adminiſtered the ſacrament to ſeveral of the peers, who received it kneeling. On the 31ſt of May they ordered, that the form of prayers formerly uſed, ſhould be conſtantly read in their houſe, provided that no prejudice, penalty, or reflection, ſhall be on any who are not preſent. The houſe of commons followed the example of the lords; and before the end of the year many of the parochial clergy, who ſcrupled the uſe of the ſervice-book, were proſecuted for offending againſt the ſtatutes made in that behalf; the juſtices of the peace and others inſiſting, that the laws returned with the king, and that they ought not to be diſpenſed with in the neglect of them.

The old ſequeſtered clergy flocked in great numbers about the court, magnifying their ſufferings, and making intereſt for preferments; every one took poſſeſſion of the living from which he had been ejected; by which means ſome hundreds of the preſbyterian clergy were diſpoſſeſſed at once. Upon this the heads of that party waited upon the king, and prayed, that though all who had loſt their livings for malignancy, or diſaffection to the late powers, were reſtored, yet that thoſe miniſters who ſucceeded ſuch as had been ejected for *ſcandal*, might keep their places; but the court paid no regard to their petitions. However, where the incumbent was dead, his majeſty yielded that the living ſhould be confirmed to the preſent poſſeſſor.

The heads of colleges and fellows who had been ejected in the late times, were no leſs forward in their applications to be reſtored; upon which the parliament appointed a committee to receive their petitions. Dr. *Goodwin* having reſigned his preſidentſhip of Magdalen college, the lords ordered, "that Dr. *Oliver* be reſtored in as full and ample "manner as formerly he enjoyed it, till the pleaſure of his

§ Kennet's Chron. p. 432.

"majeſty

" majeſty be further known. And the three ſenior fellows were appointed to put this order in execution."* The ejected fellows of New college, Oxon, petitioned at the ſame time to be reſtored; upon which the lords ordered, May 19, that " *Robert Grove*, *John Lampſhire*, &c. late fellows of " New college, Oxon, and all others who were unjuſtly " ejected out of their fellowſhips, be forthwith reſtored; " and that all ſuch fellows as have been admitted contrary " to the ſtatute be forthwith ejected; and that no new fel- " lows be admitted contrary to the ſtatutes."§ And to prevent further applications of this kind, the lords paſſed this general order, June 4, " That the chancellors of both univerſities ſhall take care, that the ſeveral colleges in the ſaid " univerſities ſhall be governed according to their reſpective " ſtatutes; and that ſuch perſons who have been unjuſtly " put out of their headſhips, fellowſhips, or other offices re- " lating to the ſeveral colleges or univerſities, may be re- " ſtored according to the ſaid ſtatutes of the univerſity, and " founders of colleges therein."‖

Purſuant to this order, there followed a very conſiderable change in both univerſities, commiſſioners being appointed by the king to hear and determine all cauſes relating to this affair, who in the months of Auguſt and September reſtored all ſuch as were unmarried to their reſpective places. In the univerſity of Oxford, beſides Dr. *Oliver* already mentioned, the following heads of colleges were reſtored, and the preſent poſſeſſors ejected.

Heads of colleges reſtored, Aug. 3,	Preſident of	In the place of heads ejected,
Dr. *Hannibal Potter*,	Trinity coll.	Dr. *Seth Ward*
Dr. *Richard Bayly*,	St. John's coll.	Mr. *Thank. Owen*
Dr. *Francis Manſel*,	Jeſus college	Mr. *Fran. Howel*
Dr. *Robert Newlin*,	Corp. Ch. coll.	Dr. *Edw. Staunton*
Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*,	All Souls coll.	Dr. *Meredith*, *dec.*
Dr. *Thomas Yate*,	Br. Noſe coll.	Dr. *D. Greenwood*
Mr. *Henry Wightwick*,	Pemb. coll.	Dr. *Henry Langley*.

N. B. This Mr. *Wightwick* was ejected a ſecond time 1664.

* Kennet's Chron. p. 152. § Ibid. 153. ‖ Ibid. p. 173.

St.

———	St. Mary's hall	Mr. *Thomas Cole*
Dr. *Robert Saunderſon*	*Regius Prof.* in *Divinity*	Dr. *John Conant*
Dr. *Thomas Willis*	*Nat. Phil. reader*	Dr. *Joſh. Croſſe*
Dr. *John Fell*, Dr. *Robert South*	*Can. of Chr. Ch.* & *Uni. orator*	Mr. *Ralph Button*
Dr. *Thomas Barlow*	*Can. of Chr. Ch.* & *Marg. Prof.*	Dr. *Hen. Wilkinſon*, ſen.

Beſides theſe, all ſurviving ejected fellows of colleges were reſtored without exceptions; and ſuch as had been nominated by the commiſſioners in 1648, or elected in any other manner than according to the ſtatutes, were ejected, and their places declared vacant.

The like alterations were made in the univerſity of Cambridge. The earl of *Manchester* chancellor, was obliged to ſend the following letter to the univerſity, dated Auguſt 3, for reſtoring Dr. *Martin* to the maſterſhip of Queen's college, whom he had ejected for *ſcandal* by letters under his hand, dated March 13, 1643.

"Whereas I am informed, that Dr. *Ed. Martin* has been "wrongfully put out of his maſterſhip; theſe are to ſignify "to all whom it may concern, that I do, by virtue of an au- "thority given to me, by the lords aſſembled in parliament, "reſtore him to his ſaid maſterſhip, together with all lodgings, "&c. appertaining to his place, from henceforth to have "and enjoy all profits, rights, privileges, and advantages, "belonging thereunto, unleſs cauſe be ſhewn to the contrary "within ten days after the date hereof."† This gentleman was accordingly reſtored, and with him ſeveral others; as,

Heads of coll. reſtored,	Maſter of	In place of heads ejected,
Dr. *J. Coſins*	Peter-houſe	Dr. *Laz. Seaman*
Dr. *Tho. Paſke*	Clare hall	Reſigned to Dr. *The. Dillingham*
Dr. *Benj. Laney*	Pembroke hall	Mr. *Will. Moſes*
Dr. *Rob. King*	Trinity hall	Mr. *Bond*
Dr. *Rich. Sterne*	Jeſus college	Mr. *J. Worthington*
Dr. *Edw. Rainbowe*	Magd. college, ejected for refuſing Eng.	Mr. *John Sadleir.*

† Kennet's Chron. 221, 22.

All

All the ſurviving fellows unmarried were reſtored, as in the other univerſity, by which means moſt of the preſbyterians were diſpoſſeſſed, and the education of youth taken out of their hands.† To make way for the filling up theſe and other vacancies in the church, the *honours of the univerſities* were offered to almoſt any, who would declare their averſion to preſbytery, and hearty affection for epiſcopal government.* It was his majeſty's pleaſure, and the chancellor's, that there ſhould be a creation in all faculties of ſuch as had ſuffered for the royal cauſe, and had been ejected from the univerſity by the viſitors in 1648. Accordingly between ſeventy and eighty maſters of arts were created this year, among whom (ſays the Oxford hiſtorian) ſome that had not been ſufferers thruſt themſelves into the croud for their money; others, yet few, were gentlemen, and created by the favour of the chancellor's letters only; eighteen were created batchelors of divinity, ſeventy doctors of divinity, twenty-two doctors of phyſick, beſides doctors of laws. The creations in the univerſity of Cambridge were yet more numerous. On Midſummer-day, *a grace* paſſed in the univerſity in favour of ſome candidates for degrees.‡ Auguſt 2, the king ſent letters to Cambridge for creating nine or ten perſons, doctors of divinity;§ and on the fifth of September there were created, by virtue of his majeſty's *mandamus*, no leſs than ſeventy-one doctors of divinity, nine doctors of civil law, five doctors of phyſick, and five batchelors of divinity. So that within the compaſs of little more than ſix months, the univerſities conferred one hundred and fifty doctors of divinity degrees, and as many more in the other faculties.— Some of theſe were deſerving perſons, but the names of moſt of them are no where to be found but in the univerſity regiſters. Had the parliament viſitors in 1648, or *O. Cromwell* in his protectorſhip, made ſo free with the honours of the univerſities, they might juſtly have been ſuppoſed to countenance the *illiterate*, and proſtitute the honour of the two great luminaries of this kingdom; but his majeſty's promoting ſuch numbers in ſo ſhort a time by a *royal mandamus*, without enquiring into their qualifications, or inſiſting upon their per-

† Faſti. p. 120. * Kennet's Chron. p. 220, 221, &c.

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 188. § Ibid. p. 220, 251.

forming

forming any academical exerciſe, muſt be covered with a vail, becauſe it was for the ſervice of the church. In the midſt of theſe promotions, the marquis of *Hertford*, chancellor of the univerſity of Oxford, died, and was ſucceeded by ſir *Edward Hyde*, now lord chancellor of England, and created about this time earl of *Clarendon*. He was inſtalled Nov. 15, and continued in this office till he retired into France in the year 1667.

Theſe promotions made way for filling up the vacancies in cathedrals; July 5, Dr. *Killigrew*, *Jones*, *Doughty*, and *Buſby*, were inſtalled prebendaries of Weſtminſter; and within a month or ſix weeks four more were added.‡ In the months of July and Auguſt, all the dignities in the cathedral of St. Paul's were filled up, being upwards of twenty. July 13, twelve divines were inſtalled prebendaries in the cathedral of Canterbury; and before the end of the year, all the dignities in the cathedrals of Durham, Cheſter, Litchfield, Briſtol, Hereford, Worceſter, Glouceſter, &c. were ſupplied with younger divines, who ran violently in the current of the times.*——There were only nine biſhops alive at the king's reſtoration, viz.

Dr. *William Juxon*,	biſhop of	London
Dr. *William Pierſe*,		Bath and Wells
Dr. *Matthew Wren*,		Ely
Dr. *Robert Skinner*,		Oxford
Dr. *William Roberts*,		Bangor
Dr. *John Warner*,		Rocheſter
Dr. *Bryan Duppa*,		Sarum
Dr. *Henry King*,		Chicheſter
Dr. *Accepted Frewen*,		Litchf. and Coventry.§

In order to make way for a new creation, ſome of the biſhops abovementioned were tranſlated to better ſees; as,

Dr. *Juxon*, biſhop of London, to Canterbury, who was promoted more out of decency (ſays biſhop *Burnet*†) as being the eldeſt and moſt eminent of the ſurviving biſhops: He never was a great divine, but was now ſuperannuated.

Dr. *Accepted Frewen* was tranſlated to York, Sept. 22, and confirmed October 4. He was the ſon of a puritanical

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 199. * Ibid. p. 204. § Ibid. p. 252.
† Vol. i. p. 257.

miniſter,

miniſter, and himſelf inclined that way, till ſome time after the beginning of the civil wars, when he became a great loyaliſt, and was promoted in the year 1644 to the ſee of Litchfield and Coventry: He made no figure in the learned world,‖ and died in the year 1664.

Dr. *Bryan Duppa* was tranſlated to Wincheſter, and confirmed October 4. He had been the king's tutor, though no way equal to the ſervice. He was a meek humble man, and much beloved for his good temper, (ſays biſhop *Burnet*†) and would have been more eſteemed if he had died before the reſtoration, for he made not that uſe of the great wealth that flowed in upon him, as was expected.*

To make way for the election of new biſhops in a regular and canonical manner, it was firſt neceſſary to reſtore to every cathedral a dean and chapter; which being done,

Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon* was advanced to the ſee of London; he was eſteemed a learned man before the civil wars, but had ſince engaged ſo deep in politicks, (ſays biſhop *Burnet*‡) that ſcarce any prints of what he had been remained; he was a dextrous man in buſineſs, and treated all men in an obliging manner, but few depended much on his profeſſions of friendſhip. He ſeemed not to have a deep ſenſe of religion, if

‖ Dr. *Grey* obſerves, however, on the authority of *Wood*, that Dr. *Frewen*, though he publiſhed only a Latin oration with ſome verſes on the death of prince *Henry*, was eſteemed a general ſcholar and a good orator. He was buried in his cathedral church, and a ſplendid monument was erected over his grave. He bequeathed 1000l. to Magdalen college, Oxon, of which he had been preſident. Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. ii. p. 663, 4. Godwinus de Præſulibus curâ Richardſon, p. 714. Ed.

† Page 258.

* Dr. *Grey* cenſures Mr. *Neal* for adopting this miſtake of biſhop *Burnet*, and ſays that Dr. *Duppa*'s charities were extraordinary. He gave for redeeming of captives, building and endowing alms-houſes, with other charitable deeds in benevolences, repairs, &c. 16,000l. and was ſo good to his tenants as to abate 30,000l. in fines. *Richardſon* ſays, that during the two years he lived after his tranſlation to the ſee of Wincheſter, he expended great ſums in publick ſervices; and was meditating more undertakings. He built an alms-Houſe at *Richmond*, and endowed it by his will with 1500l. He bequeathed 200l. to the alms-houſe at Pembridge in Herts; and, to omit private donations, he left to the church of Saliſbury 500l. of Wincheſter 200l. of St. Paul's, London, 300l. and of Cirenceſter, 200l. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 276, and Godwin de Præſulibus, p. 243. Ed.

‡ Page 257.

any

any at all; and ſpoke of it moſt commonly as an engine of government, and a matter of policy, for which reaſon the king looked upon him as a wiſe and honeſt clergyman. He was one of the moſt powerful and implacable adverſaries of the non-conformiſts.

Dr. *Henchman* was conſecrated biſhop of Sarum, and Dr. *George Morley* biſhop of Worceſter, October 28. Dec. 2, ſeven biſhops were conſecrated together in St. Peter's, Weſtminſter, viz.

Dr. *John Coſins*,	biſhop of	Durham
Dr. *William Lawes*,		St. David's
Dr. *Benjamin Laney*,		Peterborough
Dr. *Hugh Lloyd*,		Landaff
Dr. *Richard Sterne*,		Carliſle
Dr. *Bryan Walton*,		Cheſter
Dr. *John Gauden*,		Exeter.

On the ſixth of January following four other biſhops were conſecrated, viz.

Dr. *Gilbert Ironſide*,	biſhop of	Briſtol
Dr. *Edward Reynolds*,		Norwich
Dr. *Nicholas Monk*,		Hereford
Dr. *William Nicholſon*,		Glouceſter

Four or five ſees were kept vacant for the leading divines among the preſbyterians, if they would conform; but they declined, as will be ſeen hereafter. In Scotland and Ireland things were not quite ſo ripe for execution; the Scots parliament diſannulled the covenant, but epiſcopacy was not eſtabliſhed in either of the kingdoms till next year.

The Engliſh hierarchy being reſtored to its former preeminence, except the peerage of the biſhops, it remained only to conſider what was to be done with the malecontents; the *independants* and *anabaptiſts* petitioned the king only for a toleration;‖ and the Engliſh papiſts depending upon their intereſt at court, offered his majeſty one hundred thouſand pounds before he left Breda, to take off the penal laws, upon which his majeſty ordered the chancellor to inſert the following clauſe in his declaration concerning eccleſiaſtical af-

‖ Kennet's Chron. p. 142.

fairs,

fairs, that *others alſo be permitted to meet for religious worſhip, ſo be it they do it not to the diſturbance of the peace; and that no juſtice of peace offer to diſturb them.** When this was debated in the king's preſence after the reſtoration, the biſhops wiſely held their peace; but Mr. *Baxter*, who was more zealous than prudent, declared plainly his diſlike of a toleration of papiſts and ſocinians; which his majeſty took ſo very ill, that he ſaid, the preſbyterians were a ſet of men who were only for ſetting up themſelves. Theſe ſtill flattered themſelves with hopes of a comprehenſion, but the *independants* and *baptiſts* were in deſpair.

And here was an end of thoſe diſtracted times, which our hiſtorians have loaded with all the infamy and reproach that the wit of man could invent. The *puritan* miniſters have been decried as ignorant mechanicks, canting preachers, enemies to learning, and no better than publick robbers. The univerſities were ſaid to be reduced to a meer *Munſter*; and that if the *Goths* and *Vandals*, and even the *Turks*, had overrun the nation, they could not have done more to introduce barbariſm, diſloyalty, and ignorance; and yet in theſe times, and by the men who then filled the univerſity chairs, were educated the moſt learned divines and eloquent preachers of the laſt age, as the *Stilling fleets*, *Tillotſons*, *Bulls*, *Barrows*, *Whitbys*, and others, who retained a high veneration for their learned tutors after they were rejected and diſplaced. The religious part of the common people have been ſtigmatized with the character of *hypocrites*; their looks, their dreſs and behaviour, have been repreſented in the moſt odious colours; and yet one may venture to challenge theſe declaimers to produce any period of time ſince the reformation, wherein there was leſs open profaneneſs and impiety, and more of the ſpirit as well as appearance of religion. Perhaps there was too much rigour and preciſeneſs in indifferent matters; but the luſts of men were laid under a viſible reſtraint; and though the legal conſtitution was unhappily broken, and men were governed by falſe politicks, yet better laws were never made againſt vice, or more vigorouſly executed. The dreſs and converſation of people was ſober and virtuous, and their manner of living remarkably frugal: There was hardly

* Compl. Hiſt. p. 258.

a ſingle

a ſingle bankruptcy to be heard of in a year; and in ſuch a caſe the bankrupt had a mark of infamy upon him that he could never wipe off. Drunkenneſs, fornication, profane ſwearing, and every kind of debauchery, were juſtly deemed infamous, and univerſally diſcountenanced. The clergy were laborious to exceſs in preaching and praying, and catechiſing youth, and viſiting their pariſhes. The magiſtrates did their duty in ſuppreſſing all kind of games, ſtage-plays, and abuſes in publick houſes. There was not a play acted on any theatre in England for almoſt twenty years. The *Lord's-day* was obſerved with unuſual reverence; and there were a ſet of as learned and pious youths training up in the univerſity as had ever been known. So that if ſuch a reformation of manners had obtained under a legal adminiſtration, they would have deſerved the character of the beſt of times.

But when the legal conſtitution was reſtored, there returned with it a torrent of debauchery and wickedneſs. The times which followed the reſtoration were the reverſe of thoſe that preceded it; for the laws which had been enacted againſt vice for the laſt twenty years being declared null, and the magiſtrates changed, men ſet no bounds to their licentiouſneſs. A proclamation indeed was publiſhed againſt thoſe looſe and riotous cavaliers, whoſe loyalty conſiſted in drinking healths, and railing at thoſe who would not revel with them; but in reality the king was at the head of theſe diſorders; being devoted to his pleaſures, and having given himſelf up to an avowed courſe of lewdneſs; his biſhops and chaplains ſaid, that he uſually came from his miſtreſſes apartments to church, even on ſacrament days.† There were two play-houſes erected in the neighbourhood of the court. *Women actreſſes* were introduced into the theatres, which had not been known till that time; the moſt lewd and obſcene plays were brought on the ſtage; and the more obſcene, the better was the king pleaſed, who graced every new play with his royal preſence. Nothing was to be ſeen at court but feaſting, hard drinking, revelling, and amorous intrigues, which engendered the moſt enormous vices. From court the contagion ſpread like wildfire among the people, inſomuch that men threw off the very profeſſion of virtue

† Kennet's Chron. p. 167.

and

and piety, under colour of drinking the king's health; all kinds of *old cavalier rioting* and debauchery revived; the appearances of religion which remained with ſome, furniſhed matters of ridicule to libertines and ſcoffers:* Some who had been concerned in the former changes, thought they could not redeem their credit better than by deriding all religion, and telling or making ſtories to render their former party ridiculous. To appear ſerious, or make conſcience either of words and actions, was the way to be accounted a ſchiſmatick, a fanatick, or a ſectarian; though if there was any real religion during the courſe of this reign, it was chiefly among thoſe people. They who did not applaud the new ceremonies were marked out for *preſbyterians*, and every preſbyterian was a *rebel*. The old clergy who had been ſequeſtered for ſcandal, having taken poſſeſſion of their livings, were intoxicated with their new felicity, and threw off all the reſtraints of *their order*; every week (ſays Mr. *Baxter*‡) produced reports of one or other clergyman who was taken up by the watch drunk at night, and mobbed in the ſtreets. Some were taken with lewd women; and one was reported to be drunk in the pulpit.‖ Such was the general diſſoluteneſs of manners which attended the deluge of joy which overflowed the nation upon his majeſty's reſtoration!

About this time died the reverend Mr. *Francis Taylor*, ſometime rector of Clapham in Surry, and afterwards of

* Kennet's Chron. p. 493. ‡ Life, part ii. p. 288.

‖ Dr. *Grey* queſtions the truth of the above charge. But whoever reads Mr. *Baxter*'s account of the matter, and of the conduct of himſelf and ſome of his brethren on the report of it, which rang through the city, will ſcarcely doubt the fact. But there is force and candour in what Dr. *Grey* adds concerning the reply of Mr. *Selden* to an *alderman* of the long parliament on the ſubject of epiſcopacy. The alderman ſaid, "that there were ſo "many clamours againſt ſuch and ſuch *prelates*, that they would never be "quiet, till they had no more *biſhops*." On this Mr. *Selden* informed the houſe, what grievous complaints there were againſt ſuch and ſuch *aldermen*; and therefore by parity of reaſoning, it was his opinion, he ſaid, that they ſhould have no more *aldermen*. Here was the fault transferred to the office, which is a dangerous error; for not only government, but human ſociety itſelf, may be diſſolved by the ſame argument, if the frailties or corruptions of particular men ſhall be revenged upon the whole body. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 267. Ed.

Yalden,

Yalden, from whence he was called to ſit in the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter, and had a conſiderable ſhare in the annotations which go under their name. From Yalden Mr. *Taylor* removed to Canterbury, and became preacher of Chriſt-Church in that city, where I preſume he died, leaving behind him the character of an able critick in the oriental languages, and one of the moſt conſiderable divines of the aſſembly. He publiſhed ſeveral valuable works, and among others a tranſlation of the *Jeruſalem Targum* on the *Pentateuch* out of the Chaldee into Latin, dedicated to the learned Mr. *Gataker*, of Rotherhithe, with a prefatory epiſtle of *Selden*'s, and ſeveral others, relating to Jewiſh antiquities. Among the letters to archbiſhop *Uſher* there is one from Mr. *Taylor*, dated from Clapham, 1635. He correſponded alſo with *Boetius*, and moſt of the learned men of his time. He left behind him a ſon who was blind,§ but ejected for non-conformity in the year 1662, from St. Alphage church in Canterbury, where he lies buried.

§ He loſt his ſight by the ſmall-pox: but purſued his ſtudies by the aid of others, who read to him. His brother, who was alſo blind, he ſupported, and took great pains to inſtruct and win over to ſerious religion, but not with all the ſucceſs he deſired: He was a man of good abilities, and noted for an eloquent preacher: and his miniſtry was much valued and reſpected. He did not long ſurvive the treatment he met with, in being ſeized and carried to priſon; but was cheerful in all his afflictions. Palmer's Non-conformiſt's Memorial, vol. ii. p. 57, 8. Ed.

A SUPPLEMENT

TO

CHAPTERS III. AND IV.

MR. NEAL has allowed a few pages only, in the two preceding chapters, to the Hiſtory of the QUAKERS: and they are chiefly ſpent on the wild extravagancies and ſufferings of JAMES NAYLOR. But the lot of this people, while other ſectariſts breathed a freer air under the protectorſhip of *Cromwell*, was peculiarly hard and afflictive. The change of government, on his taking the reins, produced no revolution in their favour; but their ſufferings continued to increaſe with the increaſe of their numbers. The ſubordinate magiſtrates were continued in office; and the eccleſiaſticks, their former perſecutors, retained power to be troubleſome to them. The protector has been repreſented as the friend to religious liberty; and ſo, in ſome inſtances, he certainly ſhewed himſelf, but the QUAKERS derived little benefit from his liberal views and regard to the rights of conſcience. For, though he himſelf did not openly diſturb them on account of their religious opinions and practices; yet thoſe who acted under his authority grievouſly perſecuted them, and he gave little or no check to their intolerance, although he had the power and was repeatedly and earneſtly ſolicited to do it. The dominant parties had imbibed a ſpirit of hatred and animoſity againſt this people: and the protector, it is ſuppoſed, might be fearful of diſobliging them, by animadverting on their oppreſſive meaſures: or he might conſider the QUAKERS as too contemptible or too pacifick a body to fear any danger from, even under the greateſt provocations.§

To give ſome colour of law to the ſeverities practiſed againſt them, pretexts were drawn from ſuppoſed violations

§ Gough's Hiſtory of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 132, 198.

of

of the regulations of civil policy. "A chriſtian exhortation "to an aſſembly, after the prieſt had done and the worſhip "was over, was denominated *interrupting* publick worſhip, "and diſturbing *the prieſt in his office:* an honeſt teſtimony "againſt ſin in the ſtreets or markets, was ſtyled *a breach of "the peace:* and their appearing before the magiſtrates co- "vered, *a contempt of authority:* hence proceeded *fines, im- "priſonments, and ſpoiling of goods.* Nay, ſo hot for perſe- "cution were ſome magiſtrates, that by an unparalleled "miſconſtruction of the law againſt vagrants, they tortured "with cruel whippings the bodies of both men and women "of good eſtate and reputation, merely becauſe they went "under the denomination of *quakers.*"*

In 1656, *Henry Clifton*, only riding through Upwell in Cambridgeſhire, after having been carried before two juſtices, was ſent to priſon, where he lay a conſiderable time in the dungeon among condemned felons. *Richard Hubberton* and *Richard Weaver*, travelling from home to pay a friendly viſit to *Ann Blakely*, who was, for her open teſtimony againſt the ſins of the times, impriſoned at Cambridge, were alſo committed to priſon. *Thomas Curtis*, a woollen-draper of Reading, going to Plymouth on buſineſs, and from thence to Weſt-Alvington, accompanied by *John Martindale*, they were both caſt, as vagrants, into Exeter gaol; and, at the enſuing aſſizes, brought before the judge, where nothing was laid to their charge. But, for not taking off their hats, they were fined 40l. each for contempt, and for non-payment detained above a year in priſon. During this term, *Martindale*, having obtained leave of the jailor to viſit a friend at Ilcheſter, went to a meeting at Colyton; where he, *Humphrey Sprague*, and *Thomas Dyer*, lodging at a friend's houſe, were apprehended by a warrant, and carried before the juſtices at the quarter-ſeſſions at Honiton; and, though one of them was but two, and another but five miles from home, were ſentenced, as vagrants, to be whipped in the market-place, and ſent with a paſs from tything to tything; which was accordingly done. *George Whitehead*, a virtuous and learned young man of a reputable family in Weſtmoreland, preaching at Nayland in Suffolk, April 1657, was

* Gough's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 139, 140.

ſentenced by two juſtices to be openly whipped, as a vagrant, till his body were *bloody*. The conſtable, to whom the warrant was given, employed a fooliſh fellow, void of diſcretion and feeling, to execute it; who laid on his ſtripes with unmerciful violence; whereby *Whitehead*'s back and breaſts were grievouſly cut, his ſkin torn, and his blood ſhed in abundance. But the inſenſible fool went on, unreſtrained by the conſtable, till his hand was ſtayed by the cry of the ſpectators, who, affected with the cruelty, called out to him to ſtop. *Humphrey Smith* and *Samuel Curtis*, riding together near Axminſter, *George Bewley*, *John Ellis*, and *Humphrey Sprague*, after a meeting in Bridport, were whipt as vagabonds, and ſent away with paſſes. *Joan Edmunds*, wife of *Edward Edmunds*, of Totneſs, about ten miles from home being ſtopped by a drunken fellow, who took away her horſe, on complaining to a juſtice, was ſent to Exeter goal, becauſe ſhe had no paſs: her horſe was ordered to be ſold, and part of the money applied to defray the charge of carrying her to priſon. Her habitation lying in the direct road, ſhe was taken ſix miles about, to prevent this injuſtice being expoſed amongſt her neighbours, who well knew ſhe was no vagrant.*

Another pretext, on which many of theſe people ſuffered, under the form of law, very illegal ſeverities, was that of breaking the ſabbath. Their religious zeal, in frequenting their aſſemblies for publick worſhip, obliged them to travel to the places, where they were held, ſometimes at a conſiderable diſtance from their habitations. This was called a breach of the ſabbath: and it was puniſhed by impounding their horſes, by diſtreſs of goods, by fines, by impriſonment, by whipping, and by ſetting in the ſtocks.†

If magiſtrates could be guilty of ſuch unrighteous ſeverities, it is not ſurpriſing, that the licentious rabble ſhould attack this people with violence and abuſe. In numerous inſtances and in various places, the houſes, in which they held their aſſemblies for religious worſhip, were riotouſly aſſaulted. Their ſervices were interrupted by hallooing, ſinging, and railing: the windows were broken by ſtones and bullets: their perſons were buffeted and ſtoned, their faces and clothes daubed with filth and excrements; ſome were

* Gough's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 225—232. † Ibid. p. 271-2, note.

knocked

knocked down, and others had their teeth beaten out: nor did the tenderneſs of ſex protect the women. The rabble were, too often, led and encouraged by clergymen.

"Many of theſe abuſes," obſerves the hiſtorian, "being "committed on the firſt day of the week, the day they called "their ſabbath, with impunity, under a government and by "a people who pretended to make it a point to obſerve it "with all the phariſaical ſtrictneſs, and in many caſes beyond "the ſtrictneſs which the moſaical law appointed for ob- "ſerving the ſeventh day, furniſh an occaſion to reflect upon "the irrational inconſiſtency of ſuperſtition in every ſhape; "by which, I underſtand an over-zealous attachment to ſome "circumſtantials of religion, while the eſſential part, viz. "the inwardly ſanctifying power thereof, whereby we are "taught to honour God, and love and do good to mankind, "is overlooked. Theſe men, it is probable, would have "thought it an heinous crime to have been employed on that "day in any honeſt labour, though in itſelf lawful, and in "ſome ſort neceſſary, and yet ſhewed no reluctance or com- "punction in committing unlawful actions, as oppoſite to "good government as religion, in aſſaulting perſons and de- "ſtroying the property of inoffenſive, unreſiſting neighbours "and fellow-citizens with violence and outrage, whoſe only "crime was the applying the day to the beſt purpoſe, the "aſſembling to worſhip their Maker in that way they were "perſuaded in their conſciences was moſt acceptable to "him."*

So general was the perſecution, under which this people ſuffered, that ſcarcely one of them, whoſe travels and ſervices to the ſociety are preſerved on record, eſcaped perſonal abuſe or cruel impriſonment in any quarter of the nation.

George Fox, in 1653, was ſummoned before the magiſtrates at Carliſle, and committed to priſon till the aſſizes, as a *blaſphemer*, an *heretick*, and a *ſeducer*. He had exaſperated them by his plain-dealing, in endeavouring to ſhew them, that although they (being *preſbyterians* and *independants*) were high in the profeſſion of religion, they were without the profeſſion of what they profeſſed. The ground of his being ſummoned, was his having exhorted the people to truth and

* Gough's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 267—271, and the note.

honeſty, at the market-croſs on a market-day, and having preached to them on the Sunday, after the ſervice was concluded. On which he had been aſſaulted by rude people in the church, and reſcued by the governor. During his confinement the general wiſh was, *that he was to be hanged:* and the high-ſheriff declared, with rancour, that he *would guard him to execution himſelf.* At the aſſizes, it was found that the charge of blaſphemy could not be made good, and it was concluded not to bring him to trial; and he was left with the magiſtrates of the town. By whoſe order he was put among the felons and murderers, in a dungeon, noiſome and filthy to the laſt degree, where men and women were kept together, one of whom was almoſt eaten up with lice; and the deputy of the jailor would often fall on him and the friends who viſited him with a cudgel: while the priſoners, vile as they were, behaved affectionately to him, received his admonitions with deference, and ſome embraced his doctrine. At length, the parliament having inſtituted an enquiry concerning his ſituation, and the governor having remonſtrated on it, he was releaſed. In 1654, at Whetſtone in Leiceſterſhire, he was brought before colonel *Hacker*, who gave him liberty to go home, if he would *ſtay there and not to go abroad to meetings.* To this *Fox* replied, "if he "ſhould agree thereto, it would imply that he was guilty "of ſomething, for which his home was made his priſon; "and if he went to meeting, they would conſider that as a "breach of their order; therefore he plainly told them he "ſhould go to meeting, and could not anſwer their requi-"rings." Upon this he was, next day, carried priſoner by captain *Drury* to London. When *Cromwell* was informed of his arrival, he ſent to him this meſſage: "That the pro-"tector required of *George Fox*, that he ſhould promiſe not "to take up the ſword, or any other weapon, againſt him "or the government, as it then was: that he ſhould write it "in what words he ſaw proper, and ſet his hand to it." *Fox* returned an anſwer to this effect; and was afterwards introduced to *Cromwell*, and they had much diſcourſe about religion, in which the protector carried himſelf with much moderation: and *Fox* had his liberty given him.†

† Gough's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 132—136, p. 155-6.

In

In 1656, *Fox*, accompanied by *William Salt* of London, and *Edward Pyott* of Briſtol, travelled through Devonſhire into Cornwall, to Market-Jew, where he wrote a paper, containing an exhortation to fear God, and learn of *Chriſt* the light; which fell into the hands of major *Ceely*, a juſtice at St. Ives, who committed *Fox* and his companions to Launceſton gaol, on the charge of ſpreading papers to the diſturbance of the publick peace, and having no paſs, though perſons unknown, for travelling up and down, and refuſing to take the oath of abjuration and to give ſureties for their good behaviour. After nine weeks confinement they were brought to their trial, before judge *Glyn*, at the aſſizes: here they demanded juſtice for their falſe impriſonment; and major *Ceely*, not adhering to the charges in the mittimus, brought up new accuſations of a treaſonable propoſal and an aſſault: and they were indicted for coming, by force and arms, into a court, into which they were conducted as priſoners. But on no ground could any illegal criminality be proved againſt them. The judge ordered them to be taken away; and, in their abſence, fined them twenty marks apiece for coming into court with their hats on, and commanded that they ſhould be detained in priſon till their fines were paid. Seeing no proſpect of an immediate releaſe from ſuch a commitment, they diſcontinued the weekly payment of ſeven ſhillings a-piece for themſelves and as much for their horſes, which the jailor had extorted. Upon this they were turned into a diſmal and moſt noiſome dungeon, called Doomſdale, where the excrements of former priſoners had been accumulating for many years. They were not allowed beds or ſtraw to lie on; and, the filthineſs of the place not allowing them room to ſit down, they were obliged to ſtand all night. Neither were they permitted to cleanſe it, or to have any victuals but what they received, with difficulty, through the grate. This cruel treatment continued till the ſeſſions at Bodmin, when, on a repreſentation of their caſe to the juſtices, an order was obtained for opening the door of Doomſdale, and for permiſſion to clean it, and to buy their proviſions in the town. About the end of thirty weeks they were diſcharged by an order from major-general *Deſborrow*, in conſequence of applications made in their favour to *Cromwell*.

During

During this impriſonment one of *Fox*'s friends offered himſelf to the protector to lie in priſon, body for body, in his ſtead: to which propoſal *Cromwell* anſwered, *he could not grant it, being contrary to law*; and turning to ſome of his council ſtanding by him, aſked, which of you would do *as much for me, if I were in the ſame condition?** The next places, at which we find *Fox*, are Cardiff, Swanſea, and Brecknock. He viſited theſe towns in 1657; ſettled a meeting at Swanſea; and, at the latter place, met with rude treatment, and was expoſed to danger from the populace, raiſed and ſtimulated to riot and tumult by the magiſtrates.†

Another ſufferer amongſt the *quakers*, was *Miles Halhead*, one of their firſt zealous preachers; who, at Skipton and Doncaſter, was ſorely beaten and bruiſed by the populace, and left for dead. *Thomas Briggs*, in Lancaſter, *Robert Widders* and *William Dewſbury*, in Cumberland, were alſo ſeverally abuſed in like manner.‖ *John Cam* and *John Audland* were aſſaulted at Briſtol, to the great riſk of their lives, by hundreds of the rabble, inſtigated by *Farmer*, a clergyman. *William Caton* and *John Stubbs*, beſides being haled before the magiſtrates at Dover, were at Maidſtone ſent to the houſe of correction, ſtripped, and their necks and arms put into the ſtocks, and ſo cruelly whipped with cords as to draw tears from the ſpectators. After this, under the plea that "he that would not work ſhould not eat," they were kept ſeveral days without victuals, only on the allowance of a little water once a day: and ſoon after were ſent out of town, by different ways, with a paſs, as vagabonds.‡

At Wymondham in Norfolk, *Richard Hubberthorn* was committed to Bridewell for addreſſing the congregation after ſermon in the pariſh church: and on the next day, removed to a very incommodious priſon, being a poor hole in a croſs wall of Norwich-Caſtle; where he was detained till the ſeſſions. The juſtices then, waving the original ground of his commitment, charged him with contempt of authority, for appearing before them with his hat on; and under this pretence, recommitted him to priſon, where he lay a long time.§

* Gough's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 210—217. † Ibid. p. 289.
‖ Ibib. p. 137. ‡ Ibid. p. 162, 6, 7. § Ibid. p. 169.

The

The ſufferings, in which the members of this ſociety were involved by the ſentence of magiſtrates, were, in many inſtances, heightened by the ſeverity and injuſtice of the jailors: *James Lancaſter*, *George Whitehead*, and *Chriſtopher Atkinſon*, for not complying with the jailor's extravagant demands, were obliged to lie in their clothes on the floor, in the priſon at Norwich, for eight weeks in the cold winter of 1654.* At St. Edmundſbury, 1655, the ſame *Whitehead*, *John Harwood*, *George Roſe*, *George Fox* the younger, and *Henry Marſhall*, becauſe they refuſed to gratify the avaricious demands of the jailor for lodgings, and required a free priſon, were turned down to the common ward among the felons, in a low dungeon, with a damp earthen floor, where they lay upon rye-ſtraw. In this ſituation they were expoſed to abuſe from the priſoners, who frequently took away their food and other neceſſaries, alledging the jailor's permiſſion: one deſperate fellow frequently kicked and ſmote, and in a drunken fit threatened to kill them; ſaying, "if he "killed them, he ſhould not be hanged for it." After they had been in priſon thirty weeks, arrears of dues of fourteen pence a week were demanded from each of them; and on their remonſtrating againſt it, the turnkey was ordered to take away their clothes and boxes, which was done, with a threat to take their coats from off their backs. And for the ſpace of twenty-four weeks, they were obliged to lie upon part of their body-clothes on ſtraw. Some neceſſaries of linen brought to them by a friend were ſeized, and the proviſions ſent to them were examined. Their friends were not admitted in; and, if they attempted to ſpeak to them at the window or door of the gaol, water was frequently thrown on them to drive them away. At length, in conſequence of an application to the protector, an enquiry into the treatment they had received was inſtituted, and the jailor was reſtrained from exerciſing, or permitting, the cruel abuſe they had hitherto ſuffered. After an impriſonment from twelve to fifteen months, through repeated applications to *Cromwell*, ſeconded by the private ſolicitations of Mrs. *Mary Sanders*, a waiting gentlewoman in his family, an order for their releaſe was obtained, directed to ſir *Francis Ruſſel*, a man

* Gough's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 170.

of

of moderation and averſe from perſecution, who immediately cauſed them to be ſet at full liberty.‖ But the caſe of *James Parnel*, a native of Retford in Nottinghamſhire, who was educated in the ſchools of literature, in the ſixteenth year of his age joined the quakers, and, though a youth, was an affecting preacher and able diſputant, and diſcovered the wiſdom and underſtanding of age and experience, afforded moſt affecting inſtances of the ſeverities a cruel jailor could inflict. His conſtitution was tender, and after ten or eleven months ſunk under the multiplied hardſhips of his impriſonment, about the age of nineteen; the conſideration of his youth exciting no commiſeration.*

Beſides the perſonal injuries theſe virtuous people ſuffered, they were expoſed to great depredations in their property, by unreaſonable fines and exorbitant diſtraints, eſpecially on account of tithes: into the detail of which we have not room to deſcend. Suffice it to ſay, that in 1659, where 53l. 13s. 6d. only could be demanded, 138l. were exacted.‡

To ſum up this view of their ſufferings, it may be obſerved, that when a printed account of them was preſented to the parliament which the protector convened, it appeared that one hundred and forty of them were then in priſon; and of one thouſand nine hundred who had ſuffered in the preceding ſix years, twenty-one had died in priſon, generally by hardſhip or by violent abuſes.§

It is to be remarked, that they ſupported themſelves under ſevere perſecution, with meekneſs, patience, and fortitude, "as lambs dumb before their ſhearers:" and there were not wanting inſtances of their being ſo borne up by inward conſolation and peace, by faith and hope in their afflictions, as frequently to ſing praiſes to God, to the aſtoniſhment of the ſpectators and of their fellow-priſoners.

While they were expoſed to hatred, contempt, and abuſe from without, brotherly kindneſs and unfeigned charity increaſed, and connected them amongſt themſelves. While each ſeemed regardleſs of his own liberty, they were zealous advocates for that of their brethren, and almoſt inceſſant in their repreſentations to thoſe in authority of the

‖ Gough's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 176—180. * Ibid. p. 180—188.
‡ Ibid. p. 284. § Ibid. p. 274.

ſufferings,

ſufferings of their friends; going ſo far in their charity, as to offer themſelves freely, perſon for perſon, to lie in priſon, inſtead of ſuch as they apprehended were in danger of periſhing through the length or extremity of their confinement.†

This mutual and generous attachment was amiable: their moral conduct was regular: and their conſcientious regard to fidelity in their commerce begat confidence. They were careful to manufacture or chooſe ſuch goods as were ſubſtantial and would anſwer the expectations of the purchaſers; moderate in their profits; ſparing in their commendations; punctual in their payments; they aſked no more for their ware than the preciſe ſum they were determined to accept; and they took no advantage of ignorance. So that, under all their ſufferings, they proſpered, and verified the proverb, that *honeſty is the beſt policy*.‡

It was alſo a diſtinguiſhing trait in the character of this people, that they attached themſelves to none of the political parties of the day, nor entered into their ambitious views. It was with them a principle of religion to have no intermeddling with ſecular factions, and to demean themſelves quietly and peaceably under the exiſting government. When the nation was in great commotion and fluctuation, on the death of *Cromwell*, *George Fox* addreſſed an exhortation to his friends "to live in love and peace with all men, to keep "clear of all the commotions of the world, and not to in-"termeddle with the powers of the earth, but to let their "converſation be in heaven." He remarked, that "all "who pretend to fight for Chriſt are deceived, for his king-"dom is not of this world, and therefore his ſervants do "not fight." When ſir *George Booth* roſe in arms in favour of the exiled monarch, the committee of ſafety invited the *quakers* to take up arms, offering conſiderable poſts and commands to ſome of them. But they eſteemed war and violence to be inconſiſtent with pure chriſtianity, and were not to be corrupted by the proſpects of preferment and honours.*

Unaſſiſted by any alliance with the ſtate, nay, treated with ſeverity by all the contending powers in their turn, and

† Gough's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 140, 175, 76. ‡ Ibid. p. 141.

* Ibid. p. 273, 4, 7.

every

every where purſued with contempt and cruel abuſe, they increaſed, and ſpread themſelves over the kingdom. In the year 1652, meetings of them were ſettled in many of the central and northern parts of the nation. Their preachers were zealous and active; not intimidated by ſufferings, nor wearied by journies and labours. *Francis Howgill* and *Edw. Burroughs*, with *Anthony Pearſon*, travelled to London; *John Cam* and *John Audland*, to Briſtol; *Richard Hubberthorn* and *George Whitehead*, to Norwich; and others to other parts. And we find *George Fox* diſſeminating their principles, and meeting the ſevereſt ſufferings, in the remoteſt parts of the kingdom. The evils, which this people endured with ſingular meekneſs and patience, had great effect in awakening attention to their preaching, and ſoftening the minds of numbers to the reception of their doctrine. It was juſtly remarked by *Hugh Peters* to *Oliver Cromwell*, "that he could not give *George Fox* a better opportunity of "ſpreading his principles in Cornwall, than by impriſoning "him there."*

The inſtances of the perſecution and ſufferings they endured, which we have ſelected, for we do not pretend to give their hiſtory in a minute detail, reflect diſgrace on the magiſtracy of the age: and are a reproach to the adminiſtration of juſtice. But the mayor of Oxford, in the year 1654, deſerves to be mentioned as an example of a more equitable and humane diſpoſition. *Elizabeth Heavens* and *Elizabeth Fletcher*, two North-country women, were apprehended and ſent to Bocardo, a priſon uſually appropriated to the reception of felons and murderers, for having exhorted the people, after ſervice, in one of the churches. The mayor being ſent for to meet the juſtices, by whoſe order they had been committed, to examine the *quakers*, he replied to the meſſage: "Let them who committed them deal with "them according to law, for my part I have nothing againſt "them: if they wanted food, money, or clothes, I would "willingly ſupply them." The juſtices, however, met, attended by Dr. *Owen* the vice-chancellor, who was the principal in examining them; and the ſentence paſſed on them was, that they ſhould be whipped out of the city. This ſen-

* Gough's Hiſtory, p. 217.

tence,

tence, according to the conſtitution of the town, was not valid without the ſignature and ſeal of the mayor: which, as he judged it unmerited and unjuſt, he refuſed to affix to it. But by the order of the vice-chancellor and his coadjutors, it was ſeverely executed without being legaliſed by his ſanction: though the conviction of their innocence affected even the heart of the executioner to that degree, that he performed his office with manifeſt reluctance.†

Another more remarkable and more publick inſtance of protection and juſtice, which this people were ſo happy as once to receive in thoſe times, reflects honour on the name of general *Monk*. On a complaint againſt ſome of his ſoldiers for diſturbing their meetings, he iſſued out this order:

"St. James's, March 9, 1659.

"I Do require all officers and ſoldiers to forbear to "diſturb the peaceable meetings of the *quakers*, they doing "nothing prejudicial to the parliament or commonwealth "of England. *George Monk.*"*

I am ſenſible, that wild flights of rudeneſs and enthuſiaſm, that violations of decency, decorum, and order, are imputed to the *quakers* of this period. *Moſheim* ſtigmatizes them as "pernicious fanaticks," and ſpeaks, as it were with approbation, of their being "ſeverely chaſtiſed for their extra-"vagance and folly." But granting the juſtneſs of theſe imputations, which I conceive, however, are by no means to be admitted in all inſtances and to their full extent, and will ſcarcely apply to thoſe caſes of ſuffering which we have ſtated; every equitable and humane mind will feel indignant at ſeeing folly *illegally* chaſtiſed, and enthuſiaſtick extravagancies reſtrained by acts of *cruelty*. Extravagance and folly

† Theſe women had a few days before, for exhorting the inhabitants and ſtudents to repentance, been pumped on by the ſcholars of St. John's college, till they were almoſt ſuffocated: they were then tied arm to arm, and dragged up and down the college, and through a pool of water: and *Elizabeth Fletcher*, a young woman, was thrown over a grave, whereby ſhe received a contuſion on her ſide from which ſhe never recovered, but ſoon after died. Yet it does not appear that the magiſtrates animadverted on this inhuman outrage. Gough's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 147—149.

* Ibid. p. 279.

rank

rank almoſt with wiſdom and virtue, when compared with the injuſtice and inhumanity of the MAGISTRATES from whom the quakers ſuffered perſecution.

Their hiſtory during this period, though we have given an abſtract only of it, has carried us farther than we intended. But we ſhall not be long detained by a ſurvey of the ſituation of the other ſectaries at this time.

An act of the Scotch preſbytery, March 22, 1652-3, tended to convince the *baptiſts*, that their principles were not beheld with a favourable eye in that nation: for one of three declarations it then publiſhed, was "againſt the new "Scots dippers."‖ Lying under an odium, and animated by a zeal to propagate what they deemed truth, they properly went on to exhibit, from time to time, a repreſentation and defence of their ſentiments, by their publications. In the year 1654, the reverend *William Britten*, who had embraced their opinions, printed a treatiſe, entitled "The Mo-"derate Baptiſt; briefly ſhewing ſcripture-way for that ini-"tiatory ſacrament of baptiſm; together with divers queries, "conſiderations, errors, and miſtakes, in and about the work "of religion: wherein may appear, that the baptiſts of our "times hold not thoſe ſtrange opinions as many heretofore "have done; but as the ſcriptures are now more clearly "underſtood, ſo they deſire to come nearer to walk by the "ſame light." In 1656, the *baptiſt* churches in Somerſetſhire publiſhed a confeſſion of their faith.§

When *Oliver Cromwell* had uſurped the government, he diſcharged at once all the principal officers of his army, upon *this* among other reaſons, that they were all anabaptiſts.* His intention of diſcarding them was firſt communicated to a Scots lord, called *Twidle*, and reached the ears of the *baptiſts* before it was executed. This occaſioned a free and ſtrong remonſtrance againſt the deſign, written, it is ſuppoſed, by an officer, in a pamphlet, entitled "A Short Diſcovery "of his Highneſs the Lord Protector's intention touching "the *Anabaptiſts* in the Army, &c. upon which there is

‖ Whitlock's Memorial, p. 528.

§ Croſby's Hiſtory of the Baptiſts, vol. i. p. 254, who has given this confeſſion of faith in the Appendix, No. iii.

* Ibid. vol. ii. p. 5.

"propounded

" propounded thirty-five queries for his highneſs to anſwer " to his own conſcience. By a well-wiſher to the Anabap- " tiſts' proſperity, and the reſt of the ſeparates in England." This pamphlet is given at length by *Croſby*.‖ It appears from it, that the *baptiſts* were, at this time, a numerous body. For the writer of it aſks the protector, " Have they not filled " your towns, your cities, your provinces, your iſlands, your " caſtles, your navies, your tents, your armies, your court? " your very council is not free: only we have left your tem- " ples for yourſelf to worſhip in them?"

The piece is on the ſide of toleration and liberty. Amidſt the ſad ſcenes of ſuffering for conſcience and perſecution which mark this period, it is a comfort to behold ſome gleams of light from the dawn of the day of liberty. The *independants*, while the *preſbyterians* exclaimed that toleration was but an indulgence for ſoul-murder, were early and ſtrenuous advocates for the rights of conſcience. Dr. *John Owen*, though, in the caſe of the women whoſe ſufferings we have mentioned, he did not act up to his principles, was amongſt the firſt of our countrymen who entertained juſt and liberal notions on this ſubject, which he had the integrity and reſolution to avow and publiſh, when the times were the leaſt encouraging: and the celebrity of his name, character, and learning, gave weight to his writings. In 1667, when the diſſenters were ſuffering perſecution under *Charles* II. he publiſhed two " Pleas for indulgence and to- " leration." But before this, he had argued very cogently againſt intolerance, in an Eſſay for the practice of Church government, and a Diſcourſe of Toleration, which were, probably, firſt publiſhed about the beginning of 1647, when the parliament was arrived in full power and he was in great repute.* The memorable *John Hale*'s celebrated " Tract on " Schiſm" breathed a liberal catholick ſpirit; and much influence, in advancing the ſpread of juſt ſentiments on liberty, may be juſtly aſcribed to it.

In the period, of which we are particularly ſpeaking, the perſecution of the excellent and pious *Biddle* contributed to expoſe the evil of intolerance, and brought forth advocates

‖ Vol. iii. p. 232—242.

* Palmer's Nonconformiſts' Memorial, vol. i. p. 157.

for

for liberty in ſeveral publications to which it gave origin; as, "A Narrative of the proceedings againſt *John Biddle*;" "The true ſtate of the caſe of Liberty of Conſcience in "England;" and "The Spirit of Spirit of Perſecution "again broke looſe."‡

Mr. *Biddle*'s own publications, though they were chiefly controverſial, had the ſame good tendency; as they led to the diſcuſſion of important queſtions, promoted religious enquiry, and called men to the exerciſe of the right of private judgment. Two pieces went more directly to elucidate, eſtabliſh, and diſſeminate the principles of liberty; namely, "A Brief Enquiry touching a better way than is commonly "made uſe of to refute *Papiſts*, and to reduce *Proteſtants* to "certainty and unity in religion." 1653. And another tract, entitled "A Diſcourſe touching the Peace and Con-"cord of the Church: wherein is elegantly and acutely "argued, that not ſo much a bad opinion as a bad life ex-"cludes a chriſtian out of the kingdom of heaven; and "that the things neceſſary to be known for the attainment "of ſalvation are very few and eaſy: and finally, that thoſe "who paſs amongſt us under the name of hereticks, are "notwithſtanding to be tolerated." 1653. Theſe were tranſlations, the former of a piece written in Latin by *Joachim Stegman*, a German, and miniſter of an *unitarian* church, at Clauſenburg, in Saxony; the latter of a treatiſe, originally compoſed in Latin, by *Przipcovius*, a popiſh knight."§ In this connection ſhould be mentioned his tranſlation of the Racovian catechiſm, drawn up for the uſe of the *unitarian* churches in Poland; and particularly the preface to it, 1652. This catechiſm was reported to the parliament, and voted by them to "contain matters that are *blaſphemous*, *erroneous*, "*and ſcandalous:*" and all the printed copies were ordered to be burnt.‖

A piece on the ſide of liberty, publiſhed in 1659, deſerving particular notice, was "A Treatiſe of Civil Power in "Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes: ſhewing that it is not lawful for any "power on earth to compel in matters of religion. By

‡ Croſby's Hiſtory of the Baptiſts, vol. i. p. 209—215.

§ A Review of the Life, Character, and Writings of *John Biddle*, ſect. xi.

‖ Whitlocke's Memorials, p. 505.

JOHN

JOHN MILTON." This manual has been republiſhed, ſo lately as in 1790, addreſſed to Dr. *Richard Price*. It is written on the moſt liberal principles, in the ſtrong and nervous manner of the author.*

It is not poſſible to ſay, at this remote period from their appearance, what impreſſion theſe publications made. From the nature of truth, and the force of juſt reaſoning, they could not fail to be uſeful: and though the immediate effect cannot be eſtimated, we know that the ſpirit of liberty has been growing and improving ever ſince that time.

* I am tempted here to quote a paſſage from this piece. "We read not "that Chriſt ever exerciſed force but once; and that," ſays the author, "was to drive profane ones out of his temple, not to force them in." "If "by the Apoſtle, (Rom. xii. 1.) we are beſeeched as brethren, by the mer- "cies of God, to preſent our bodies a living ſacrifice, holy, acceptable to "God, which is our reaſonable ſervice or worſhip; then is no man to be "forced, by the compulſive laws of men, to preſent his body a dead ſacri- "fice, and ſo, under the goſpel, moſt unholy and unacceptable, becauſe it "is his unreaſonable ſervice, that is to ſay, not only unwilling, but uncon- "ſcionable."

CHAP. V.

From the Reſtoration of King CHARLES II. *to the Conference at the Savoy.*

—1660.—

BEFORE we relate the conference between the epiſcopal and preſbyterian divines in order to a *comprehenſion*, it will be proper to repreſent the views of the court, and of the biſhops, who had promiſed to act with temper, and to bury all paſt offences under the foundation of the reſtoration. The point in debate was, *Whether conceſſions ſhould be made, and pains taken to gain the preſbyterians?* The king ſeemed to be for it; but the court biſhops, with lord *Clarendon* at their head, were abſolutely againſt it: *Clarendon* was a man of high and arbitrary principles, and gave himſelf up to the biſhops, for the ſervice they had done him in reconciling the king to his daughter's clandeſtine marriage with the duke of *York*. If his lordſhip had been a friend to moderate meaſures, the greateſt part of the preſbyterians might have been gained; but he would not diſoblige the biſhops; the reaſons of whoſe angry behaviour were, 1. *Their high notions of the epiſcopal form of government, as neceſſary to the very eſſence of a chriſtian church.* 2. *The reſentments that remained in their breaſts againſt all who had engaged with the long parliament, and had been the cauſe of their ſufferings.* 3. *The preſbyterians being legally poſſeſſed of moſt of the benefices in church and ſtate, it was thought neceſſary to diſpoſſeſs them; and if there muſt be a ſchiſm, rather to have it out of the church than within it*; for it had been obſerved, that the half conformity of the puritans before the war, had, in moſt cities and corporations, occaſioned a faction between the *incumbents* and *lecturers*, which latter had endeavoured to render themſelves popular at the expence of the hierarchy. 4. Beſides, *they had too much influence in the election of repreſentatives*

preſentatives to ſerve in parliament; therefore inſtead of uſing methods to bring them into the church (ſays biſhop *Burnes*†) they reſolved to ſeek the moſt effectual ones for caſting them out. Here was no generoſity, or ſpirit of catholiciſm, no remembrance of paſt ſervices, no compaſſion for weak or prejudiced minds, but a fixed reſolution to diſarm their opponents at all events; ſo that the enſuing conferences with the preſbyterians were no other than an amuſement to keep them quiet, till they could obtain a law for their utter expulſion.

The king was devoted to his pleaſures, and had no principles of *real* religion; his grand deſign was to lay aſleep the former controverſies, and to unite both proteſtant and papiſt under his government; with this view he ſubmitted to the ſcheme of the biſhops, in hopes of making it ſubſervient to a *general toleration*; which nothing could render more neceſſary, than having great bodies of men ſhut out of the church, and put under ſevere penal laws, who muſt then be petitioners for a toleration which the legiſlature would probably grant; but it was his majeſty's reſolution, that *whatſoever ſhould be granted of that ſort ſhould paſs in ſo unlimited a manner, that papiſts as well as other ſectaries ſhould be comprehended within it.* The duke of *York* and all the Roman catholicks were in this ſcheme; they declared abſolutely againſt a *comprehenſion*, but were very much for a *general toleration*, as what was neceſſary for the peace of the nation, and promoting the catholick cauſe.

The well-meaning preſbyterians were all this while ſtriving againſt the ſtream, and making intereſt with a ſet of men who were now laughing in their ſleeves at the abject condition to which their egregious credulity had reduced them. They offered archbiſhop *Uſher*'s model of primitive epiſcopacy as a plan of accommodation; that the *ſurplice*, the *croſs* in baptiſm, and *kneeling* at the communion, ſhould be left indifferent.‖ They were content to ſet aſide the *aſſembly's confeſſion*, and let the articles of the church of England take place with ſome few amendments. About the middle of June Mr. *Calamy*, Dr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Aſhe*, Mr. *Baxter*, Dr. *Wallis*, Dr. *Manton*, and Dr. *Spurſtow*, waited upon the king, being

† Vol. i. p. 259, 60, 12mo. ‖ Kennet's Chron. p. 173.

introduced by the earl of *Mancheſter*, to crave his majeſty's interpoſition for reconciling the differences in the church; that the people might not be deprived of their faithful paſtors: Honeſt Mr. *Baxter* told his majeſty, that the intereſt of the late uſurpers with the people aroſe from the encouragement they had given religion; and he hoped the king would not undo, but rather go beyond the good which *Cromwell* or any other had done.‡ They laid a good deal of ſtreſs on their own loyalty, and carefully diſtinguiſhed between their own behaviour and that of other ſectaries, who had been diſloyal and factious. The king replied, that "he was glad to hear of their "inclinations to an agreement; that he would do his part to "bring them together, but this muſt not be by bringing one "party over to another, but by abating ſomewhat on both "ſides, and meeting in the midway; and that if it were not "accompliſhed it ſhould not be his fault; nay, he ſaid, he "was reſolved to ſee it brought to paſs."† Accordingly his majeſty required them to draw up ſuch propoſals as they thought meet for an agreement about church government, and to ſet down the moſt they could yield; promiſing them a meeting with ſome epiſcopal divines in his majeſty's preſence, when the propoſals were ready. Upon this they ſummoned the city miniſters to meet and conſult at Sion College, not excluding ſuch of their country brethren as would attend, that it might not be ſaid afterwards they took upon themſelves the concluding ſo weighty an affair.* After two or three weeks conſultation they agreed upon a paper to the following purpoſe, drawn up chiefly by Dr. *Reynolds*, Dr. *Worth*, and Mr. *Calamy*, which, together with archbiſhop *Uſher*'s reduction of epiſcopacy, they offered to the king, with the following addreſs:

"*May it pleaſe your moſt excellent majeſty*,

"WE your majeſty's moſt loyal ſubjects cannot but "acknowledge it as a very great mercy of God, that im-"mediately after ſo wonderful and peaceable reſtoration to "your throne and government (for which we bleſs his name) "he has ſtirred up your royal heart, as to a zealous teſti-

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 182. † Ibid. p. 183.

* Baxter, part ii. p. 232.

mony

" mony againſt prophaneneſs, ſo to endeavour an happy " compoſing of the differences, and healing the ſad breaches " which are in the church. And we ſhall, according to our " bounded duty, become humble ſuitors to the throne of " grace, that the God of peace, who has put ſuch a thing " as this into your majeſty's heart, will, by his heavenly " wiſdom and holy ſpirit, aſſiſt you herein, that you may " bring your reſolutions to a perfect effect and iſſue.—

" In humble conformity to your majeſty's chriſtian deſigns, " we, taking it for granted that there is a firm agreement " between our brethren and us in the doctrinal truths of the " reformed religion, and in the ſubſtantial parts of divine " worſhip, humbly deſire,

Firſt, " That we may be ſecured of thoſe things in prac- " tice of which we ſeem to be agreed in principle; as,

1. " That thoſe of our flocks that are ſerious in matters " of their ſalvation may not be reproachfully handled by " words of ſcorn, or any abuſive language, but may be en- " couraged in their duties of exhorting and provoking one " another in their moſt holy faith, and of furthering one " another in the ways of eternal life.

2. " That each congregation may have a learned, ortho- " dox, and godly paſtor, that the people may be publickly " inſtructed by preaching every Lord's day, by catechiſing, " by frequent adminiſtering the Lord's-ſupper and baptiſm; " and that effectual proviſion by law may be made, that ſuch as " are inſufficient, negligent, or ſcandalous, may not officiate.

3. " That none may be admitted to the Lord's ſupper till " they perſonally own their baptiſmal covenant by a credible " profeſſion of faith and holineſs, not contradicted by a ſcan- " dalous life. That to ſuch only *confirmation* may be ad- " miniſtered; and that the approbation of the paſtor to " whom the inſtructing thoſe under his charge doth apper- " tain, may be produced before any perſon receives confir- " mation.

4. " That an effectual courſe be taken for the ſanctifica- " tion of the Lord's day, appropriating the ſame to holy " exerciſes both in publick and private, without any unne- " ceſſary divertiſements."

" Then for matters in difference, viz. church-government, " liturgy, and ceremonies, we humbly repreſent,

" That we do not renounce the true ancient primitive " epiſcopacy or preſidency, as it was balanced with a due " commixtion of preſbyters. If therefore your majeſty, in " your grave wiſdom and moderation, ſhall conſtitute ſuch " an epiſcopacy, we ſhall humbly ſubmit thereunto. And " in order to an accommodation in this weighty affair, we " deſire humbly to offer ſome particulars which we conceive " were amiſs in the epiſcopal government as it was prac- " tiſed before the year 1640.

1. " The great extent of the biſhop's dioceſe, which we " apprehend too large for his perſonal inſpection.

2. " That by reaſon of this diſability the biſhops did de- " pute the adminiſtration, in matters of ſpiritual cognizance, " to commiſſaries, chancellors, officials, whereof ſome are ſe- " cular perſons, and could not adminiſter that power that " originally belongs to the officers of the church.

3. " That the biſhops did aſſume the ſole power of ordi- " nation and juriſdiction to themſelves.

4. " That ſome of the biſhops exerciſed an arbitrary " power, by ſending forth articles of viſitation, enquiring " unwarrantably into ſeveral things; and ſwearing church- " wardens to preſent accordingly. Alſo many innovations " and ceremonies were impoſed upon miniſters and people " not required by law.

" For remedy of theſe evils we crave leave to offer,

1. " The late moſt reverend primate of Ireland, his re- " duction of epiſcopacy into the form of ſynodical govern- " ment.

2. " We humbly deſire, that the *ſuffragans*, or *chorepiſ- " copi*, may be choſen by the reſpective ſynods.

3. " That no oaths, or promiſes of obedience to the " biſhops, nor any unneceſſary ſubſcriptions or engagements, " be made neceſſary to ordination, inſtitution, or induction, " miniſtration, communion, or immunities of miniſters, they " being reſponſible for any tranſgreſſion of the law. And " that no biſhops or eccleſiaſtical governors may exerciſe " their government by their private will or pleaſure, but " only by ſuch rules, canons, and conſtitutions, as ſhall be " eſtabliſhed by parliament. *Secondly,*

Secondly, " Concerning Liturgy.

1. " We are ſatisfied in our judgments concerning the " lawfulneſs of a liturgy, or form of worſhip, provided it " be for matter agreeable to the word of God, and ſuited to " the nature of the ſeveral ordinances and neceſſities of the " church, neither too tedious, nor compoſed of too ſhort " prayers or reſponſals, not diſſonant from the liturgies of " other reformed churches, nor too rigorouſly impoſed, nor " the miniſter confined thereunto, but that he may alſo " make uſe of his gifts for prayer and exhortation.

2. " Foraſmuch as the book of common-prayer is in ſome " things juſtly offenſive, and needs amendment, we moſt " humbly pray, that ſome learned, godly, and moderate di- " vines of both perſuaſions, may be employed to compile " ſuch a form as is before deſcribed, as much as may be in " ſcripture words; or at leaſt to reviſe, and reform the old; " together with an addition of other various forms in ſcrip- " ture phraſe, to be uſed at the miniſter's choice."

Thirdly, " Concerning Ceremonies.

" We hold ourſelves obliged, in every part of divine wor- " ſhip, to do all things decently and in order, and to edifi- " cation; and are willing to be determined by authority in " ſuch things as being merely circumſtantial, or common to " human actions and ſocieties, are to be ordered by the " light of nature, and human prudence.

" As to divers ceremonies formerly retained in the church " of England, we do, in all humility, offer to your majeſty " the following conſiderations:

" That the worſhip of God is in itſelf pure and perfect, " and decent, without any ſuch ceremonies. That it is then " moſt pure and acceptable when it has leaſt of human mix- " tures. That theſe ceremonies have been impoſed and ad- " vanced by ſome, ſo as to draw near to the ſignificancy " and moral efficacy of ſacraments. That they have been " rejected by many of the reformed churches abroad, and " have been ever the ſubject of contention and endleſs diſ- " putes in this church; and therefore being in their own " nature indifferent, and mutable, they ought to be changed, " leſt in time they ſhould be apprehended as neceſſary as " the ſubſtantials of worſhip themſelves. " May

"May it therefore pleaſe your majeſty graciouſly to grant, "that *kneeling at the Lord's ſupper*, and ſuch *holy-days* as "are but of human inſtitution, may not be impoſed on ſuch "as ſcruple them. That the *uſe of the ſurplice and croſs in "baptiſm, and bowing at the name of Jeſus*, may be aboliſhed. "And foraſmuch as erecting altars and bowing towards "them, and ſuch like, (having no foundation in the law of "the land) have been introduced and impoſed, we humbly "beſeech your majeſty, that ſuch innovations may not be "uſed or impoſed for the future."

When the preſbyterian divines came to court with theſe propoſals, the king received them favourably, and promiſed to bring both parties together. His majeſty expreſſed a ſatisfaction in hearing they were diſpoſed to a liturgy, and forms of prayer, and that they were willing to yield to the eſſence of epiſcopacy, and therefore doubted not of procuring an accommodation. The miniſters expected to have met the biſhops with their papers of propoſals, but none of them appeared, having been better inſtructed in a private conference with the lord chancellor *Hyde*, who told them, it was not their buſineſs to offer propoſals, becauſe *they were in poſſeſſion of the laws of the land*; that the *hierarchy* and *ſervice book*, being the only legal eſtabliſhment, ought to be the ſtandard of agreement; and therefore their only concern was to anſwer the exceptions of the miniſters againſt it. Accordingly, inſtead of a conference, or paper of propoſals, which the miniſters expected, the biſhops, having obtained a copy of the paper of the preſbyterians, drew up an anſwer in writing, which was communicated to their miniſters, July 8.

In this anſwer, the biſhops take notice of the miniſters' conceſſions in their preamble, as *that they agree with them in the ſubſtantials of doctrine and worſhip*; and infer from thence, that their particular exceptions are of leſs importance, and ought not to be ſtifly inſiſted on to the diſturbance of the peace of the church.*

To the particulars they anſwer,

1. *Concerning church-government*, "That they never heard "any juſt reaſons for a diſſent from the eccleſiaſtical hie-

* Kennet's Chron. p. 200. Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 242.

rarchy

" rarchy of this kingdom, which they believe in the main to " be the true *primitive epiſcopacy*, which was more than a " meer preſidency of order. Nor do they find that it was " balanced by an authoritative commixtion of preſbyters, " though it has been in all times exerciſed with the aſſiſtance " and counſel of preſbyters in ſubordination to biſhops. " They wonder that they ſhould except againſt the govern- " ment by one ſingle perſon, which, if applied to the civil " magiſtrate, is a moſt dangerous inſinuation."*

As to the four particular inſtances of things amiſs.

1. " We cannot grant the extent of any dioceſe is ſo " great, but that a *biſhop* may well perform his duty, which " is not a perſonal inſpection of every man's ſoul, but the " paſtoral charge, or taking care that the miniſters, and " other eccleſiaſtical officers within their dioceſe, do their " duties; and if ſome dioceſes ſhould be too large, the law " allows *ſuffragans*.

2. " Concerning *lay-chancellors*, &c. we confeſs the bi- " ſhops did depute part of their eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction to " *chancellors*, *commiſſaries*, *officials*, &c. as men better ſkilled " in the civil and canon laws; but as for matters of mere " ſpiritual concernment, as *excommunication*, *abſolution*, and " other cenſures of the church, we conceive they belong " properly to the biſhop himſelf, or his ſurrogate, wherein, " if any thing has been done amiſs, we are willing it ſhould " be reformed.

3. " Whether *biſhops* are a diſtinct order from *preſbyters*, " or not? or, whether they have the ſole power of ordi- " nation, is not now the queſtion; but we affirm, that the " biſhops of this realm have conſtantly ordained with the " aſſiſtance of preſbyters, and the impoſition of their hands " together with the biſhops, and for this purpoſe the colleges " of deans and chapters are inſtituted.

4. " As to archbiſhop *Uſher*'s model of church-govern- " ment, we decline it, as not conſiſtent with his other learned " diſcourſes on the original of epiſcopacy, and of metro- " politans; nor with the king's ſupremacy in cauſes eccle- " ſiaſtical."

* Baxter, p. 243.

II. *Concerning*

II. *Concerning Liturgy.*

" We eſteem the liturgy of the church of England, con-
" tained in the book of common-prayer, and by law eſta-
" bliſhed, to be ſuch an one as is by them deſired, according
" to the qualifications which they mention; the diſuſe of
" which has been the cauſe of the ſad diviſions of the
" church, and the reſtoring it may be, by God's bleſſing,
" a ſpecial means of making up the breach. Nor can the
" impoſition of it be called rigorous, as long as clergymen
" have the liberty of uſing their gifts before and after ſer-
" mon. Nevertheleſs we are not againſt reviſing the liturgy
" by ſuch diſcreet perſons as his majeſty ſhall think fit to
" employ therein.

III. *Of Ceremonies.*

" Lawful authority has already determined the *ceremonies*
" *in queſtion* to be decent and orderly, and for edification,
" and conſequently to be agreeable to the general rules of
" the word. We allow the worſhip of God is in itſelf per-
" fect in eſſentials, but ſtill the church is at liberty to im-
" prove it with circumſtantials for decency and order. Ce-
" remonies were never eſteemed to be *ſacraments*, nor
" impoſed as ſuch; they are retained by moſt proteſtant
" churches; and that they have been the ſubject of conten-
" tion is owing to men's weakneſs, and their unwillingneſs
" to ſubmit their private opinions to the publick judgment
" of the church. We acknowledge, that theſe things are
" in their nature mutable, but we can by no means think it
" expedient to remove them. However, as we are no way
" againſt ſuch a tender and religious compaſſion in things of
" this nature, as his majeſty's piety and wiſdom ſhall think
" fit to extend; ſo we cannot think that the ſatisfaction of
" ſome private perſons is to be laid in the balance againſt
" the publick peace and uniformity of the church.

" As for *kneeling at the Lord's ſupper*, it is a geſture of
" the greateſt reverence and devotion, and ſo moſt agreeable
" to that holy ſervice.

" *Holy-days* of human inſtitution having been obſerved by
" the people of God in the Old Teſtament, and by our
" bleſſed Saviour himſelf in the goſpel, and by all the
" churches

"churches of Chriſt in the primitive and following times, "as apt means to preſerve the memorials of the chief my- "ſteries of the chriſtian religion: And ſuch *holy-days* alſo "being fit times for the honeſt recreation of the meaner "ſort of people; for theſe reaſons we humbly deſire they "may be continued in the church.

"As for the three other ceremonies, the *ſurplice*, the *croſs* "*after baptiſm*, and *bowing at the name of Jeſus*, though we "ſee not any ſufficient reaſon why they ſhould be utterly "aboliſhed, nevertheleſs, how far forth, in regard of tender "conſciences, a liberty may be thought fit to be indulged to "any, his majeſty is beſt able to judge.

They conclude thus: "We are ſo far from believing that "his majeſty's condeſcending to the miniſters demands will "take away not only our differences, but the roots and cauſes "of them, that we are confident it will prove the ſeminary "of new differences, both by giving diſſatisfaction to thoſe "that are well pleaſed with what is already eſtabliſhed, who "are much the greateſt part of his majeſty's ſubjects; and "by encouraging unquiet ſpirits, when theſe things ſhall be "granted, to make further demands; there being no aſſu- "rance by them given, what will content all diſſenters, than "which nothing is more neceſſary for ſettling a firm peace "in the church."

About a week after, the preſbyterian divines ſent the biſhops a warm remonſtrance, and defence of their propoſals, drawn up chiefly by Mr. *Baxter*, to the following purpoſe:

Concerning the preamble.

"We are not inſenſible of the danger of the church, "through the doctrinal errors of thoſe with whom we differ "about points of government and worſhip; but we chooſe "to ſay nothing of the party that we are agreed with in "doctrinals, becauſe we both ſubſcribe the ſame holy ſcrip- "tures, articles of religion, and books of homilies; and "the contradictions to their own confeſſions, which too "many are guilty of, we did not think juſt to charge upon "the *whole*."*

* Kennet's Chron. p. 205. Baxter, part ii. p. 248.

Concerning

Concerning Church-government.

" Had you read *Gerſon*, *Bucer*, *Parker*, *Baynes*, *Salmaſius*, " *Blondel*, &c. you would have ſeen juſt reaſon given for " our diſſent from the eccleſiaſtical hierarchy, as ſtated in " England."

Inſtances of things amiſs.

" You would eaſily grant that *dioceſes* are too great, if " you had ever conſcionably tried the taſk which Dr. *Ham-* " *mond* deſcribeth as the biſhop's work; or had ever be- " lieved *Ignatius*, and other antient deſcriptions of a biſhop's " church. You cannot be ignorant, that our biſhops have " the ſole government of paſtors and people; that the whole " power of the keys is in their hands, and that their preſ- " byters are but cyphers."

Concerning Ceremonies.

" Theſe divines argue for leaving them indifferent for the " peace of the church, as being not eſſential to the perfec- " tion of chriſtian worſhip, eſpecially when ſo many looked " upon them as ſinful."

They conclude thus: " We perceive your *counſels againſt* " *peace* are not likely to be fruſtrated. Your deſires con- " cerning us are likely to be accompliſhed. You are like " to be gratified with our ſilence and ejection; and yet we " will believe, that *Bleſſed are the peace-makers*; and though " we are prevented by you in our purſuits of peace, and " are never like thus publickly to ſeek it more, yet are we " reſolved, as much as poſſible, to live peaceably with all " men."

The eyes of the preſbyterians were now opened, and they began to diſcern their weakneſs in expecting an agreement with the biſhops, who appeared to be exaſperated, and determined to tie them down to the old eſtabliſhment. The former ſeverities began already to be revived, and the laws were put in execution againſt ſome who did not make uſe of the old *liturgy*. Many were ſuſpended and turned out of their livings on this account; upon which the leading preſbyterians applied to the king, and humbly requeſted,

1. " That

1. "That they might with all convenient ſpeed, ſee his "majeſty's concluſions upon the propoſals of mutual con- "deſcenſions, before they paſs into reſolves.

2. "That his majeſty would publickly declare his plea- "ſure for the ſuſpenſion of all proceedings upon the act of "uniformity, againſt non-conformiſts to the liturgy and ce- "remonies, till they ſaw the iſſue of their hoped-for agree- "ment.

3. "That until the ſaid ſettlement, there may be no oath "of canonical obedience, nor ſubſcription to the liturgy and "ceremonies required, nor renunciation of their ordination "by meer preſbyters, impoſed as neceſſary to inſtitution, "induction or confirmation.

4. "That his majeſty would cauſe the broad ſeal to be "revoked, where perſons had been put into the poſſeſſion "of the livings of others not void by ſequeſtation, but by "the death of the former incumbents.

5. "That a remedy may be provided againſt the return of "ſcandalous miniſters, into the places from whence they had "been ejected."†

His majeſty gave them a civil audience, and told them he would put what he thought fit to grant them into the form of a *declaration*, which they ſhould have the liberty of peruſing, before it was made publick. A copy of this was accordingly delivered by the chancellor to Mr. *Baxter*, and other preſbyterian divines, Sept. 4, with liberty to make exceptions, and give notice of what they diſliked.‡ Theſe divines petitioned for ſome further amendments and alterations; upon which the king appointed a day to hear what could be ſaid on both ſides, and came to the chancellor's houſe, Oct. 22, attended by the dukes of *Albemarle* and *Ormond*, the earls of *Mancheſter*, *Angleſea*, and lord *Hollis*.

On the part of the biſhops were,

Dr. *Sheldon*,	biſhop of	London
Dr. *Morley*,		Worceſter
Dr. *Henchman*,		Saliſbury
Dr. *Coſins*,		Durham

† Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 241.

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 246. Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 275, 276.

Dr.

Dr. *Gauden*, biſhop of Exeter
Dr. *Hacket*, Litchf. and Coventry
Dr. *Barwick*, dean of St. Paul's;—Dr. *Gunning*, &c.

On the ſide of the preſbyterians were,

Dr. *Reynolds*	Mr. *Aſhe*	Mr. *Baxter*
Mr. *Calamy*	Dr. *Manton*	Dr. *Wallis*
Dr. *Spurſtow*		

As the chancellor read over the declaration, each party were to alledge their exceptions, and the king to determine. The chief debates were on the high power of the biſhops, and the neceſſity of re-ordination. Biſhop *Morley* and Dr. *Gunning* ſpoke moſt on one ſide; and Mr. *Calamy* and *Baxter* on the other.* Upon hearing the whole, his majeſty delivered his judgment as to what he thought proper ſhould ſtand in the *declaration*; and appointed biſhop *Morley* and *Henchman*, Dr. *Reynolds* and Mr. *Calamy* to expreſs it in proper words; and if they diſagreed, the earl of *Angleſea* and lord *Hollis* to decide.

At length the declaration, with ſuch amendments as the king would admit, was publiſhed under the following title;

His majeſty's declaration to all his loving ſubjects of his kingdom of England and dominion of Wales, concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs. Given at our court at Whitehall, Oct. 25, 1660, in the twelfth year of our reign.

The declaration being long,† and to be met with in moſt of our hiſtorians, I ſhall give the reader only an abſtract of it.

"CHARLES REX.

"IN our letter from Breda we promiſed in due time "to propoſe ſomething to the world for the propagation of "the proteſtant religion; and we think ourſelf more com- "petent to propoſe, and with God's aſſiſtance determine "many things now in difference, from the experience we

* Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 278.

† This declaration was drawn up by lord chancellor *Hyde:* but many of the evaſive clauſes were ſuggeſted by ſome of the king's more ſecret adviſers. Secret Hiſtory of the Court and Reign of *Charles* II. vol. i. p. 93. ED.

"have

" have had in moſt of the reformed churches abroad, where " we have had frequent conferences with the moſt learned " men, who have unanimouſly lamented the diſtempers, and " too notorious ſchiſms in matters of religion in England.

" When we were in Holland we were attended by many " grave and learned miniſters from hence of the preſbyterian " opinion, and to our great ſatisfaction we found them full " of affection to us, no enemies to epiſcopacy or liturgy (as " they have been reported to be) but modeſtly deſiring ſuch " alterations as, without ſhattering foundations, might give " eaſe to the tenderneſs of ſome men's conſciences. For the " doing of this we intended to have called a ſynod of divines, " but obſerving the over-paſſionate and turbulent way of " proceeding of ſome perſons, and the impatience of others " for a ſpeedy determination of theſe matters, we have been " prevailed with to invert the method we propoſed, and to " give ſome determination ourſelf to the matters in difference, " till ſuch a ſynod may be called as may, without paſſion or " prejudice, give us ſuch further aſſiſtance towards a perfect " union of affections, as well as ſubmiſſion to authority, as " is neceſſary.

" We muſt, for the honour of all with whom we have " conferred, declare, that the profeſſions and deſires of all " for the advancement of piety and true godlineſs are the " ſame; their profeſſions of zeal for the peace of the church, " and of affection and duty to us, the ſame; they all ap- " prove epiſcopacy and a liturgy, and diſapprove of ſacri- " lege, and the alienation of the revenues of the church."*

His majeſty then declares his eſteem and affection for the church of England, and that his eſteem of it is not leſſened by his condeſcending to diſpenſe with ſome particular ceremonies, and then proceeds to his conceſſions.

1. " We declare our purpoſe and reſolution is, and ſhall " be, to promote the power of godlineſs, to encourage the " publick and private exerciſes of religion, to take care of " the due obſervation of the Lord's day; and that inſuffi- " cient, negligent, and ſcandalous miniſters be not permitted " in the church. We ſhall take care to prefer none to the " epiſcopal office and charge but men of learning, virtue,

* Comp. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 246. Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 259.

|| Kennet's Chron. p. 289. " and

" and piety; and we ſhall provide the beſt we can, that the " biſhops be frequent preachers, and that they do often " preach in ſome church or other of their dioceſe.

2. " Becauſe ſome dioceſes may be of too large extent, " we will appoint ſuch a number of ſuffragans as ſhall be " ſufficient for the due performance of their work.

3. " No biſhops ſhall ordain or exerciſe any part of juriſdic- " tion which appertains to the cenſures of the church, with- " out advice and aſſiſtance of the preſbyters. No chancellors, " commiſſaries, or officials, ſhall excommunicate, abſolve, or " exerciſe any act of ſpiritual juriſdiction, wherein any of the " miniſtry are concerned with reference to their paſtoral " charge. Nor ſhall the archdeacon exerciſe any juriſdiction " without the advice and aſſiſtance of ſix miniſters of his arch- " deaconry; three to be nominated by the biſhop, and three " by the ſuffrage of the preſbyters within the archdeaconry.

4. " We will take care, that the preferment of *deans* and " *chapters* ſhall be given to the moſt learned and pious preſ- " byters of the dioceſe, and that an equal number (to thoſe " of the chapter) of the moſt learned and pious preſbyters " of the ſame dioceſe, annually choſen by the major vote of " all the preſbyters of that dioceſe preſent at ſuch elections, " ſhall be always adviſing and aſſiſting, together with thoſe " of the chapter, in all ordinations, at all church-cenſures, " and other important acts of eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction wherein " any of the miniſtry are concerned. Provided that at all " ſuch meetings, the number of miniſters ſo elected, and " thoſe of the *chapter* preſent, be equal; and to make the " numbers equal, the juniors of the exceeding number ſhall " withdraw to make way for the more antient. Nor ſhall " any ſuffragan biſhop ordain, or exerciſe any juriſdiction, " without the advice and aſſiſtance of a ſufficient number of " preſbyters annually choſen as before. And our will is, " that ordination be conſtantly and ſolemnly performed by " the biſhop and his aforeſaid preſbytery at the four ſet times " appointed by the church for that purpoſe.

5. " *Confirmation* ſhall be rightly and ſolemnly performed, " by the information and with the conſent of the miniſter " of the place, who ſhall admit none to the Lord's ſupper, " till they have made a credible profeſſion of their faith,

" and

" and promiſed obedience to the will of God, according to " the rubrick before the catechiſm; and all diligence ſhall be " uſed for the inſtruction and reformation of ſcandalous of- " fenders, whom the miniſter ſhall not ſuffer to partake of " the Lord's ſupper till they have openly declared their re- " pentance, and reſolutions of amendment; provided there " be place for appeals to ſuperior powers. Every *rural* " *dean* (to be nominated by the biſhop as heretofore) with " three or four miniſters of that deanery choſen by the ma- " jor part of all the miniſters within the ſame, ſhall meet " once a month to receive complaints from the miniſters or " churchwardens of pariſhes, and to compoſe ſuch diffe- " rences as ſhall be referred to them for arbitration, and to " reform ſuch things as are amiſs, by their paſtoral reproofs " and admonitions, and what they cannot reform are to be " preſented to the biſhop. Moreover, the *rural dean* and " his aſſiſtants are to take care of the catechiſing children " and youth, and that they can give a good account of their " faith before they are brought to the biſhop to be confirmed.

6. " No biſhop ſhall exerciſe any arbitrary power, or im- " poſe any thing upon his clergy or people, but according " to the law of the land.

7. " We will appoint an equal number of divines of both " perſuaſions to review the liturgy of the church of England, " and to make ſuch alterations as ſhall be thought neceſſary; " and ſome additional forms in the ſcripture phraſe, as near " as may be, ſuited to the nature of the ſeveral parts of " worſhip, and that it be left to the miniſter's choice to uſe " one or the other at his diſcretion. In the mean time, we " deſire that the miniſters in their ſeveral churches will not " wholly lay aſide the uſe of the common-prayer, but will " read thoſe parts of it againſt which they have no excep- " tion; yet our will and pleaſure is, that none be puniſhed " or troubled for not uſing it till it be reviewed and effec- " tually reformed.

8. *Laſtly*, " Concerning *ceremonies*, if any are practiſed " contrary to law, the ſame ſhall ceaſe. Every national " church has a power to appoint ceremonies for its members, " which, though before they were indifferent, yet ceaſe to " be ſo when eſtabliſhed by law. We are therefore content

" to

" to indulge tender conſciences, ſo far as to diſpenſe with " their uſing ſuch ceremonies as are an offence to them, but " not to aboliſh them. We declare therefore, that none " ſhall be compelled to receive the ſacrament *kneeling*, nor " to uſe the *croſs in baptiſm*, nor to *bow* at the name of *Jeſus*, " nor to uſe the *ſurplice*, except in the royal chapel, and in " cathedral and collegiate churches. Nor ſhall ſubſcription, " nor the oath of canonical obedience, be required at *preſent*, " in order to ordination, inſtitution, or induction, but only " the taking the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy; nor " ſhall any loſe their academical degrees, or forfeit a preſen- " tation, or be deprived of a benefice, for not declaring his " aſſent to all the thirty-nine articles, provided he read and " declare his aſſent to all the doctrinal articles, and to the " ſacraments. And *we do again renew our declaration from* " *Breda, that no man ſhall be diſquieted or called in queſtion* " *for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do* " *not diſturb the peace of the kingdom.*

His majeſty concludes, " with conjuring all his loving " ſubjects, to acquieſce and ſubmit to this declaration, con- " cerning the differences that have ſo much diſquieted the " nation at home, and given offence to the proteſtant chur- " ches abroad."

Though this declaration did not ſatisfy all the *miniſters*, yet the greateſt numbers were content; but becauſe it proceeded upon the plan of *dioceſan epiſcopacy*, which they had covenanted againſt, others were extremely uneaſy; ſome ventured upon a ſecond addreſs to the king, in which they renew their requeſts for archbiſhop *Uſher*'s ſcheme of primitive epiſcopacy, as moſt agreeable to ſcripture; moſt conducive to good diſcipline, and as that which would ſave the nation from the violation of the *ſolemn league and covenant*, which, whether it were lawfully impoſed or no, they conceive now to be binding.

Concerning the preamble of his majeſty's declaration they tender theſe requeſts:

1. " That as they are perſuaded it is not in his majeſty's " thoughts to intimate that they are guilty of the offences " therein mentioned, they hope it will be a motive to haſten " the union.

2. " Though

2. "Though they deteſt ſacrilege, yet they will not de-
"termine, whether in ſome caſes of ſuperfluities of revenues,
"and the neceſſity of the church, there may not be an ali-
"enation, which is no ſacrilege.

3. "His majeſty having acknowledged their moderation,
"they ſtill hope they may be received into the ſettlement,
"and continue their ſtations in the church.

4. "Since his majeſty has declared, that the eſſence of
"epiſcopacy may be preſerved, though the extent of the
"juriſdiction be altered, they hope his majeſty will conſent
"to ſuch an alteration as may ſatisfy their conſciences."

They then renew their requeſts for promoting of piety; of a religious and diligent miniſtry; of the requiſites of church communion; and for the obſervation of the ſabbath. They complain that pariſh diſcipline is not ſufficiently granted in his majeſty's declaration, that inferior ſynods are paſſed by, and that the biſhop is not *epiſcopus præſes*, but *epiſcopus princeps*, endued with ſole power of ordination and juriſdiction. They therefore pray again, that archbiſhop *Uſher*'s form of church-government may be eſtabliſhed, at leaſt in theſe three points:

1. "That the paſtors of pariſhes may be allowed to
"preach, catechiſe, and deny the communion of the church
"to the impenitent, ſcandalous, or ſuch as do not make a
"credible profeſſion of faith and obedience to the commands
"of Chriſt.

2. "That the paſtors of each rural deanery may meet
"once a month, to receive preſentments and appeals, to
"admoniſh offenders, and after due patience to proceed to
"excommunication.

3. "That a diocеſan ſynod of the delegates of rural ſy-
"nods may be called as often as need requires; that the
"biſhop may not ordain or exerciſe ſpiritual cenſures with-
"out the conſent of the majority; and that neither *chan-
"cellors*, *archdeacons*, *commiſſaries*, nor *officials*, may paſs
"cenſures purely ſpiritual; but for the exerciſe of civil go-
"vernment, coercively by mulcts, or corporal penalties, by

* Hiſt. of the Nonconf. p. 14. Baxter, part ii. p. 268.

" power derived from your majeſty, as ſupreme over all " perſons and things eccleſiaſtical, we preſume not at all to " interpoſe."

" As to the Liturgy.

" They rejoice that his majeſty has declared, that none " ſhould ſuffer for not uſing the common-prayer and cere- " monies; but then it grieves us (ſay they) to hear that it " is given in charge to the judges at the aſſizes, to indict " men upon the act of uniformity for not uſing the common- " prayer. That it is not only ſome obſolete words and " phraſes that are offenſive, but that other things need " amendment; therefore we pray, that none may be puniſh- " ed for not uſing the book, till it be reformed by the con- " ſent of divines of both parties."

" Concerning Ceremonies.

" They thank his majeſty for his gracious conceſſions, " but pray him to leave out of his declaration theſe words, " *That we do not believe the practice of the particular cere-* " *monies excepted againſt unlawful*, becauſe we are not all " of that opinion; but we deſire, that there may be no law " nor canon for, or againſt them, (being allowed by our " opponents as indifferent) as there is no canon againſt any " particular geſture in ſinging pſalms, and yet there is an " uninterrupted unity."

" For particular Ceremonies.

1. " We humbly crave, that there may be liberty to re- " ceive the Lord's ſupper either *kneeling*, *ſtanding*, or *ſitting*. " 2. That the obſervation of holy days of human inſtitu- " tion may be left indifferent. 3. We thank your majeſty " for liberty as to the *croſs in baptiſm*, the *ſurplice*, and " *bowing at the name of Jeſus*; but we pray, that this liberty " may extend to colleges and cathedrals for the benefit of " youth as well as elder perſons, and that the canons which " impoſe theſe ceremonies may be repealed.

" We thank your majeſty for your gracious conceſſion " of the forbearance of ſubſcription; though we do not " diſſent from the doctrinal articles of the church of Eng- " land

" land; nor do we ſcruple the oaths of allegiance and ſupre-
" macy, nor would we have the door left open for papiſts
" and hereticks to come in.

" But we take the liberty to repreſent to your majeſty,
" that, notwithſtanding your gracious conceſſions, our mi-
" niſters cannot procure *inſtitution* without renouncing their
" *ordination by preſbyters*, or being *re-ordained*, nor without
" ſubſcription and the oaths of canonical obedience. And
" we are apprehenſive that your majeſty's indulgence does
" not extend to the abatement of re-ordination, or ſubſcrip-
" tion, or the oath of canonical obedience. We therefore
" earneſtly crave, that your majeſty will declare your plea-
" ſure, 1. That ordination, and inſtitution, and induction,
" may be conferred without the ſaid ſubſcription and oath.
" 2. That none may be urged to be re-ordained, or denied
" inſtitution for want of ordination by prelates, that have
" been ordained by preſbyters. 3. That none may forfeit
" their preſentation or benefice for not reading thoſe arti-
" cles of the thirty-nine that relate to government and ce-
" remonies."

However, if the king's declaration, without any amend-ments, had paſſed into a law, it would have prevented in a great meaſure the ſeparation that followed; but neither the court nor miniſtry intended it, if they could ſtand their ground upon the foot of the old eſtabliſhment. A reve-rend prelate of the church of England confeſſes, " that this
" declaration has in it a ſpirit of true wiſdom and charity
" above any one publick confeſſion that was ever made in
" matters of religion. It ſhews the admirable temper and
" prudence of the king and his council in that tender junc-
" ture of affairs; it proves the charity and moderation of
" the ſuffering biſhops, in thinking ſuch conceſſions juſt and
" reaſonable for peace and unity; and it ſhews a diſpoſition
" in the other party to have accepted the terms of union
" conſiſtent with our epiſcopacy and liturgy. It condemns
" the unhappy ferment that ſoon after followed for want of
" this temper; and it may ſtand for a pattern to poſterity,
" whenever they are diſpoſed, to reſtore the diſcipline, and
" heal the breaches of the church." Another conformiſt

writer adds, "If ever a divine ſentence was in the mouth of "any king, and his mouth erred not in judgment; I verily "believe it was thus with our preſent majeſty when he com- "poſed that admirable declaration, which next to holy ſcrip- "ture I adore, and think that the united judgment of the "whole nation cannot frame a better or a more unexcep- "tionable expedient, for a firm and laſting concord of theſe "diſtracted churches."

The preſbyterians about London were ſo far pleaſed, that they drew up the following addreſs of thanks, in the name of the city miniſters, and preſented it to the king Nov. 16, by the hands of the reverend Mr. *Samuel Clarke*.

"*Moſt dread ſovereign!*

"WE your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, "miniſters of the goſpel in your city of London, having "peruſed your majeſty's late declaration, and finding it ſo "full of indulgence and gracious condeſcenſion, we cannot "but judge ourſelves highly obliged firſt to render our un- "feigned thanks to God, and next our moſt humble and "hearty acknowledgments to your majeſty, that we may "teſtify to your royal ſelf, and all the world, our juſt reſent- "ments of your majeſty's great goodneſs and clemency "therein expreſſed."*

The addreſs then recites the ſeveral condeſcenſions of his majeſty in the declaration, and concludes thus, "We crave "leave to profeſs, that though all things in this frame of "government be not exactly ſuited to our judgments, yet "your majeſty's moderation has ſo great an influence on us, "that we ſhall to our utmoſt endeavour the healing of the "breaches, and promoting the peace and union of the "church.—We would beg of your majeſty, with all humi- "lity upon our knees, that *re-ordination*, and the *ſurplice* "in colleges, might not be impoſed; and we hope God will "incline your majeſty's heart to gratify us in theſe our de- "ſires alſo." Signed by

Samuel Clark	*Jo. Gibbon*
William Cooper	*William Whitaker*
Thomas Caſe	*Thomas Jacomb*

* Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 279, 284. Kennet's Chron. p. 311.

Jo.

Jo. Rawlinſon	*Thomas Lye*
Jo. Sheffield	*John Jackſon*
Thomas Gouge	*John Meriton*
Gab. Sanger	*William Bates*
El. Pledger	With many others.
Matth. Pool	

The king having received the addreſs, returned this anſwer, *Gentlemen, I will endeavour to give you all ſatisfaction, and to make you as happy as myſelf.**

Upon the terms of this declaration Dr. *Reynolds* accepted of the biſhoprick of Norwich; Mr. *Baxter* was offered the biſhoprick of Hereford, but refuſed upon other reaſons; and Mr. *Calamy* declined the biſhoprick of Litchfield and Coventry, till the king's declaration ſhould be paſſed into a law. Dr. *Manton*, having been preſented to the living of Covent-Garden by the earl of *Bedford*, accepted it upon the terms of the declaration, and received epiſcopal inſtitution from Dr. *Sheldon* biſhop of London, January 10, 1660-61. *Having firſt ſubſcribed the doctrinal articles of the church of England* only, *and taken the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, and of canonical obedience in all things lawful and honeſt.* The doctor was alſo content that the common-prayer ſhould be read in his church. Dr. *Bates* was offered the deanery of Litchfield: Dr. *Manton* the deanery of Rocheſter; and Mr. *Bowles* that of York; but finding how things were going at court, after ſome time, they refuſed.

The lords and commons, upon reading the *king's declaration*, agreed to wait upon his majeſty in a body, and return him thanks; and the commons ordered a bill into their houſe to paſs it into a law; but when the bill had been read the firſt time, the queſtion being put for a ſecond reading, it paſſed in the negative; one of the ſecretaries of ſtate oppoſing it, which was a ſufficient indication (ſays Dr. *Bates*) of the king and court's averſion to it. Sir *Matthew Hale*, who was zealous for the declaration, at that very juncture was taken out of the houſe of commons, and made lord chief baron of the Exchequer, that he might not oppoſe the reſolutions of the miniſtry. Strange! that an houſe of com-

* Kennet's Chron. p. 315. § Ibid. 358.

mons,

mons, which on the 9th of November had given the king thanks for his declaration by their ſpeaker *nem. contradicente*, ſhould on the 28th of the ſame month reject it before a ſecond reading. This blaſted all the expectations of the preſbyterian clergy at once. It was now apparent that the court did not deſign *the declaration* ſhould be carried into execution, but only ſerve as a temporary expedient to keep them quiet, till the church ſhould be in circumſtances to bid them defiance. While the *dioceſan doctors* were at Breda (ſays Mr. *Baxter*‖) they did not dream that their way to the higheſt grandeur was ſo fair; then they would have been glad of the terms of the declaration of Breda; when they came in they proceeded by ſlow degrees, that they might feel the ground under them; for this purpoſe they propoſed the *declaration*, which being but a temporary proviſion muſt give place to laws, but when they found the parliament and populace ripe for any thing they ſhould propoſe, they dropt the declaration, and all further thoughts of accommodation.

The court and biſhops were now at eaſe, and went on briſkly with reſtoring all things to the old ſtandard; the doctrines of *paſſive obedience* and *non-reſiſtance* were revived; men of the higheſt principles, and moſt inveterate reſentments, were preferred to biſhopricks, by which they were more than compenſated for their ſufferings, by the large ſums of money they raiſed on the renewal of leaſes,* which after ſo long an interval were almoſt all expired; but what a ſad uſe they made of their riches, I chooſe rather to relate in the words of biſhop *Burnet* than my own. "What "the biſhops did with their great fines was a pattern to all "their lower dignitaries, who generally took more care of "themſelves than of the church; the men of ſervice were "loaded with many livings, and many dignities. With this

‖ Life, p. 287.

* The terms on which theſe leaſes were renewed, were high and oppreſſive; and the biſhops incurred the ſevere cenſure of the preſbyterian miniſters, and raiſed againſt themſelves the clamour of the ſubordinate and dependant clergy. The fines raiſed by renewing the leaſes amounted to a million and half. In ſome ſees they produced forty or fifty thouſand pounds, which were applied to the enriching the biſhops' families. Secret Hiſtory of the Court and Reign of King Charles II. vol. i. p. 350-54, and Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, vol. i. p. 271, 12mo. Ed.

"acceſſion

"acceſſion of wealth, there broke in upon the church a "great deal of luxury and high living, on pretence of hoſ- "pitality; and with this overſet of wealth, and pomp that "came upon men in the decline of their age, they who "were now growing into old age, became lazy and negli- "gent in all the true concerns of the church."*

From this time, ſays biſhop *Kennet*, the preſbyterians began to prepare for the cry of perſecution, and not without reaſon, for March 23, Mr. *Zach. Crofton*, miniſter of Aldgate, was ſent to the Tower for writing in favour of the *covenant*; where he lay a conſiderable time at great expence, and was at laſt turned out of his pariſh without any conſideration, though he had a wife and ſeven children, and had been very zealous for the king's reſtoration.‡ Mr. *Andrew Parſons*, rector of Wem in Shropſhire, a noted loyaliſt, was fetched from his houſe in the month of December by ſix ſoldiers, for ſeditious preaching, and non-conformity to the ceremonies; for which he was fined two hundred pounds, and to continue in priſon till it was paid.

* Dr. *Grey* endeavours to ſhew, that biſhop *Burnet*'s repreſentation, quoted above, was founded in a miſtake: and, with this view, he ſtates the benefactions and charities of ſome of the biſhops, deans and chapters. According to his authorities, beſides the expenditures of biſhop *Duppa*, which we have mentioned before, Dr. *Juxon*, archbiſhop of Canterbury, gave to various purpoſes and publick works 48,000l. and abated in fines 16,000l. Dr. *Sheldon*, while biſhop of London, expended 40,000l. and abated to his tenants 17,000l. Dr. *Frewen*, archbiſhop of York, diſburſed in publick payments, beſides abatements to tenants, 15,000l. Dr. *Coſins*, biſhop of Durham's, expenditures in building and repairing publick edifices and in charities amounted to 44,000l. Dr. *Warner*, biſhop of Rocheſter, though his fines were ſmall, gave in royal preſents, benevolences and ſubſidies and redeeming captives 25,000l. The liberalities of various deans and chapters made the ſum of 191,300l. Theſe expenditures beſpeak munificence and generoſity; and they appear to take off much of the edge of biſhop *Burnet*'s cenſure. He allows, that "ſome few exceptions are to "be made: but ſo few," he adds, "that if a new ſet of men had not ap- "peared of another ſtamp, the church had quite loſt her eſteem over the "nation." The reader will alſo reflect, that the proportion not of the number of dignitaries only, who made a diſplay of charity, or liberality, but of the ſums they expended to the acceſſion of wealth, is to be taken into the account. The above ſums fall more than a million ſhort of the amount of the fines that were raiſed: to theſe muſt be added the annual incomes of the eccleſiaſtical eſtates to which they were preferred. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 269-274. Burnet's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 271. ED.

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 397. Conf. Plea, p. 34.

Spies

Spies were ſent into all the congregations of preſbyterians throughout England, to obſerve and report their behaviour to the biſhops; and if a miniſter lamented the degeneracy of the times, or expreſſed his concern for the *ark of God*, if he preached againſt perfidiouſneſs, or glanced at the vices of the court, he was marked for an enemy to the king and government. Many eminent and loyal preſbyterians were ſent to priſon upon ſuch informations, among whom was the learned and prudent Mr. *John Howe*, and when they came to their trials, the court was guarded with ſoldiers, and their friends not ſuffered to attend them. Many were ſequeſtered from their livings, and cited into the eccleſiaſtical courts, *for not uſing the ſurplice and other ceremonies*, while the diſcipline of the church was under a kind of ſuſpenſion. So eager were the ſpiritual courts to renew the exerciſe of the ſword; and ſo fiercely was it brandiſhed againſt the falling preſbyterians!

The convention parliament paſſed ſundry acts with relation to the late times, of which theſe following deſerve to be remembered: An act for *the confirming and reſtoring of miniſters*, which enacts, among other things, "that "every ſequeſtered miniſter, who has not juſtified the late "king's murder, or declared againſt infant baptiſm, ſhall be "reſtored to his living before the 25th of December next "enſuing, and the preſent incumbent ſhall peaceably quit "it, and be accountable for dilapidations, and all arrears "of fifths not paid." By this act ſome hundred of nonconformiſt miniſters were diſpoſſeſſed of their livings, before the act of uniformity was penned. Here was no diſtinction between good or bad; but if the *parſon* had been epiſcopally ordained, and in poſſeſſion, he muſt be reſtored, though he had been ejected upon the ſtrongeſt evidence of immorality or ſcandal.

The act for *confirmation of marriages* was very expedient for the peace of the kingdom, and the order and harmony of families. It enacts, "that all marriages ſince May 1, "1642, ſolemnized before a juſtice of peace, or reputed "juſtice; and all marriages ſince the ſaid time, had or ſo-"lemnized according to the direction of any ordinance, or "reputed act or ordinance of one or both houſes of parlia-

"ment

" ment, ſhall be adjudged and eſteemed to be of the ſame " force and effect, as if they had been ſolemnized accord- " ing to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England."

An act for the *attainder of ſeveral perſons guilty of the horrid murder of his late ſacred majeſty king* Charles I. *and for the perpetual obſervation of the* 30*th of January.** This was the ſubject of many conferences between the two houſes, in one of which chancellor *Hyde* declared, that the king having ſent him in embaſſy to the king of Spain, charged him to tell that monarch expreſsly, " that the horrible murder of his " father ought not to be deemed as the act of the parliament, " or people of England, but of a ſmall crew of wretches " and miſcreants who had uſurped the ſovereign power, and " rendered themſelves maſters of the kingdom;"‖ for which the commons ſent a deputation with thanks to the king. After the preamble, the act goes on to attaint the king's judges, dead or alive, except colonel *Ingoldſby*† and *Thompſon*, who for their late good ſervices were pardoned, but in their room were included colonel *Lambert*, Sir *Harry Vane*, and *Hugh Peters*, who were not of the judges. On the 30th of

* The ſervice for this day, it has been remarked, was framed on the *jure divino* plan, conſequently on principles inconſiſtent with thoſe of the revolution. It was drawn up by archbiſhop *Sancroft*, whoſe influence procured it to be adopted and publiſhed by the king's authority, though another of a more moderate ſtrain was at firſt preferred to it. When *Sancroft* himſelf was laid aſide for adopting or adhering to principles ſuitable to his ſtyle, what had we to do any longer with *Sancroft*'s office? Letters and Eſſays in Favour of Publick Liberty, vol. i. p. 32. Ed.

‖ This plea, it has been obſerved by a late writer, would have been precluded, had the parliament of 1641 proceeded againſt the king by way of attainder, about the time that *Strafford* and *Laud* were impeached. For then they were conſtitutionally inveſted with the legiſlative and judicial powers of a national repreſentative: and they had *ſufficient overt-acts before them to convict him of the blackeſt treaſon againſt the majeſty of the people of England.* Memoirs of Hollis, vol. ii. p. 591. Ed.

† Dr. *Grey* obſerves, on the authority of lord *Clarendon*, that the caſe of colonel *Ingoldſby* was ſingular. He was drawn into the army about the time when he came firſt of age by *Cromwell*, to whom he was nearly allied. Though appointed to it, he never ſat with the judges of the king: and his ſignature to the warrant for the king's death was obtained by violence; *Cromwell* ſeized his hand, put the pen between his fingers, and with his own hand wrote *Richard Ingoldſby*, he making all the reſiſtance he could. Clarendon's Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 763. Ed.

Jan.

Jan. this year, the bodies of *O. Cromwell*, *Bradſhaw*, and *Ireton*, were taken out of their graves, and drawn upon hurdles to Tyburn, where they were hung up from ten in the morning till ſun-ſet of the next day, after which their heads were cut off, and their trunks buried all together in one hole under the gallows.* Colonel *Lambert* was ſent to the iſle of Jerſey, where he continued ſhut up a patient priſoner almoſt thirty years; nineteen made their eſcape beyond ſea; ſeven were made objects of the king's clemency; nineteen others, who ſurrendered on the king's proclamation of June 6, had their lives ſaved after trial; but underwent other penalties, as impriſonment, baniſhment, and forfeiture of eſtates; ſo that ten only were executed in the month of October, after the new ſheriffs were entered upon their office, viz. Col. *Harriſon*, Mr. *Carew*, *Cook*, *Hugh Peters*, Mr. *Scot*, *Clement*, *Scroop*, *Jones*, *Hacker*, and *Axtel*.

Biſhop *Burnet* ſays,§ "the trials and executions of the "firſt that ſuffered, were attended by vaſt crouds of people. "All men ſeemed pleaſed with the ſight; but the firmneſs "and ſhew of piety of the ſufferers, who went out of the "world with a ſort of triumph in the cauſe for which they "ſuffered, turned the minds of the populace, inſomuch that "the king was adviſed to proceed no further." The priſoners were rudely treated in court; the ſpectators with their noiſe and clamour endeavouring to put them out of countenance. None of them denied the fact, but all pleaded *not guilty to the treaſon*, becauſe, as they ſaid, they acted by authority of parliament; not conſidering, that the houſe of commons is no court of judicature; or if it was, that it was packed and purged before the king was brought to his trial. Thoſe who guarded the ſcaffold, pleaded that they acted by command of their ſuperior officers, who would have caſhiered or put them to death, if they had not obeyed. They were not permitted to enter into the merits of the cauſe between the king and parliament, but were condemned upon the ſtatute of the 25th *Edward* III. for compaſſing and imagining the king's death.

* This was done, ſays Dr. *Grey*, upon a 30th of January; a circumſtance which Mr. *Neal* might probably think below his notice. Ed.

• Kennet's Chron. p. 367. § Vol. i. p. 234.

The

The behaviour of the regicides at their execution was bold and reſolute: Colonel *Harriſon* declared at the gibbet, that he was fully perſuaded that *what he had done was the cauſe and work of God, which he was confident God would own and raiſe up again, how much ſoever it ſuffered at that time.* He went through all the indignities and ſeverities of his ſufferings, with a calmneſs or rather chearfulneſs, that aſtoniſhed the ſpectators; he was turned off, and cut down alive; for after his body was opened, he raiſed himſelf up, and gave the executioner a box on the ear.* When Mr. ſolicitor *Cook* and *Hugh Peters* went into the ſledge, the head of major-general *Harriſon* was put upon it, with the face bare towards them; but notwithſtanding this, Mr. *Cooke* went out of the world with ſurpriſing reſolution, *bleſſing God that he had a clear conſcience.* *Hugh Peters* was more timid; but after he had ſeen the execution and quartering of Mr. *Cooke*, he reſumed his courage at length (which ſome ſaid was artificial) and ſaid to the ſheriff, *Sir, you have here ſlain one of the ſervants of the Lord, and made me behold it, on purpoſe to terrify and diſcourage me; but God has made it an ordinance for my ſtrengthening and encouragement.*‖ Mr. *Scot* was not allowed to ſpeak to the people, but ſaid in his prayer, *that he had been engaged in a cauſe not to be repented of; I ſay in a cauſe not to be repented of.* *Carew* appeared very chearful as he went to the gibbet, but ſaid little of the cauſe for which he ſuffered. *Clements* alſo ſaid nothing. Colonel *Jones* juſtified the king and court in their proceedings; but added, that *they did not ſatisfy him in ſo great and deep a point.* Colonel *Scroop* was drawn in the ſame ſledge, whoſe grave and venerable countenance, accompanied with courage and chearfulneſs, raiſed great compaſſion in ſome of the ſpectators, though the inſults and rudeneſs of others, was cruel and barbarous: He ſaid *he was born and bred a gentleman; and appealed to thoſe who had known him for his behaviour;*

* State Trials, p. 404.

‖ "It appears from this inſtance, and many others," obſerves Mr. *Granger*, "that the preſumption of an enthuſiaſt is much greater than that "of a ſaint. The one is always humble, and *works out his own ſalvation* "*with fear and trembling*; the other is arrogant and aſſuming, and ſeems "to demand it as his right." Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 339. ED.

he

he forgave the inſtruments of his ſufferings, and died for that which he judged to be the cauſe of Chriſt. Colonel *Axtel* and *Hacker* ſuffered laſt; the former behaved with great reſolution, and holding the bible in his hand ſaid, "*The very* "*cauſe in which I was engaged is contained in this book of* "*God; and having been fully convinced in my conſcience of the* "*juſtneſs of the war, I freely engaged in the parliament's* "*ſervice, which as I do believe was the cauſe of the Lord, I* "*ventured my life freely for it, and now die for it.*" *Hacker* read a paper to the ſame purpoſe; and after having expreſſed his charity towards his judges, jury, and witneſſes, he ſaid, *I have nothing lies upon my conſcience as guilt whereof I am now condemned, and do not doubt but to have the ſentence reverſed.*

Few, if any of theſe criminals, were friends of the protector CROMWELL, but gave him all poſſible diſturbance in favour of a *commonwealth*. Mr. *H. Cromwell*, in one of his letters from Ireland, 1657-8, ſays, "It is a ſad caſe, when "men, knowing the difficulties we labour under, ſeek occa- "ſions to quarrel and unſettle every thing again; I hear "*Harriſon*, *Carew*, and *Okey*, have done new feats. I hope "God will infatuate them in their endeavours to diſturb the "peace of the nation; their folly ſhews them to be no bet- "ter than abuſers of religion, and ſuch whoſe hypocriſy the "Lord will avenge in due time."

The *regicides* certainly confounded the cauſe of the parliament, or the neceſſity of entering into a war to bring delinquents to juſtice, with the king's execution; whereas they fall under a very diſtinct conſideration; the former might be neceſſary, when the latter had neither law nor equity to ſupport it;‖ for admitting (with them) that the king is accountable

‖ A diſtinguiſhed writer, who now ranks a peer, delivers a different opinion from our author. "If a king deſerves" ſays he, "to be oppoſed by "force of arms, he deſerves death: if he reduces his ſubjects to that extre- "mity, the blood ſpilt in the quarrel lies on him:—the executing him after- "wards is a meer formality." Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, vol. ii. p. 69, as quoted by Dr. *Harris*, Life of Charles II. vol. i. p. 362. A ſentiment of this laſt writer, which carries truth and force in it, may be properly brought forward in this connection. "The depriving of the people "of their rights and liberties, or the arguing for the expediency and juſ- "tice of ſo doing, is a crime of a higher *nature*, than the *murthering*, or "*magnifying*

countable to his parliament; the houſe of commons alone is not the parliament; and if it was, it could not be ſo, after it was under reſtraint, and one half of the members forcibly kept from their places by the military power. They had no precedent for their conduct, nor any meaſure of law to try and condemn their ſovereign: Though the ſcripture ſays, *He that ſheds man's blood, by man ſhall his blood be ſhed;* yet this is not a rule of duty for private perſons, when there is a government ſubſiſting. If the king had fallen in battle it had been a different caſe; but how criminal ſoever his majeſty might be in their apprehenſions, they had no warrant to ſit as his judges, and therefore could have no right by their verdict or ſentence to put him to death.

There was another act paſſed this ſeſſions, for a perpetual anniverſary thankſgiving on the 29th of May, for his majeſty's happy reſtoration; upon which occaſion the biſhops were commanded to draw up a ſuitable form of prayer; and Mr. *Robinſon*, in the preface to his *Review of the Caſe of Liturgies*, ſays, that in their firſt form, which is ſince altered, there are theſe unwarrantable expreſſions, which I mention only to ſhew the ſpirit of the times.—"We beſeech "thee to give us grace, to remember, and provide for our "latter end, by a careful and ſtudious imitation of this thy "bleſſed ſaint and martyr, and all other thy ſaints and mar-"tyrs that have gone before us; that we may be made wor-"thy to receive the benefit by their prayers, which they, "in communion with thy church catholick, offer up unto "thee for that part of it here militant, and yet in fight with, "and danger from the fleſh.—"†

The books of the great *Milton*, and Mr. *John Goodwin*, publiſhed in defence of the ſentence of death, paſſed upon his late majeſty, were called in by proclamation. And upon

"*magnifying* the murther of the wiſeſt and beſt prince under heaven. The "loſs of a *good* prince is greatly to be *lamented*; but it is a loſs which may "be repaired: whereas the loſs of a people's liberties is ſeldom or ever to "be recovered: conſequently the foe to the *latter* is much more deteſtable "than the foe to the former." Hiſtorical and Critical Account of Hugh Peters, p. 49, 50. ED.

† Dr. *Grey* aſks, "What is there blameable in all this? Here is no pray-"ing to ſaints; and nothing but what was thought warrantable by the *fa-"thers* long before *popery* had a *being?* ED.

the

the 27th of Auguſt, *Milton*'s *Defenſio pro Populo* Anglicano *contra* Salmaſium; and his *anſwer* to a book entitled, *The Portraiture of his ſacred Majeſty in his Solitude and Sufferings*, were burnt by the hands of the common hangman; together with Mr. *John Goodwin*'s book, entitled, *The Obſtructors of Juſtice;* but the authors abſconded till the ſtorm was over. It was a ſurprize to all, that they eſcaped perſecution. None but *Goodwin* and *Peters* had magnified the king's execution in their ſermons; but *Goodwin*'s being a ſtrenuous *arminian* procured him friends.‡ *Milton* had appeared ſo boldly, though with much wit, and ſo great purity and elegance of ſtile, upon the argument of the king's death, that it was thought a ſtrange omiſſion not to except him out of the act of indemnity;* but he lived many years after, though blind, to acquire immortal renown by his celebrated poem of *Paradiſe Loſt*.

The tide of joy which overflowed the nation at the king's reſtoration, brought with it the return of popery, which had been at a very low ebb during the late commotions: Great numbers of that religion came over with his majeſty, and crouded about the court, magnifying their ſufferings for the late king. A liſt of the lords, gentlemen, and other officers, who were killed in his ſervice, was printed in red letters, by which it appeared that ſeveral noblemen, ten knights and baronets, fourteen colonels, ſeven lieutenant-colonels, fourteen majors, ſixty-ſix captains, eighteen lieutenants and cornets, and thirty-eight gentlemen, loſt their lives in the civil war, beſides great numbers who were wounded, and whoſe eſtates were ſequeſtered. The queen-mother came from France, and reſided at Somerſet-Houſe with her catholick attendants both religious and ſecular. Several Romiſh prieſts

‡ Burnet, vol. i. p. 236, 37, 12mo. edi.

* "And ſo indeed it was," ſays Dr. *Grey*, "he being the moſt *peſtilent* "writer, that appeared at that time in defence of the *regicides*, *Peyton* and "*John Goodwin* excepted." *Milton*'s ſafety, it is ſaid, was owing to the powerful interceſſion and intereſt of ſecretary *Morrice*, ſir *Thomas Clarges*, and *Andrew Marvel*: but principally to the influence and gratitude of ſir *William Davenant*, whoſe releaſe *Milton* had procured, when he was taken priſoner in 1650. Nor was *Charles* II. ſays *Toland*, ſuch an enemy to the muſes as to require his deſtruction. Britiſh Biography, vol. v. p. 313, 14, and Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 298. ED.

who

who had been confined in Newgate, Lancaſter, and other gaols, were by order of council ſet at liberty. Many popiſh prieſts were ſent over from Douay into England, as miſſionaries for propagating that religion; and their clergy appeared openly in defiance of the laws; they were buſy about the court and city in diſperſing popiſh books of devotion; and the king gave open countenance and protection to ſuch as had been ſerviceable to him abroad, and came over with him, or ſoon followed him, which (biſhop *Kennet* ſays) his majeſty could not avoid. Upon the whole, more Roman catholicks appeared openly this year, than in all the twelve years of the inter-regnum.

In Ireland the papiſts took poſſeſſion of their eſtates, which had been forfeited by the rebellion and maſſacre, and turned out the purchaſers; which occaſioned ſuch commotions in that kingdom, that the king was obliged to iſſue out a proclamation, commanding them to wait the determinations of the enſuing parliament. The body of their clergy, by an inſtrument, bearing date Jan. 1, 1660, *O. S.* ſigned and ſealed by the chief prelates and officials of their religion, ventured to depute a perſon of their own communion, to congratulate his majeſty's reſtoration, and to preſent their humble ſupplications for the free exerciſe of their religion, purſuant to the articles of 1648, whom the king received very favourably, and encouraged to hope for an accompliſhment of their requeſts in due time. Such amazing changes happened within nine months after the king's arrival at Whitehall.

The only perſons who, under pretence of religion attempted any thing againſt the government, were a ſmall number of enthuſiaſts, who ſaid they were for *king Jeſus:* Their leader was *Thomas Venner*, a wine-cooper, who, in his little conventicle in Coleman-ſtreet, warmed his admirers with paſſionate expectations of a fifth univerſal monarchy, under the perſonal reign of *king Jeſus* upon earth, and that the ſaints were to take the kingdom themſelves. To introduce this imaginary kingdom, they marched out of their meeting-houſe towards St. Paul's Church-yard, on Sunday Jan. 6, to the number of about fifty men well armed, and with a reſolution

to

to ſubvert the preſent government, or die in the attempt. They publiſhed a declaration of the deſign of their riſing, and placed centinels at proper places. The lord-mayor ſent the trained bands to diſperſe them, whom they quickly routed, but in the evening returned to Cane-Wood, between Highgate and Hampſtead. On Wedneſday morning they returned and diſperſed a party of the king's ſoldiers in Threadneedle-ſtreet. In Wood-ſtreet they repelled the trained bands, and ſome of the horſe-guards; but *Venner* himſelf was knocked down, and ſome of his company ſlain; from hence the remainder retreated to Cripplegate, and took poſſeſſion of an houſe, which they threatened to defend with a deſperate reſolution, but no-body appearing to countenance their frenzy, they ſurrendered after they had loſt about half their number; *Venner* and one of his officers, were hanged before their meeting-houſe door in Coleman-ſtreet, Jan. 19, and a few days after, nine more were executed in divers parts of the city.*

This mad inſurrection gave the court a handle for breaking through the late *declaration of indulgence*, within three

* It plainly appeared, on the examination of theſe inſurgents, that they had entered into no plot with any other conſpirators. The whole tranſaction was the unqueſtionable effect of the religious phrenſy of a few individuals. Yet it was the origin of a national burthen and evil felt to this day. At the council, on the morning after the inſurrection was quelled, the duke of *York* availed himſelf of the opportunity to puſh his arbitrary meaſures. On the pretext, that ſo extravagant an attempt could not have ariſen from the raſhneſs of one man, but was the reſult of a plot formed by all the ſectaries and fanatics to overthrow the preſent government, he moved, "to ſuſpend, at ſuch an alarming criſis, the diſbanding of general *Monk*'s "regiment of foot;" which had the guard of Whitehall; and was by order of parliament to have been diſbanded the next day. Through different cauſes, the motion was adopted, and a letter was ſent to the king to requeſt him to approve and confirm the reſolution of the council, and to appoint the continuance of the regiment till further order. To this the king conſented; and as the rumours of freſh conſpiracies were induſtriouſly kept up, thoſe troops were continued and augmented, and a way was prepared for the gradual eſtabliſhment of a *ſtanding army*, under the name of *guards*. This ſhould be a memento to future ages, how they credit reports of plots and conſpiracies thrown out by a miniſter, unleſs the evidence of their exiſtence be brought forward. The cry of conſpiracies has been frequently nothing more than the chimæra of fear, or the invention of a wicked policy to carry the ſchemes of ambition and deſpotiſm. Secret Hiſtory of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. i. p. 346, 7. ED.

months

months after it was publiſhed; for Jan. 2, there was an order of council againſt the meetings of ſectaries in great numbers, and at unuſual times; and on the 10th of January a proclamation was publiſhed, whereby his majeſty forbids the *anabaptiſts*, *quakers*, and *fifth monarchy men*, to aſſemble or meet together under pretence of worſhipping God, except it be in ſome parochial church, or chapel, or in private houſes by the perſons there inhabiting.‖ All meetings in other places are declared to be unlawful and riotous. And his majeſty commands all mayors, and other peace-officers, to ſearch for ſuch conventicles, and cauſe the perſons therein to be bound over to the next ſeſſions. Upon this the *independants*, *baptiſts*, and *quakers*, who diſſented from the eſtabliſhment, thought fit publickly to diſown and renounce the late inſurrection.

The *independants*, though not named in the proclamation, were obnoxious to the government, and ſuſpected to concur in all deſigns that might change the conſtitution into a commonwealth: To wipe off this odium, there was publiſhed, *A renunciation and declaration of the congregational churches, and publick preachers of the ſaid judgment, living in and about the city of London, againſt the late horrid inſurrection and rebellion acted in the ſaid city.* Dated Jan. 1660. In this declaration they diſown the principles of a *fifth monarchy*, or *the perſonal reign of king Jeſus on earth*, as diſhonourable

‖ Kennet's Chron. p. 357.

‖ "This proclamation," Mr. *Gough* well obſerves, "appears to be "drawn up with more art and fallacy, than ſound judgment and equity: "while it reaches all the different ſects of diſſenters, all who do not aſſem- "ble for worſhip in ſome parochial church or chapel, as rioters, it diſ- "tinguiſhes only thoſe looked upon as the moſt inſignificant, and leaſt for- "midable for their numbers or abilities. The preſbyterians are paſſed "over in ſilence, for they could not with any colour of decency be pointed "as foes to the government they had juſt before been conducive to eſta- "bliſhing. The independants are alſo unnoticed, probably, for fear of "awakening the exertion of that rigour and of thoſe abilities, the effects "whereof were yet recent in the memory of the preſent adminiſtration. "The anabaptiſts and quakers, as new or weaker ſects, are treated with leſs "ceremony: and are ranked with the wild diſturbers of the publick peace: "wherein juſtice, the characteriſtick virtue of good government, was de- "ſignedly violated by involving the innocent with the guilty in one con- "fuſed maſs." Hiſtory of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 443, 4. Ed.

to him, and prejudicial to his church; and abhor the propagating this or any other opinion by force or blood. They refer to their late meeting of meſſengers from one hundred and twenty churches of their way at the Savoy, in which they declare, (*Chap.* XXIV. *Of their confeſſion*) That civil magiſtrates are of divine appointment, and that it is the duty of all ſubjects to pray for them, to honour their perſons, to pay them tribute, to obey their lawful commands, and to be ſubject to their authority; and that infidelity, or difference in religion, does not make void the magiſtrates' juſt and legal authority, nor free the people from their obedience. Accordingly they ceaſe not to pray for all ſorts of bleſſings, ſpiritual and temporal, upon the perſon and government of his majeſty, and by the grace of God will continue to do ſo themſelves, and perſuade others thereunto. And with regard to the late impious and prodigiouſly daring rebellion; they add, *Curſed be their anger, for it was fierce; and their wrath, for it was cruel: O my ſoul! come not thou into their ſecret, but let God divide them in* Jacob, *and ſcatter them in* Iſrael. Signed by

Joſ. Caryl	*Samuel Slater*	*William Greenhill*
George Griffiths	*George Cockayn*	*Matth. Barker*
Richard Kenrick	*Thomas Goodwin*	*Tho. Malory*
Robert Bragge	*Thomas Brooks*	*John Loder*
Ralph Venning	*Corn. Helme*	*John Yates*
John Oxenbridge	*John Hodges*	*Thomas Owen*
Philip Nye	*John Bachiler*	*Nath. Mather*
John Rowe	*Seth Wood*	*Will. Stoughton.*
Thomas Weld		

The *baptiſts* publiſhed an apology* in behalf of themſelves, and their brethren of the ſame judgment, with a *proteſtation againſt*

* This was ſubſcribed by thirty miniſters and principal members of the *baptiſt* congregations. It was accompanied by another paper, called alſo an "Apology," which had been preſented to the king ſome months before *Venner*'s inſurrection; declaratory of their ſentiments concerning magiſtracy, and of their readineſs to obey the king and all in authority in all things lawful. Mr. *Jeffey*, preaching ſoon after, declared to his congregation, that *Venner* ſhould ſay, "that he believed there was not one *baptiſt* among his "adherents; and that if they ſucceeded, the *baptiſts* ſhould know, that "infant-baptiſm was an ordinance of *Jeſus Chriſt*." In further vindication of

againſt the late wicked and moſt horrid treaſon and rebellion in this city of London; in which they avow their loyalty to the king, and promiſe that their practice ſhall be conformable; ſubſcribed by *William Kiffen*, *Henry Den*, *John Batty*, *Thomas Lamb*, *Thomas Cowper*, and about twenty-nine or thirty other names. They alſo addreſſed the king, that the innocent might not ſuffer with the guilty; proteſting in the moſt ſolemn manner, that they had not the leaſt knowledge of the late inſurrection, nor did, directly or indirectly, contrive, promote, aſſiſt, or approve of it. They offered to give ſecurity for their peaceable behaviour, and for their ſupporting his majeſty's perſon and government. But notwithſtanding this, their religious aſſemblies were diſturbed in all places, and their miniſters impriſoned;† great numbers

of this people, and to ſhew that they were unjuſtly charged with oppoſing magiſtracy and government, there was publiſhed, about this time a ſmall treatiſe entitled, "Moderation: or arguments and motives tending thereto; "humbly tendered to the honourable members of parliament." Copious extracts from this piece may be ſeen in Croſby's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Baptiſts, vol. ii. p. 42—83. ED.

† Divers pious perſons were haled out of their houſes; four hundred were committed to Newgate; others to Wood-ſtreet compter; and many to other priſons. The firſt and moſt violent perſecution was chiefly levelled againſt them. Amongſt others, who ſuffered on this occaſion, was Mr. *Hanſera Knollys*. Mr. *Vavaſor Powel* was, early in the morning, taken from his houſe by a company of ſoldiers, and carried to priſon: from whence he was conducted to Salop, and committed with ſeveral others to the cuſtody of a marſhal: where they were detained nine weeks, till they were releaſed by an order of the king and council. Mr. *John Bunyan* was apprehended at a meeting and committed to priſon, though he offered bail, till the next ſeſſions. He was then indicted for "*deviliſhly* and *perniciouſly* abſtaining "from coming to church to hear divine ſervice; and as a common upholder "of ſeveral unlawful meetings and conventicles, to the diſtraction of the "good ſubjects of this kingdom, contrary to the laws of our ſovereign lord "the king." He frankly owned being at the meeting. The juſtices took this for a confeſſion of the indictment; and, becauſe he refuſed to conform, ſentenced him to perpetual baniſhment, on an act made by the then parliament. Though the ſentence of baniſhment was never executed upon him, he was kept in priſon twelve years and half, and ſuffered much under cruel and oppreſſive jailers. Above ſixty diſſenters were impriſoned with him: among whom were Mr. *Wheeler* and Mr. *Dun*, two eminent miniſters well known in Bedfordſhire. Mr. *Bunyan* was, at laſt, liberated on the importunity of Dr. *Barlow*, biſhop of Lincoln. Croſby's Hiſtory of the Baptiſts, vol. ii. p. 91, 2, 3. Vavaſor Powel's Life, p. 129; and Robinſon's Tranſlation of Claude, vol. ii. p. 228. ED.

were crouded into Newgate, and other priſons, where they remained under cloſe confinement till the king's coronation, when the general pardon publiſhed on that occaſion ſet them at liberty.

The *quakers* alſo addreſſed the king upon this occaſion in the following words:§

"*Oh king Charles!*

"OUR deſire is, that thou mayeſt live for ever in the "fear of God, and thy council. We beſeech thee, and "thy council, to read theſe following lines, in tender bowels, "and compaſſion for our ſouls, and for your good.

"And this conſider; we are about four hundred impri-"ſoned in and about this city, of men and women from their "families; beſides, in the country gaols above ten hundred. "We deſire, that our meetings may not be broken up, but "that all may come to a fair trial, that our innocency may "be cleared up.—"

"London, 16th day eleventh month, 1660."†

On the 28th of the ſame month, they publiſhed the declaration referred to in their addreſs, entituled, *A Declaration from the harmleſs and innocent people of God called* QUAKERS, *againſt all ſedition, plotters and fighters in the world, for removing the ground of jealouſy and ſuſpicion from both magiſtrates and people in the kingdom, concerning wars and fightings.* Preſented to the king the 21ſt day of the eleventh month, 1660.‡ Upon which his majeſty promiſed them, on the word of a king, that they ſhould not ſuffer for

§ Mr. *Neal*, a reſpectable perſon of the ſociety informs me, has given two ſhort paragraphs only of an addreſs containing ſeven quarto pages of cloſe letter-preſs. It underwent, it ſeems, ſeveral editions, not fewer than eight or ten; for being fraught with much pertinent, ſolid matter, as perſecution continued, it was made very publick. Mr. *Neal*, or his author *Kennet*, is charged with having mutilated the paragraphs which he quotes. For the ſecond ſentence ſtands in the original thus: "We beſeech thee and thy "council to read theſe following lines; and in tender bowels and compaſ-"ſion to *read them over*, for we *write* in love and compaſſion to *your ſouls*, "and for your good." And after *families* ſhould be added, *in cloſe holes and priſons*. ED.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 361. ‡ Ibid. p. 366.

their

their opinions as long as they lived peaceably; but his promiſes were little regarded.*

The preſbyterian clergy were in ſome degree affected with theſe commotions, though envy itſelf could not charge them with guilt; but it was the wiſh and deſire of the prelatical party, that they might diſcover their uneaſineſſes in ſuch a manner as might expoſe them to trouble; for their ruin was already determined, only ſome pretexts were wanting to cover the deſign, particularly ſuch as affected the peace of the kingdom, and might not reflect on his majeſty's declaration from Breda, which promiſed, *that no perſon ſhould be moleſted purely for religion.*† But they were inſulted by the mob in the ſtreets; when their families were ſinging pſalms in their houſes, they were frequently interrupted by blowing of horns, or throwing ſtones at the windows. The preſbyterian miniſters made the beſt retreat they could, after they had unadviſedly delivered themſelves up into the hands of their enemies; for while they were careful to maintain an inviolable loyalty to his majeſty's perſon and government, they contended for their religious principles in the preſs; ſeveral new pamphlets were publiſhed, and a great many old ones reprinted, about *the magiſtrates' right of impoſing things indifferent in the worſhip of God.—Againſt bowing at the name of Jeſus.—The unlawfulneſs of the ceremonies of the church of England.—The common-prayer book unmaſked.—Grievances and corruptions in church-government*, &c. moſt of which were anſwered by divines of the epiſcopal party.

But the moſt remarkable treatiſe that appeared about this time, and which, if it had taken place, muſt have prevented

* Dr. *Grey* impeaches here the candour and fidelity of Mr. *Neal*, as an hiſtorian: and adds, "*Sewel*, a quaker, ſpeaks more favourably. This "writer, as Dr. *Grey* quotes him, does ſay, that at this time the king ſhewed "himſelf *moderate*, for at the ſolicitation of ſome he ſet at liberty about "ſeven hundred of the people called *quakers:* and that they were acquitted "from any hand in *Venner*'s plot, and that, being continually importuned, "the king iſſued forth a declaration, that the *quakers ſhould be ſet at liberty* "*without paying fees.*" But though *Sewel* ſtates theſe facts, Dr. *Grey* either overlooked, or forgot to inform his reader, that Mr. *Neal*, in charging the king with the breach of his promiſe, ſpeaks on the authority of *Sewel:* who ſays, "the king ſeemed a good-natured prince, yet he was ſo miſled "that in proceſs of time he ſeemed to have forgot what he ſo ſolemnly pro-"miſed on *the word of a king.*" Hiſtory of the Quakers, p. 257. Ed.

† Rapin, vol. ii. p. 624, folio.

the

the miſchiefs that followed,‡ was that of the reverend Dr. *Edward Stillingfleet*, rector of Sutton in Bedfordſhire, and afterwards the learned and worthy biſhop of Worceſter, who firſt made himſelf known to the world at this time by his *Irenicum*, or, *A Weapon Salve for the Church's Wounds*; printed 1661, in which he attempts to prove, that no form of church-government is of *divine right*, and that the church had no power to impoſe *things indifferent*. I ſhall beg the reader's attention to a few paſſages out of his preface. "The deſign of our Saviour (ſays he) was to eaſe men of "their former burthens, and not to lay on more; the duties "he required were no other but ſuch as were neceſſary, and "withal very juſt and reaſonable; he that came to take away "the inſupportable yoke of Jewiſh ceremonies, certainly "did never intend to gall the necks of his diſciples with "another inſtead of it; and it would be ſtrange the church "ſhould require more than Chriſt himſelf did, and make "other conditions of her communion than our Saviour did "of diſcipleſhip. What poſſible reaſon can be aſſigned or "given why ſuch things ſhould not be ſufficient for commu-

‡ A conciliating and liberal deſign formed by two reſpectable men deſerves to be mentioned here. "Soon after the reſtoration, the honourable "Mr. *Boyle* and ſir *Peter Pett* were diſcourſing of the ſeverities practiſed by "the biſhops towards the *puritans* in the reign of *Charles* I. and of thoſe "which were returned on the epiſcopal divines during the following uſur-"pations; and being apprehenſive that the reſtored clergy might be tempted "by their late ſufferings to ſuch a vindictive retaliation as would be contrary "to the true meaſures of chriſtianity and politics, they came at laſt to an "agreement, that it would tend to the publick good, to have ſomething "written and publiſhed in defence of liberty of conſcience. Sir *Peter Pett* "engaged to write on the political part of the queſtion. Mr. *Boyle* un-"dertook to engage Dr. *Thomas Barlow* to treat of the theological part: "and he alſo prevailed on Mr. *John Dury*, who had ſpent many years in "his travels, and had taken an active part in a ſcheme for reconciling the "*lutherans* and *calviniſts*, to ſtate the fact of the allowance of liberty of con-"ſcience in foreign parts. Sir *Peter Pett*'s and Mr. *Dury*'s tracts were "printed in 1660. But, for particular reaſons, the publication of Dr. "*Barlow*'s piece did not take place: but it was publiſhed after his death.

"Dr. *Barlow* had given offence by writing, juſt before the reſtoration, "a letter to Mr. *Tombs*, and expreſſing in it ſome prejudice againſt the "practice of *infant baptiſm*, and by refuſing, even after the reſtoration, to "retract that letter. This refuſal was a noble conduct: for the doctor was "in danger by it of loſing his ſtation in the univerſity of Oxford and all "his hopes of future preferment." This ſhews how obnoxious was the ſect of the baptiſts. Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 299, 300. Ed.

"nion

" nion with the church, which are ſufficient for eternal ſal-
" vation? And certainly thoſe things are ſufficient for that,
" which are laid down as the neceſſary duties of chriſtianity
" by our Lord and Saviour in his word. What ground
" can there be why chriſtians ſhould not ſtand upon the
" ſame terms now, which they did in the time of Chriſt and
" his apoſtles? Was not religion ſufficiently guarded and
" fenced in then? Was there ever more true and cordial
" reverence in the worſhip of God? What charter hath
" Chriſt given the church to bind men up to more than
" himſelf hath done? Or to exclude thoſe from her ſociety
" who may be admitted into heaven? Will Chriſt ever thank
" men at the great day, for keeping ſuch out from commu-
" nion with his church, who he will vouchſafe not only
" crowns of glory to, but it may be *aureolæ* too, if there
" be any ſuch things there? The grand commiſſion the
" apoſtles were ſent out with, was only to teach what Chriſt
" had commanded them; not the leaſt intimation of any power
" given them to impoſe or require any thing beyond what
" himſelf had ſpoken to them, or they were directed to by
" the immediate guidance of the ſpirit of God. It is not,
" whether the things commanded and required be lawful or
" not? It is not, whether *indifferences* may be determined
" or no? It is not how far chriſtians are bound to ſubmit to
" a reſtraint of their chriſtian liberty, which I now enquire
" after, but whether they conſult the church's peace and
" unity who ſuſpend it upon ſuch things. We never read
" of the apoſtles making laws but of things neceſſary, as
" *Acts* xv. 19. It was not enough with them that the things
" would be neceſſary when they had required them; but
" they looked upon an antecedent neceſſity either abſolute
" or for the preſent ſtate, which was the only ground of
" their impoſing theſe commands upon the *Gentile* chriſtians.
" But the Holy Ghoſt never thought thoſe things fit to be
" made matters of law to which all parties ſhould conform. All
" that the apoſtles required as to this was mutual forbear-
" ance and condeſcenſion towards each other in them. The
" apoſtles valued not *indifferences* at all; and thoſe things
" they accounted as *ſuch* which were of no concernment to
" their ſalvation. And what reaſon is there why men ſhould

" be

" be tied up ſo ſtrictly to ſuch things which they may do or " let alone, and yet be very good chriſtians? Without all " controverſy, the main inlet of all the diſtractions, confu- " ſions and diviſions, of the chriſtian world, has been by " adding other conditions of church communion than Chriſt " has done.—Would there ever be the leſs peace and unity " in a church, if a diverſity were allowed as to practices " ſuppoſed indifferent? Yea, there would be ſo much more, " as there was a mutual forbearance and condeſcenſion " as to ſuch things. The unity of the church is an unity of " love and affection, and not a bare uniformity of practice " and opinion.—There is nothing in the primitive church " more deſerving our imitation than that admirable temper, " moderation, and condeſcenſion which was uſed in it to- " wards its members. It was never thought worth the while " to make any ſtanding laws for rites and cuſtoms that had " no other original but tradition, much leſs to ſuſpend men " her communion for not obſerving them.‡—"

The doctor's propoſals for an accommodation were, " 1. " That nothing be impoſed as neceſſary but what is clearly " revealed in the word of God. 2. That nothing be re- " quired or determined but what is ſufficiently known to be " indifferent in its own nature. 3. That whatever is thus " determined be in order only to a due performance of what " is in general required in the word of God, and not to be " looked upon as any part of divine worſhip or ſervice. 4. " That no ſanctions be made, nor mulcts or penalties be " inflicted, on ſuch who only diſſent from the uſe of ſome " things whoſe lawfulneſs they at preſent ſcruple, till ſuffi- " cient time and means be uſed for their information of the " nature and indifferency of theſe things. I am ſure (ſays " the doctor) it is contrary to the primitive practice, and the " moderation then uſed, to ſuſpend or deprive men of their " miniſterial function for not conforming in habits and geſ- " tures, or the like. *Laſtly*, that religion be not clogged " with ceremonies; for when they are multiplied too much, " though lawful, they eat out the heart, heat, life, and vigor " of chriſtianity.—"§ If the doctor had ſteadily adhered to theſe principles, he could hardly have ſubſcribed the act of

‡ Irenicum, p. 8, 9, 10. § Ibid. p. 66, 67.

uniformity

uniformity next year, much leſs have written ſo warmly againſt the diſſenters, as he did twenty years afterwards.* But all he could ſay or do at preſent availed nothing, the preſbyterians were in diſgrace, and nothing could ſtem the torrent of popular fury that was now coming upon them.

[In the year 1660, April 25th died, when the king deſigned to advance him to the ſee of Worceſter, the learned Dr. *Henry Hammond.* In addition to the ſhort account given of him by Mr. *Neal*, vol. iii. p. 428, ſome other particulars may be ſubjoined here. He was born 18th Auguſt, 1605, at Chertſey in Surry; and was the youngeſt ſon of Dr. *John Hammond*, a phyſician. He received his grammar learning at Eaton ſchool, and in 1618 was ſent to Magdalen college in Oxford, of which he was elected fellow in July 1625: and entered into holy orders in 1629. The rectory of Penſhurſt was beſtowed upon him by the earl of *Leiceſter* in 1633. In 1640, he was choſen one of the members of the convocation; in 1643 made archdeacon of Chicheſter, and the ſame year was named one of the aſſembly of divines, but never ſat amongſt them. He was diſtinguiſhed in his youth for the ſweetneſs of his carriage, and at the times allowed for play, would ſteal, from his fellows, into places of privacy to pray:—omens of his future pacifick temper and eminent devotion. When he was at the univerſity he generally ſpent thirteen hours of the day in ſtudy. *Charles* I. ſaid, "he was the moſt natural orator he had ever heard." He was extremely liberal to the poor; and was uſed to ſay, that "it was a moſt unreaſonable and unchriſtian thing to

* "If Mr. *Neal*," ſays Dr. *Grey*, "would allow a man to retract his "miſtakes upon diſcovering them, he would not find fault with biſhop *Still-*"*ling fleet.*" He then quotes the biſhop's apology for his conduct, from the Preface to "The Unreaſonableneſs of Separation." "If any thing in "the following treatiſe be found different from the ſenſe of that book, I "intreat them to allow me that, which I heartily wiſh to them, that in "*twenty years time*, we may arrive to ſuch maturity of thoughts, as to ſee "reaſon to change our opinion of ſome things, and I wiſh I had not cauſe "to add, of ſome perſons." But notwithſtanding the force of the biſhop's plea, it will not, I conceive, be deemed a fortunate or honourable change, if a man's views and ſpirit, inſtead of enlarging and becoming more liberal, are contracted and grow narrow and partial: if, inſtead of being the advocate for generous and conciliating meaſures, he ſhould argue for oppreſſion and intolerance. ED.

"deſpiſe

" deſpiſe any one for his poverty, and it was one of the " greateſt ſenſualities in the world to give." He gave it as a rule to his friends of eſtate and quality, " to treat their " poor neighbours with ſuch a chearfulneſs, that they might " be glad to have met with them." The alms of *lending* had an eminent place in his practice. He was accuſtomed ſtrongly to recommend to others, " to be always furniſhed " with ſomething to do," as the beſt expedient both for innocence and pleaſure. Devoted as he was to his ſtudies, he would never ſuffer any body to wait, that came to ſpeak to him: and to the poor he came with peculiar alacrity. Britiſh Biography, vol. v. p. 219—225. ED.]

The earl of *Clarendon*, lord chancellor, was prime miniſter and at the head of the king's councils. The year [1661] began with new ſcenes of pleaſure and diverſion, occaſioned by the king's marriage with the infanta of Portugal, which was conſummated April 30. The match was promoted by general *Monk* and lord *Clarendon*, if, according to the Oxford hiſtorian, the latter was not the firſt mover of it.† And it was reckoned very ſtrange, that a proteſtant chancellor ſhould adviſe the king to a popiſh princeſs, when a catholick king propoſed at the ſame time a proteſtant conſort. But his lordſhip had further views, for it was generally talked among the merchants, that the *infanta* could have no children, in which caſe the chancellor's daughter, who had been privately married to the king's brother, muſt ſucceed, and her

† Dr. *Grey* obſerves, that Mr. *Neal* antedates this marriage ſomewhat above a year; the king met the infanta at Portſmouth the 21ſt of May, 1662, and was then privately married to her by Dr. *Sheldon*, biſhop of London. The doctor, on the authority of *Eachard*, endeavours to invalidate the imputation which lies on lord *Clarendon* of being the promoter, if not the firſt mover of this marriage. Mr. *Neal* is ſupported in *his* repreſentation of the affair by the teſtimony of ſir *John Reresby*, who ſays, " it " is well known, that the lord chancellor had the blame of this unfruitful " match." He adds, " that the queen was ſaid to have had a conſtant " fluor upon her, which rendered her incapable of conception. Though, " on this occaſion," ſays ſir *John*, " every thing was gay, and ſplendid, and " profuſely joyful, it was eaſy to diſcern that the king was not exceſſively " charmed with his new bride, who was a very little woman, with a pretty " tolerable face. She neither in perſon or manners had any one article to " ſtand in competition with the charms of the counteſs of *Caſtlemain*, after- " wards ducheſs of *Cleveland*, the fineſt woman of her age." Memoirs, p. 9, 10. ED.

iſſue

iſſue by the duke of *York* become heirs to the throne; which happened accordingly in the perſons of queen *Mary* II. and queen *Anne*. Such were the aſpiring views of this great man, which, together with his haughty behaviour, in the end proved his ruin.

The convention parliament being diſſolved, a new one was elected, and ſummoned to meet May 8. The houſe of commons, by the intereſt of the *court party*,‡ had a conſiderable majority of ſuch as were zealous enemies of the preſbyterians, and abettors of the principles of archbiſhop *Laud;* many of whom, having impaired their fortunes in the late wars, became tools of the miniſtry in all their arbitrary and violent meaſures. The court kept above one hundred of them in conſtant pay, who went by the name of the *club of voters*, and received large ſums of money out of the Exchequer, till they had almoſt ſubverted the conſtitution; and then, becauſe they would not put the finiſhing hand to what they had unadviſedly begun, they were diſbanded.

The king acquainted the houſes at the opening of the ſeſſions,§ that "*He valued himſelf much upon keeping his word,* "*and upon making good whatſoever he had promiſed to his* "*ſubjects.*"† But the chancellor, who commented upon the king's ſpeech, ſpoke a different language, and told the houſe, "That there were a ſort of patients in the kingdom that "deſerved their utmoſt ſeverity, and none of their lenity;

‡ There were only fifty-ſix members of the *preſbyterian* party returned, notwithſtanding their great intereſt in almoſt all the corporations. But in the interval, between the two parliaments, the court party had been active; and the hints given at the diſſolution of the late parliament by the chancellor, had great weight. He recommended that "ſuch perſons ſhould be "returned as were not likely to oppoſe the king, but had already ſerved "him, and were likely to ſerve him with their whole heart, and to *gratify* "*him in all his deſires.*"* Had the people been alive to a juſt ſenſe of the deſign of repreſentation and the nature of the conſtitution, they would have received theſe hints with indignant contempt. ED.

§ The king went to the houſe of lords, to open the ſeſſions, with almoſt as much pomp and ſplendour as had been diſplayed on the coronation-day; and, ſays my author, for the ſame reaſons, to dazzle the mob and to impreſs on the minds of the people very exalted notions of the dignity of regal government. Secret Hiſtory of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. i. p. 407, note. ED.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 434.

* Secret Hiſt. of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. i. p. 171, and 406.

"theſe

" theſe were the *ſeditious preachers*, who could not be con-
" tented to be diſpenſed with for their full obedience to
" ſome laws eſtabliſhed, without reproaching and inveighing
" againſt thoſe laws how eſtabliſhed ſoever, who tell their
" auditories that when the apoſtle bid them ſtand to their li-
" berties he bid them ſtand to their arms, and who, by repeat-
" ing the very expreſſions, and teaching the very doctrines
" they ſet on foot in the year 1640, ſufficiently declare that
" they have no mind that twenty years ſhould put an end to
" the miſeries we have undergone. What good chriſtians
" can think, without horror, of theſe miniſters of the goſpel,
" who by their function ſhould be meſſengers of peace, but
" are in their practice only the trumpets of war, and incen-
" diaries towards rebellion?—And if the perſons and place
" can aggravate their offence, ſo no doubt it does before God
" and man. Methinks the preaching rebellion and treaſon
" out of the pulpit, ſhould be as much worſe than advancing
" it in the market, as poiſoning a man at a communion would
" be worſe than killing him at a tavern—" His lordſhip con-
cludes thus: " If you do not provide for the thorough quench-
" ing theſe firebrands; king, lords, and commons, ſhall be
" the meaner ſubjects, and the whole kingdom will be kin-
" dled into a general flame." This was a home-thruſt at the preſbyterians; the chancellor did not explain himſelf upon the authors of theſe ſeditious ſermons, his deſign being not to accuſe particular perſons, but to obtain a general order which might ſuppreſs all preachers who were not of the church of England; and the parliament was prepared to run blindfold into all the court meaſures; for in this ſeſſions the *militia* was given abſolutely to the king—the *ſolemn league and covenant* was declared void and illegal—the act for diſabling perſons in holy orders to exerciſe temporal juriſdiction was repealed—the biſhops were reſtored to their ſeats in parliament—the old eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction was revived by the repeal of the 17th of *Charles* I. except the *oath ex officio*—and it was made a præmunire to call the king a papiſt.‖

The

‖ Kennet's Chron. p. 510, 511.

‖ To Mr. *Neal*'s detail of the acts of this ſeſſions, it ſhould be added, That the commons voted, that all their members ſhould receive the ſacrament according to the preſcribed liturgy, before a certain day, under penalty

The ſtorm was all this while gathering very black over the preſbyterians; for when the parliament met a ſecond time, Nov. 20, the king complimented the biſhops, who appeared now again in their places among the peers, and obſerved in his ſpeech, that it was a felicity he had much deſired to ſee, as the only thing wanting to reſtore the old conſtitution. He then ſpoke the language of the chancellor, and told the commons, "that there were many wicked in-"ſtruments who laboured night and day to diſturb the "publick peace.—That it was worthy of their care to pro-"vide proper remedies for the diſeaſes of that kind; that if "they found new diſeaſes they muſt find new remedies. That "the difficulties which concerned religion were too hard for "him, and therefore he recommended them to their care "and deliberation who could beſt provide for them." The tendency of this ſpeech was to make way for breaking through the Breda *declaration*, and to furniſh the parliament with a pretence for treating the non-conformiſts with rigour, to which they were themſelves too well inclined.

Lord *Clarendon*, in a conference between the two houſes, affirmed poſitively, that there was a real conſpiracy againſt the peace of the kingdom; and though it was diſconcerted in the city, it was carried on in divers counties; a committee was therefore appointed to enquire into the truth of the report; but after all their examinations not one ſingle perſon was convicted, or ſo much as proſecuted for it.‡ Great pains were taken to faſten ſome treaſonable deſigns on the preſbyterians; letters were ſent from unknown hands to the

nalty of expulſion. This was intended as a teſt of their religious ſincerity. Beſides repealing the ſolemn league and covenant, they ordered it to be taken out of all the courts and places where it was recorded, and to be burnt by the common hangman. To the ſame ſentence were doomed all acts, ordinances, or engagements, which had been dictated by a republican ſpirit during the late times. And they enervated the right of petitioning by various reſtrictions; limiting the number of ſignatures to twenty, unleſs with the ſanction of three juſtices, or the major part of the grand jury; and of thoſe who ſhould preſent a petition to the king or either houſe of parliament to ten perſons, under the penalty of a fine of one hundred pounds and three months impriſonment. Secret Hiſtory of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. i. p. 412, 13, 14. ED.

‡ Kennet's Chron. p, 602.

chiefs

chiefs of the party in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, intimating the project of a general inſurrection, in which *their friends* were concerned, and deſiring them to communicate it to certain perſons in their neighbourhood, whom they name in their letters, that they may be ready at time and place. A letter of this kind was directed to the reverend Mr. *Sparry*, in Worceſterſhire, deſiring him and captain *Tarrington* to be ready with money; and to acquaint Mr. *Oatland* and Mr. *Baxter* with the deſign. This, with a packet of the ſame kind, was ſaid to be left under a hedge by a Scots pedlar; and as ſoon as they were found, they were carried to ſir *J. Packington*, who immediately committed *Sparry*, *Oatland*, and *Tarrington*, to priſon. The militia of the county was raiſed, and the city of Worceſter put into a poſture of defence; but the ſham was ſo notorious, that the earl of *Briſtol*, though a papiſt, was aſhamed of it; and after ſome time the priſoners, for want of evidence, were releaſed. The members for Oxfordſhire, Herefordſhire, and Staffordſhire, informed the commons, that they had rumours of the like conſpiracies in their counties. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, "That "many were taken up, but none tried; that this was done "to faſten an odium on the preſbyterians, and to help carry "the penal laws through the houſe; and there were ap-"pearances of foul dealing (ſays he) among the fiercer ſort." Mr. *Locke* adds, that the reports of a general inſurrection were ſpread over the whole nation, by the very perſons who invented them; and though lord *Clarendon* could not but be acquainted with the farce, he kept it on foot to facilitate paſſing the ſevere laws that were now coming upon the carpet.* The government could not with decency attack the *non-conformiſts* purely on account of their religion; the declaration from Breda was too expreſs on that article; they were therefore to be charged with raiſing diſturbances in the ſtate. But ſuppoſing the fact to be true, that ſome few malecontents had been ſeditiouſly diſpoſed, which yet was never made out, what reaſon can be aſſigned why it ſhould be charged upon the principles of a whole body of men, who were unqueſtionably willing to be quiet?

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 627.

It

It was nevertheleſs on this baſe and diſhonourable ſuggeſtion, that the firſt penal law which paſſed againſt the nonconformiſts this ſeſſion was founded,‡ entitled,

An act for the well-governing and regulating corporations; which enacts, "That within the ſeveral cities, corporations, "boroughs, cinque ports, and other port towns within the "kingdom of England, dominion of Wales, and town of "Berwick-on-Tweed, all mayors, aldermen, recorders, bailiffs, town-clerks, common-council-men, and other perſons, "bearing any office or offices of magiſtracy, or places, or "truſts, or other employment relating to, or concerning the "government of the ſaid reſpective cities, corporations, and "boroughs, and cinque ports, and their members, and other "port towns, ſhall take the *oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy*, "and this oath following:

"I *A. B.* do declare and believe, that it is not lawful upon "any pretence whatſoever to take arms againſt the king; "and that I do abhor that traiterous poſition of taking arms "by his authority againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe that "are commiſſioned by him."*

They ſhall alſo ſubſcribe the following declaration:

"I *A. B.* do declare, that there lies no obligation upon "me from the ſolemn league and covenant, and that the "ſame was an unlawful oath impoſed on the ſubject againſt "the laws and liberties of the kingdom."

"Provided alſo, and be it enacted by the authority afore"ſaid, that no perſon ſhall hereafter be elected, or choſen "into any of the offices or places aforeſaid, that ſhall not have "within one year next before ſuch election or choice taken

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 602.

* "One would ſuppoſe," it has been well remarked, "that the parliament, who preſcribed ſuch an oath, muſt have been as near-ſighted and "as ſtupid as they were ſervile and corrupt. Such a maxim of non-reſiſtance to the king, on *any pretence*, was directly ſubverſive of their own "conſequence as well as of civil and religious liberty. The extent, to "which this principle might be carried, was put to the proof by *James* II. "but the people of England rent aſunder the chains which had been forged "for them by their perfidious repreſentatives." Secret Hiſtory of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. i. p. 428, note. ED.

"the

" the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, according to the rites " of the church of England; and that every perſon ſo elected " ſhall take the aforeſaid oaths, and ſubſcribe the ſaid de- " claration at the ſame time when the oath for the due exe- " cution of the ſaid places and offices ſhall be reſpectively " adminiſtered."

Thus all non-conformiſts were turned out of all the branches of magiſtracy at once, and rendered incapable of ſerving their country in the offices of a common-council-man, or a burgeſs or bailiff of the ſmalleſt corporation. The oath impoſed in this act robbed them of their right as *ſubjects*. Mr. *Eachard* confeſſes that it ſeems at once to give up the whole conſtitution; and no wonder (ſays he) if many of the clergy as well as laity, on the account of this act, eſpouſed a doctrine which, if rigidly taken, was hard to be reconciled to the *great deliverance* afterwards. Mr. *Rapin* adds,† that to ſay that it *is not lawful on any pretence whatever to reſiſt the king*, is properly ſpeaking to deliver up the liberties of the nation into his hands. The high churchmen had then elevated ideas of the royal authority. But even this parliament did not think fit afterwards to admit the dangerous conſequences of their own maxims.

Commiſſioners were appointed, and employed during this and the following year, to viſit the ſeveral corporations in England, and to turn out of office ſuch as were in the leaſt ſuſpected; who executed their commiſſions with ſo much rigour, that the corporations had not one member left, who was not entirely devoted to the king and the church.

† Vol. ii. p. 628.



CHAP. VI.

From the Conference at the Savoy, *to the Act of Uniformity.*

—1661.—

ACCORDING to his majeſty's declaration of October 25, 1660, concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs, twelve biſhops* and nine aſſiſtants were appointed on the part of the epiſcopal church of England, and as many miniſters on the ſide of the preſbyterians, to aſſemble at the biſhop of *London*'s lodgings at the *Savoy*, "to review the book of "common-prayer, comparing it with the moſt ancient and "pureſt liturgies; and to take into their ſerious and grave "conſiderations the ſeveral directions and rules, forms of "prayer, and things in the ſaid book of common-prayer con-"tained, and to adviſe and conſult upon the ſame, and the "ſeveral objections and exceptions which ſhall now be raiſed "againſt the ſame; and if occaſion be, to make ſuch reaſon-"able and neceſſary alterations, corrections and amendments, "as ſhall be agreed upon to be needful and expedient for "giving ſatisfaction to tender conſciences, and the reſtoring "and continuance of peace and unity in the churches under "his majeſty's government and direction." They were to continue four months from the 25th of March 1661, and then preſent the reſult of their conferences to his majeſty under their ſeveral hands.

The names of the epiſcopal divines on the ſide of the eſtabliſhment at the Savoy conference *were,*

The Moſt Rev. Dr. *Accepted Frewen*, archbiſhop of York
The Right Rev. Dr. *Gilbert Sheldon*, biſhop of London
Dr. *John Coſins*, biſhop of Durham

* Dr. *Nichols* reckons twelve biſhops, but has left out the biſhop of *Chicheſter*, and named *Edward* biſhop of *Norwich*. Dr. *Kennet* names thirteen biſhops, amongſt whom are the biſhops of *Chicheſter* and *Norwich*. Dr. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 308. ED.

The Right Rev. Dr. *John Warner*, biſhop of Rocheſter
Dr. *Henry King*, biſhop of Chicheſter
Dr. *Humphrey Henchman*, biſhop of Sarum
Dr. *George Morley*, biſhop of Worceſter
Dr. *Robert Saunderſon*, biſhop of Lincoln
Dr. *Benjamin Laney*, biſhop of Peterborough
Dr. *Bryan Walton*, biſhop of Cheſter
Dr. *Richard Sterne*, biſhop of Carliſle
Dr. *John Gauden*, biſhop of Exeter.

Their Aſſiſtants,

John Earle, D.D. dean of Weſtminſter
Peter Heylin, D.D.
John Hacket, D.D.
John Barwick, D.D.
Peter Gunning, D.D.
John Pearſon, D.D.
Thomas Pierce, D.D.
Antony Sparrow, D.D.
Herbert Thorndike, B.D.

The names of the preſbyterian divines, or thoſe who were for alterations in the hierarchy of the church at the *Savoy conference* were,

The Right Rev. *Edward Reynolds*, biſhop of Norwich
The Rev. *Antony Tuckney*, D.D. M. St. John's college, Cambridge
John Conant, D.D. Reg. Prof. Oxon
William Spurſtow, D.D. vicar, Hackney
John Wallis, D.D. Sav. Prof. Geom.
Thomas Manton, D.D. maſter of Covent-garden
Edmund Calamy, B.D. of Aldermanbury
Mr. *Richard Baxter*, clerk, late of Kidderminſter
Mr. *Arthur Jackſon*, clerk, of St. Faith's
Mr. *Thomas Caſe*, clerk, rector of St. Giles
Mr. *Samuel Clarke*, clerk, of St. Bene't Fink
Mr. *Matth. Newcomen*, clerk, of Dedham.

Their Aſſiſtants,

The Rev. *Thomas Horton*, D.D.
Thomas Jacomb, D.D.
William Bates, D.D.
William Cooper, D.D.
John Lightfoot, D.D.
John Collins, D.D.
Benj. Woodbridge, B.D.
Mr. *John Rawlinſon*, clerk
Mr. *Wm. Drake*, clk.

When the commiſſioners* were aſſembled the firſt time, April 15, the archbiſhop of *York* ſtood up and ſaid, he knew

* "Though the *baptiſts* in England were at this time very numerous, "and as famous men amongſt them for learning and piety as moſt in the "commiſſion;

little of the buſineſs they were met about, and therefore referred it to Dr. *Sheldon*, biſhop of London, who gave it as his opinion, that the *preſbyterians* having deſired this conference, they [the biſhops] ſhould neither ſay nor do any thing till the others had brought in all their exceptions and complaints againſt the liturgy in writing, with their additional forms and amendments.* The preſbyterians humbly moved for a *conference* according to the words of the commiſſion, but the biſhop of *London* inſiſting peremptorily upon his own method, the others conſented to bring in their *exceptions* at one time, and their *additions* at another. For this purpoſe biſhop *Reynolds*, Dr. *Wallis*, and the reſt of the preſbyterian party, met from day to day to collect their exceptions;‡ but the additions, or drawing up a new form, was intruſted with Mr. *Baxter* alone. "Biſhop *Sheldon* "ſaw well enough (ſays *Burnet*‖) what the effect would be "of obliging them to make all their demands at once, that "the number would raiſe a mighty outcry againſt them as a "people that could never be ſatisfied." On the other hand, the preſbyterians were divided in their ſentiments; ſome were for inſiſting only on a few important things, reckoning that if they were gained, and an union followed, it might be eaſier to obtain others afterwards. But the majority, by the influence of Mr. *Baxter*, were for extending their deſires to the utmoſt, and thought themſelves bound by the words of the commiſſion to offer every thing they thought might conduce to the peace of the church, without conſidering what an aſpect this would have with the world, or what influence their numerous demands might have upon the minds of thoſe who were now their ſuperiors in numbers and ſtrength,§

"commiſſion; yet no regard was had to their caſe, nor any one of that per-"ſuaſion appointed to have any ſhare in it. They did not deſign to reform "ſo far; for if they could but bring the *preſbyterian* party in, which was "the moſt numerous of the diſſenters, that might be ſufficient to ſecure their "power; though, by the conſequence of this proceeding, it ſeems proba-"ble, there was no deſign of reformation; but only to quiet the minds of "the people, till they could gain time." Croſby, v. ii. p. 84-5. Ed.

* Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 305. ‡ Ibid. p. 306. ‖ P. 262.

§ "This," obſerves a late writer, "was preciſely what the advocates "for perſecution deſired: they could ſay, that the king had taken every

but when they were put in mind that the *king's commiſſion* gave them no power to alter the government of the church, nor to inſiſt upon archbiſhop *Uſher*'s model, nor ſo much as to claim the conceſſions of his majeſty's late declaration, they were quite heartleſs; for they were now convinced that all they were to expect was a few amendments in the liturgy and common-prayer book. This was concluded beforehand at court, and nothing more intended than to drop the preſbyterians with a ſhow of decency.

The miniſters were under this further hardſhip, that they were to tranſact for a body of men from whom they had no power, and therefore could not be obliged to abide by their deciſions; they told the king and the *priuie miniſter*, that they ſhould be glad to conſult their abſent brethren, and receive from them a commiſſion in form, but this was denied, and they were required to give in their own ſenſe of things, to which they conſented, provided the biſhops at the ſame time would bring in their conceſſions; but theſe being content to abide by the liturgy as it then ſtood, had nothing to offer, nor would they admit of any alterations but what the preſbyterians ſhould make appear to be neceſſary. With this dark and melancholy proſpect the conferenrce was opened.‡ It would interrupt the courſe of this hiſtory too much, to inſert all the exceptions of the preſbyterians to the preſent liturgy, and the papers which paſſed between the commiſſioners, with the letter of the preſbyterian miniſters to the archbiſhop and biſhops, and the report they made of the whole to the king. I ſhall only take notice in this place, that, inſtead of drawing up a few ſupplemental forms, and making ſome amendments to the old

" ſtep, which the beſt policy and the tendereſt concern for the happineſs of " all his ſubjects could ſuggeſt, to gain over and compoſe the jarring ſects " into a ſyſtem of perfect harmony, but that all his wiſe and benevolent " endeavours were defeated by the wilful obſtinacy and perverſeneſs of the " non-conformiſts; and that he muſt therefore now purſue ſuch meaſures as " the ſafety both of the church and ſtate required." Secret Hiſtory of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. i. p. 349, 50. ED.

‡ N. B. *All the papers relating to the conferenre at the* Savoy *are collected in a book, entituled,* THE HISTORY OF NON-CONFORMITY, as it was argued and ſtated by commiſſioners on both ſides appointed by his majeſty king Charles II. in the year 1661. Octavo, 2d edit. 1708.

litu gy,

liturgy, Mr. *Baxter* compoſed an entire new one in the language of ſcripture, which he called the *reformed liturgy*; not with a deſign entirely to ſet aſide the old one, but to give men liberty to uſe either as they approved. It was drawn up in a ſhort compaſs of time, and after it had been examined, and approved by his brethren, was preſented to the biſhops in the conference, together with their exceptions to the *old liturgy*. This gave great offence, as preſuming that a liturgy drawn up by a ſingle hand in fourteen days, was to be preferred, or ſtand in competition with *one* which had been received in the church for a whole century. Beſides, it was inconſiſtent with the commiſſion and the biſhops' declaration of varying no further from the *old ſtandard* than ſhould appear to be neceſſary; and therefore the *reformed liturgy*, as it was called, was rejected at once without being examined.

When the preſbyterians brought in their exceptions to the liturgy, they preſented at the ſame time a PETITION FOR PEACE, beſeeching the biſhops to yield to their amendments; to free them from the ſubſcriptions and oaths in his majeſty's late declaration, and not to inſiſt upon the *re-ordination* of thoſe who had been ordained without a dioceſan biſhop, nor upon the *ſurplice*, the *croſs in baptiſm*, and other *indifferent ceremonies*; for this purpoſe they make uſe of various motives and arguments, ſufficient, in my judgment, to influence all who had any concern for the honour of God, and the ſalvation of ſouls. The biſhops gave a particular anſwer to theſe exceptions; to which the preſbyterians made ſuch a reply as, in the opinion of their adverſaries, ſhewed them to be men of learning, and well verſed in the practice of the antient church; however, the biſhops would indulge nothing to their prejudices; upon which they ſent them a large expoſtulatory letter, wherein, after having repeated their objections, they lay the wounds of the church at their door.

The term for the treaty being almoſt ſpun out in a paper controverſy,§ about ten days before the commiſſion expired, a diſputation

§ In the courſe of this controverſy many points, connected with the doctrine and manner of *baptiſm*, came into diſcuſſion: ſuch as, the right of the children of *heathens*, or of the excommunicated, to baptiſm: the efficacy of children's baptiſm; the qualifications for this ordinance; the uſe of godfathers

a diſputation was agreed on, to argue the *neceſſity* of alterations in the preſent liturgy.* Three of each party were choſen to manage the argument; Dr. *Pearſon*, *Gunning*, and *Sparrow*, on one ſide; and Dr. *Bates*, *Jacomb*, and Mr. *Baxter*, on the other. The reſt were at liberty to withdraw if they pleaſed. Mr. *Baxter* was opponent, and began to prove the ſinfulneſs of impoſitions; but through want of order, frequent interruptions, and perſonal reflections, the diſpute iſſued in nothing; a number of young divines interrupting the preſbyterian miniſters and laughing them to ſcorn. At length biſhop *Coſins* produced a paper,† containing an expedient to ſhorten the debate, which was, to put the miniſters on diſtinguiſhing between *thoſe things which they charged as* SINFUL, *and thoſe which were only* INEXPEDIENT. The three diſputants on the miniſters' ſide were deſired to draw up an anſwer to this paper, which they did, and charged the rubrick and injunctions of the church with eight things flatly *ſinful*, and contrary to the word of God.‡

1. That no miniſter be admitted to baptize without uſing the *ſign of the croſs*.

2. That no miniſter be admitted to officiate without wearing a *ſurplice*.

3. That none be admitted to the Lord's ſupper without he receive it *kneeling*.

4. That miniſters be obliged to pronounce all baptized perſons *regenerated by the Holy Ghoſt*, whether they be the children of Chriſtians or not.

5. That miniſters be obliged to deliver the ſacrament of the body and blood of Chriſt to the *unfit both in health and ſickneſs*, and that, by perſonal application, putting it into their hands, even thoſe who are forced to receive it againſt their wills, through conſciouſneſs of their impenitency.

6. That miniſters are obliged to abſolve the *unfit*, and that in abſolute expreſſions.

fathers and god-mothers, and of the ſign of the croſs, and other queſtions. The debate on which, it is ſaid, contributed much to encourage and promote what was called *anabaptiſm*.

Croſby's Hiſtory of the Baptiſts, v. ii. p. 85, 86. ED.

* Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 337.

† Kennet's Chronicle, p. 504. ‡ Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 341.

7. That

7. That miniſters are forced to give thanks for all whom they bury, as *brethren whom God has taken to himſelf.*

8. That none may be preachers who do not ſubſcribe, that *there is nothing in the common-prayer book, book of ordination, and the thirty-nine articles, contrary to the word of God.*

After a great deal of looſe diſcourſe it was agreed to debate the third article, *of denying the communion to ſuch as could not kneel.* The *miniſters* proved their aſſertion thus, that it was denying the ſacrament to ſuch whom the Holy Ghoſt commanded us to receive; Rom. xiv. 1, 2, 3. "Him that "is weak in the faith receive ye, but not to doubtful diſpu- "tations: one believes he may eat all things; another, that "is weak, eateth herbs: let not him that eateth, deſpiſe him "that eateth not; and let not him that eateth not, judge "him that eateth, for God has received him." The epiſcopal divines would not underſtand this of the *communion.* They alſo diſtinguiſhed between things lawful in themſelves, and things both lawful in themſelves *and required by lawful authority.* In the former caſe they admit a liberty, but the latter being enjoined by *authority* become neceſſary. The miniſters replied, that things about which there is to be a forbearance ought not to be enjoined by authority, and made neceſſary; and for governors to reject men by this rule is to defeat the apoſtle's reaſoning, and ſo contradict the law of God. But when Dr. *Gunning* had read certain citations* and authorities for the other ſide of the queſtion, biſhop *Coſins* the moderator called out to the reſt of the biſhops and doctors, and put the queſtion, *All you that think Dr.* Gunning *has proved that* Romans xiv. *ſpeaketh not of receiving the ſacrament, ſay* aye. Upon which there was a general cry among the hearers, *aye, aye*; the epiſcopal divines having great numbers of their party in the hall; whereas the *miniſters* had not above two or three gentlemen and ſcholars who had the courage to appear with them. Nevertheleſs they maintained their point, and (as biſhop *Burnet* obſerves) inſiſted upon it, that a "law which excludes all from the "ſacrament who dare not kneel, was unlawful, as it was a "limitation in point of communion put upon the laws of "Chriſt, which ought to be the only condition of thoſe that "have a right to it."

* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 506.

At

At length the epiſcopal divines became opponents upon the ſame queſtion, and argued thus; "That command which "enjoins only an act in itſelf lawful, is not ſinful." Which Mr. *Baxter* denied. They then added, "That command "which enjoins only an act in itſelf lawful, and no other act "or circumſtance unlawful, is not ſinful." This alſo Mr. *Baxter* denied. They then advanced further, "That com-"mand which enjoins only an act in itſelf lawful, and no "other act whereby an unjuſt penalty is enjoined, or any "circumſtance, whence directly or *per accidens* any ſin is "conſequent which the commander ought to provide againſt, "hath in it all things requiſite to the lawfulneſs of a com-"mand, and particularly cannot be charged with enjoining "an act *per accidens* unlawful, nor of commanding an act "under an unjuſt penalty." This alſo was denied, becauſe, though it does not command that which is ſinful, it may reſtrain from that which is lawful, and it may be applied to undue ſubjects. Other reaſons were aſſigned;* but the diſpute broke off with noiſe and confuſion, and high reflections upon Mr. *Baxter*'s dark and cloudy imagination, and his perplexed, ſcholaſtick, metaphyſical manner of diſtinguiſhing, which tended rather to confound than to clear up that which was doubtful; and biſhop *Saunderſon* being then in the chair, pronounced that Dr. *Gunning* had the better of the argument.

Biſhop *Morley* ſaid, that Mr. *Baxter*'s denying that plain propoſition was deſtructive of all authority human and divine; that it ſtruck the church out of all its claims for making canons, and for ſettling order and diſcipline; nay, that it took away all legiſlative power from the king and parliament, and even from God himſelf; for no act can be ſo good in itſelf, but may lead to a ſin *by accident*; and if to command ſuch an act be a ſin, then every command muſt be a ſin.

Biſhop *Burnet* adds,† "that *Baxter* and *Gunning* ſpent "ſeveral days in logical arguing, to the diverſion of the "town, who looked upon them as a couple of *fencers* "engaged in a diſpute that could not be brought to any "end. The biſhops inſiſted *upon the laws being ſtill in force*; "*to which they would admit of no exception, unleſs it was* "*proved that the matter of them was ſinful.* They charged "the preſbyterians with making a ſchiſm for that which

* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 505. † Vol. i. p. 264. "they

"they could not prove to be ſinful. They ſaid there was "no reaſon to gratify ſuch men; that one demand granted "would draw on many more; that all authority in church "and ſtate was ſtruck at by the poſition they had inſiſted "on, namely, *That it was not lawful to impoſe things indif-* "*ferent*, ſince theſe ſeemed to be the only matters in which "authority could interfere."—Thus ended the diſputation.

From arguments the miniſters deſcended to intreaties, and prayed the biſhops to have compaſſion on ſcrupulous minds, and not deſpiſe their weaker brethren. If the non-conformiſts ſhould be ejected, they urged, that there would not be clergymen enough to fill the vacant pulpits; they put them in mind of their peaceable behaviour in the late times; what they had ſuffered for the royal cauſe, and the great ſhare they had in reſtoring the king; they pleaded his majeſty's late declaration, and the deſign of the preſent conference. To all which the biſhops replied, that they were only commiſſioned *to make ſuch alterations in the liturgy as ſhould be neceſſary, and ſuch as ſhould be agreed upon.* The miniſters replied, that the word *neceſſary* muſt refer to the ſatisfying tender conſciences; but the biſhops inſiſted, that they ſaw no alterations *neceſſary*, and therefore were not obliged to make any till they could prove them ſo. The miniſters prayed them to conſider the ill conſequence that might follow upon a ſeparation. But all was to no purpoſe, their lordſhips were in the ſaddle, and, if we may believe Mr. *Baxter*, would not abate the ſmalleſt ceremony, nor correct the groſſeſt error for the peace of the church. Thus the king's commiſſion expired July 25, and the conferences ended without any proſpect of accommodation.

It was agreed at the concluſion, that each party might repreſent to his majeſty, that they were all agreed upon the ends of the conference, which were the *church's welfare, unity and peace*, but ſtill diſagreed as to the means of procuring them. The biſhops thought they had no occaſion to repreſent their caſe in writing; but the preſbyterian commiſſioners met by themſelves, and drew up an account of their proceedings, with a petition for that relief which they could not obtain from the biſhops.* They preſented it to

* Mr. *Croſby* ſays, "he had been informed, that when the *preſbyterians* "were pleading hard for ſuch conceſſions from his majeſty, as they thought "would

the king by biſhop *Reynolds*, Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, and Mr. *Baxter*;* but received no anſwer.

Before we leave this famous conference at the *Savoy*, it will not be amiſs to remark the behaviour of the commiſſioners on both ſides, ſome of whom ſeldom or never appeared, as Dr. *King* biſhop of *Chicheſter*, Dr. *Heylin*, *Barwick*, and *Earle*;§ *Sheldon* biſhop of *London* came but ſeldom, though he, with *Henchman* and *Morley*, had the chief management of affairs;‖ others who were preſent, but did not much concern themſelves in the debate, as Dr. *Frewen* archbiſhop of York; *Lucy* of St. David's; *Warner* of Rocheſter; *Saunderſon* of Lincoln; *Laney* of Peterborough; *Walton* of Cheſter; *Sterne* of Carliſle; Dr. *Hacket* and Dr. *Sparrow*. On the ſide of the preſbyterians Dr. *Horton* never appeared, nor Dr. *Drake*, becauſe of a *miſnomer* in the commiſſion; Dr. *Lightfoot*, *Tuckney*, and Mr. *Woodbridge*, were preſent only once or twice.

Among the biſhops; Dr. *Morley* was the chief ſpeaker; his manner was vehement, and he was againſt all abatements.

" would bring about an union: the lord chancellor told them, his majeſty " had received petitions from the *anabaptiſts*, who deſired nothing more than " to have liberty to worſhip God according to their conſciences. At which " they were all ſtruck dumb, and remained in a long ſilence." Mr. *Baxter* places this matter in another light: that petitions having been received from the *independents* and *anabaptiſts*, the chancellor propoſed to add a clauſe to the king's declaration, permitting others, beſides the *preſbyterians*, to meet, if they did it peaceably, for religious worſhip, ſecure from moleſtation by any civil officer. On this the biſhops and the *preſbyterians*, ſeeing it would operate in favour of the *papiſts*, were ſilent: till Mr. *Baxter*, judging that conſenting to it would bring on them the charge of ſpeaking for the toleration of *papiſts* and *ſectaries*, and that oppoſing it would draw on them the reſentment of all ſects and parties as the cauſes of their ſufferings, ſaid, " that as they humbly thanked his majeſty for his indulgence to " themſelves, ſo they muſt diſtinguiſh the *tolerable* parties from the *intoler-* " *able:* that for the former they craved favour and lenity; but that they " could not requeſt the toleration of the latter, ſuch as the *papiſts* and *ſoci-* " *nians*, whom Dr. *Gunning*, ſpeaking againſt the ſects, had then named." To this his majeſty ſaid, " that there were laws enough againſt the *papiſts*." Mr. *Baxter* replied, " they underſtood the queſtion to be, whether thoſe " laws ſhould be executed on them or not." And ſo his majeſty broke up the meeting of that day. Croſby's Hiſtory of the Baptiſts, v. ii. p. 87-89. Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 277. ED.

* Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 366. § Ibid. p. 307.

‖ Kennet's Chronicle, p. 507.

He

He frequently interrupted Mr. *Baxter*;† and when Dr. *Bates* ſaid, *Pray, my Lord, give him leave to ſpeak*, he could not obtain it.

Biſhop *Coſins* was there conſtantly, and though he was inclined to moderate meaſures, ſaid ſome very ſevere things. When the miniſters prayed the biſhops to have ſome compaſſion on their brethren, and not caſt ſuch *great numbers unneceſſarily* out of the miniſtry, he replied, *What, do you threaten us with numbers? For my part, I think the king would do well to make you name them all.* Again, when the miniſters complained, that after ſo many years calamity the biſhops would not yield to that which their predeceſſors offered before the war, biſhop *Coſins* replied, *Do you threaten us then with a new war? It is time for the king to look to you.*

Biſhop *Gauden* often took part with the preſbyterian divines, and was the only moderator among the biſhops, except biſhop *Reynolds*, who ſpoke much the firſt day for abatements and moderation; but afterwards, ſitting among the biſhops he only ſpoke now and then a qualifying word, though he was heartily grieved for the fruitleſs iſſue of the conference.

Of the diſputants, it is ſaid, Dr. *Pearſon*, afterwards biſhop of *Cheſter*, diſputed accurately, ſoberly, and calmly. The preſbyterian miniſters had a great regard for him, and believed, that if he had been an umpire in the controverſy his conceſſions would have greatly relieved them.

Dr. *Gunning* was the moſt forward ſpeaker, and ſtuck at nothing. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays,* that all the arts of ſophiſtry were uſed by him in as confident a manner as if they had been ſound reaſoning; that he was unweariedly active to very little purpoſe, and being very fond of the popiſh rituals and ceremonies, he was much ſet upon reconciling the church of England to Rome.

On the ſide of the preſbyterians, Dr. *Bates* and *Manton* behaved with great modeſty; the moſt active diſputant was Mr. *Baxter*, who had a very metaphyſical head and fertile invention, and was one of the moſt ready men of his time for an argument, but too eager and tenacious of his own opinions. Next to him was Mr. *Calamy*, who had a great intereſt among the preſbyterian miniſters in city and country, and for his age and gravity was reſpected as their father.

† Baxter's Life, part. ii. p. 363. * Page 263, 4. Among

Among the auditors Mr. *Baxter* obſerves* there was with the biſhops a croud of young divines who behaved indecently; but mentions only two or three ſcholars and laymen, who, as auditors, came in with the preſbyterians, as Mr. *Miles*, Mr. *Tillotſon*, &c.

This Mr. *Tillotſon* was afterwards the moſt reverend and learned archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, one of the moſt celebrated divines and preachers of the age. We ſhall have frequent occaſion to mention him hereafter, and therefore, I ſhall give a ſhort account of him in this place. He was born in Yorkſhire 1630, and received his firſt education among the *puritans*; and though he had freer notions, he ſtill ſtuck to the ſtrictneſs of life to which he was bred, and retained a juſt value and a due tenderneſs for men of that perſuaſion. He was admitted ſtudent of Clare-hall in Cambridge, under the tuition of Mr. *David Clarkſon*, in the year 1647. He was bachelor of arts 1650, and within the compaſs of a year was elected fellow. He had then a ſweetneſs of temper which he retained as long as he lived; and in thoſe early years was reſpected as a perſon of very great parts and prudence.† In the year 1661, he continued a non-conformiſt, and has a ſermon in the morning exerciſes on Matt. vii. 12. He appeared with the preſbyterians at the *Savoy* diſputation; and though he conformed upon the act of uniformity in 1662, he was always inclined to the puritans, never fond of the ceremonies of the church, but would diſpenſe ſometimes with thoſe who could not conſcientiouſly ſubmit to them. He owned the diſſenters had ſome plauſible objections againſt the common-prayer; and in the opinion of ſome perſuaded men rather to bear with the church, than be zealous for it. In the year 1663, he was preferred to the rectory of Keddington in Suffolk, vacant by the non-ſubſcription of Mr. *Samuel Fairclough*. Next year he was choſen preacher to Lincoln's Inn, and lecturer of St. Lawrence's church in London, where his excellent ſermons, delivered in a moſt graceful manner, drew the attention of great numbers of the quality, and of moſt of the divines and gentlemen in the city. In 1669, he was made canon of Chriſt-church in Canterbury; and in 1672, dean of that church, and reſidentiary; but roſe no

* Baxter's Life, p. 337. † Athen. Oxon. p. 968.

higher

higher till the revolution of king *William* and queen *Mary*, when he was firſt made clerk of the cloſet, and then advanced at once to the archbiſhoprick of Canterbury, in the room of Dr. *Sancroft* a non-juror. He was a divine of moderate principles to the laſt, and always diſpoſed to promote a toleration, and if poſſible a comprehenſion of the diſſenters within the church. Upon the whole, he was a ſecond *Cranmer*, and one of the moſt valuable prelates that this, or, it may be, any other church ever produced.

Various cenſures were paſſed within doors upon the *Savoy* conference; the *independants* were diſguſted, becauſe none of them were conſulted, though it does not appear to me what concern they could have in it, their views being only to a toleration, not a comprehenſion. Some blamed their brethren for yielding too much, and others thought they might have yielded more; but when they ſaw the fruitleſs end of the treaty, and the papers that were publiſhed, moſt of them were ſatisfied.—Biſhop *Burnet* ſays,† the conference did rather hurt than good, it heightened the ſharpneſs which was already on people's minds to ſuch a degree, that it needed no addition to raiſe it higher.—Mr. *Robinſon* ſays,* "It was "notorious that the buſineſs of the epiſcopal party was not "to conſult the intereſt of religion, but to cover a political "deſign, which was too bad to appear at firſt; nor did they "mean to heal the church's wounds, ſo much as to revenge "their own. When they knew what the preſbyterians "ſcrupled, they ſaid, now they knew their minds they would "have matters ſo fixed that not one of that ſort ſhould be "able to keep his living. They did not deſire, but rather "fear their compliance." Nay, ſo unacceptable was the publiſhing the papers relating to the conference, that biſhop *Saunderſon* and ſome of his brethren cautioned their clergy againſt reading them. From this time the preſbyterians were out of the queſtion, and the ſettlement of the church referred entirely to the convocation and parliament.

It had been debated in council, whether there ſhould be a convocation while the conference at the *Savoy* was depending; but at the interceſſion of Dr. *Heylin* and others, the court was prevailed with to conſent that there ſhould; and ſuch

† Page 265. * Anſwer to Bennett, of Liturgies, p. 382.

care

care was taken in the choice of members (as biſhop *Burnet* obſerves) that every thing went among them as was directed by biſhop *Sheldon* and *Morley*. If a convocation had been holden with the convention parliament the majority would have been againſt the hierarchy; but it is not to be wondered they were otherwiſe now, when ſome hundreds of the preſbyterian clergy, who were in poſſeſſion of ſequeſtered livings, had been diſpoſſeſſed; and the neceſſity of ordination by a biſhop being urged upon thoſe who had been ordained by preſbyters only, great numbers were denied their votes in elections. Nevertheleſs the preſbyterian intereſt carried it in London for Mr. *Baxter* and *Calamy* by three voices; but the biſhop of London, having a power of chooſing two out of four, or four out of ſix within a certain circuit, left them both out; by which means the city of London had no clerks in the convocation. The author of the *Conformiſts Plea** ſays, "That to frame a convocation to "their mind great care and pains were uſed to keep out, "and to get men in, by very undue proceedings; and that "proteſtations were made againſt all incumbents not ordained by biſhops."

The *Savoy* conference having ended without ſucceſs, the king ſent a letter to the *convocation*, Nov. 20, commanding them *to review the book of common-prayer, and make ſuch additions and amendments*† as they thought neceſſary. Letters to the ſame purpoſe were ſent to the archbiſhop of *York*, to

* Page 35.

† It was required, "that all propoſed alterations ſhould be exhibited "and preſented for his majeſty's farther allowance and confirmation:" this was accordingly done. *He* was finally to pronounce on the propriety and truth of the propoſed alterations. All the debates, inveſtigations, and deciſions of the clergy and biſhops, had no efficacy without the ſanction of the king. They *might be* miſtaken: but he *could not*. There is an abſurdity in aſcribing infallibility to any human being, neceſſarily liable to imperfect views, to prejudices and to error. "But, if poſſible, the abſurdity is "greater in attributing it to the ſceptered, rather than to the mitred ſove"reign. The former is not educated to a religious profeſſion; and his "time, from the moment he fills the throne, that is, from the moment he "becomes infallible, muſt be conſtantly employed in civil concerns: but "yet, as head of the church, to him all truth is known; to him all appeals "from the eccleſiaſtical courts muſt be made."

A Treatiſe on Hereſy, p. 73, 74. ED.

be

be communicated to the clergy of his province, who for the greater expedition ſent proxies with procuratorial letters to thoſe of Canterbury, and obliged themſelves to abide by their votes under forfeiture of their goods and chattels.

"It is inconceivable, ſays Dr. *Nichols*, what difficulties "the biſhops had to contend with, about making theſe *al-* "*terations*; they were not only to conquer their own former "reſentments, and the unreaſonable demands of preſbyte- "rians, but they had the court to deal with, who puſhed "them on to all acts of ſeverity."* Whereas on the contrary, the tide was ſtrong on their ſide, the biſhops puſhed on the court, who were willing to give them the reins, that when the breach was made as wide as poſſible a door might be opened for the toleration of papiſts. The review of the common-prayer book engaged the convocation a whole month; and on the 20th of December it was ſigned, and approved by all the members of both houſes.

The alterations were theſe,†

1. The rubrick for *ſinging of leſſons*,‡ &c. was omitted, the diſtinct reading of them being thought more proper.

2. Several collects for Sundays and holy days complained of, were omitted, and others ſubſtituted in their room.

3. Communicants at the Lord's ſupper were enjoined to ſignify their names to the curate ſome time the day before.

4. The preface to the ten commandments was reſtored.§

5. The exhortations to the holy communion were amended.

6. The general confeſſion in the communion office was appointed to be read by one of the miniſters.

7. In the office for *Chriſtmas day* the words *this day* were changed for *as at this time*.

* Kennet's Chronicle, p. 574. † Ibid. 585.

‡ The rubrick in king *James*'s review directed alſo the two leſſons to be diſtinctly read, but it added; "To the end the people may better hear, in "ſuch places where they do ſing, there ſhall the leſſons be ſung in a plain "tune, after the manner of diſtinct reading, and likewiſe the epiſtle and "goſpel." Grey's Examination, p. 308. Ed.

§ "So indeed ſays biſhop *Kennet*," remarks Dr. *Grey*; but they are both miſtaken. The commandments were not in king *Edward*'s firſt liturgy, but in king *Edward*'s 1552, and in the reviews of queen *Elizabeth* and king *James*. Grey's Examination, p. 309. Ed.

8. In

8. In the prayer of conſecration the *prieſt* is directed to break the bread.

9. The rubrick for explaining the reaſon of kneeling at the ſacrament was reſtored.

10. Private baptiſm is not to be adminiſtered but by a lawful miniſter.

11. The anſwer to the queſtion in the catechiſm, *Why then are children baptized?* is thus amended, *becauſe they promiſe them both by their ſureties; which promiſe, when they come to age, themſelves are bound to perform.*

12. In the laſt rubrick before the catechiſm theſe words are expunged, *And that no man ſhall think that any detriment ſhall come to children by deferring of their confirmation*, &c.

13. It is appointed that the curate of every pariſh ſhall either bring or ſend in writing, with his hand ſubſcribed thereunto, the names of all ſuch perſons within his pariſh, as he ſhall think fit to be preſented to the biſhop to be confirmed.

14. The rubrick after confirmation was thus ſoftened; *None ſhall be admitted to the communion till ſuch time as he be confirmed, or be ready and deſirous to be confirmed.*

15. In the form of matrimony, inſtead of, *till death us depart*, it is, *till death us do part.*

16. In the rubricks after the form of matrimony, it is thus altered, *After which, if there be no ſermon declaring the duties of man and wife, the miniſter ſhall read as followeth:*—And inſtead of the ſecond rubrick, it is adviſed *to be convenient*, that the new married perſons ſhould receive the communion at the time of marriage, or at the firſt opportunity afterwards.

17. In the order for viſitation of the ſick it is thus amended: *Here the ſick perſon ſhall be moved to make ſpecial confeſſion of his ſins, if he feel his conſcience troubled with any weighty matter; after which the prieſt ſhall abſolve him, if he humbly and heartily deſire it, after this ſort.*—

18. In the communion for the ſick the miniſter is not enjoined to adminiſter the ſacrament to every ſick perſon that ſhall deſire it, but only as he ſhall judge expedient.

19. In the order for the burial of the dead it is thus altered: the prieſts and clerks meeting the corpſe at the entrance

of

of the church-yard, and going before it either into the church, or towards the grave, ſhall ſay or ſing,—In the office itſelf, theſe words, *In ſure and certain hope of reſurrection to eternal life*, are thus altered, in ſure and certain hope of *the* reſurrection to eternal life; and to leſſen the objection of *God's taking to himſelf the ſoul of this our dear brother departed*, &c. the following rubrick is added; *Here is to be noted, that the office enſuing is not to be uſed for any that die unbaptized or excommunicate, or who have laid violent hands upon themſelves.*

20. In the *churching of women* the new rubrick directs, that the woman at the uſual time after her delivery, ſhall come into the church decently appareled, and there ſhall kneel down in ſome convenient place, *as has been accuſtomed, or as the ordinary ſhall direct*, and the cxvith or cxxviith pſalm ſhall be read.

Dr. *Teniſon*, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſays, "They made about ſix hundred ſmall alterations or additions, "but then adds, If there was reaſon for theſe changes, there "was equal, if not greater reaſon for ſome further improve- "ments. If they had foreſeen what is ſince come to paſs, I "charitably believe they would not have done all they did, "and juſt ſo much and no more; and yet I alſo believe, if "they had offered to move much further, *A ſtone would have "been laid under their wheel, by a ſecret but powerful hand*; "for the myſtery of popery did even then work."* Biſhop *Burnet* confeſſes, that no alterations were made in favour of the preſbyterians, for it was reſolved to gratify them in nothing.

But beſides the alterations and amendments already mentioned, there were ſeveral additional forms of prayer,§ as for the 30th of January and the 29th of May, forms of prayer to be uſed at ſea; and a new office for the adminiſtration of baptiſm to grown perſons.‡ Some corrections were

* Compl. Hiſt. p. 252. in Marg.

§ Beſides the new forms ſpecified by Mr. *Neal*, there were alſo added, Dr. *Grey* ſays, the prayer for the high court of parliament, the prayer for all conditions of men, and the general thankſgiving. Examination, p. 310. Ed.

‡ This ſervice was added, becauſe on account of the ſpread of *baptiſtical* ſentiments, there were now many grown up too old to be baptiſed as infants, whoſe duty it was to make a profeſſion of their own faith. Wall's Hiſt. of Infant baptiſm. vol. ii. p. 215. Ed.

made in the kalendar. Some new holidays were added, as *the converſion of St. Paul*, and *St. Barnabas*.* More new leſſons were taken out of the Apocrypha, as *the ſtory of* Bel *and the* Dragon, *&c.* But it was agreed, that no apocryphal leſſons ſhould be read on Sundays. Theſe were all the conceſſions the convocation would admit§; and this was all the fruit of the conference at the Savoy, by which, according to Mr. *Baxter* and biſhop *Burnet*, the common-prayer book was rendered more exceptionable, and the terms of conformity much harder than before the civil war.

The common-prayer book thus altered and amended was ſent up to the king and council, and from thence tranſmitted to the houſe of peers, Feb. 24, with this meſſage, That his majeſty had duly conſidered of the alterations, and does with the advice of his council fully approve and allow the ſame; and doth recommend it to the houſe of peers, that "the ſaid "books of common-prayer, and of the forms of ordination, "and conſecration of biſhops, prieſts and deacons, with thoſe "additions and alterations that have been made, and pre-"ſented to his majeſty by the convocation, be the book which "in and by the intended act of uniformity ſhall be appointed "to be uſed by all that officiate in all cathedral and collegi-"ate churches and chapels, &c. and in all pariſh churches "of England and Wales, under ſuch ſanctions or penalties as "the parliament ſhall think fit‡." When the *lords* had gone through the book, the lord chancellor Hyde, by order of the houſe, gave the biſhops thanks, March 15, for their care in this buſineſs‖; and deſired their lordſhips to give the like thanks to the lower houſe of convocation, and acquaint them,

* Theſe two holidays, though then firſt appointed by act of parliament, were not now added to the kalendar; for they ſtand in the liturgy of *Edward* VI. by *Whitchurch*, 1549; in his Review, 1552; in Q. *Elizabeth*'s review, 4to. 1601; in K. *James*'s review 1609; and in the *Scotch* liturgy, at Edinburgh, folio, 1637. Grey's Examination, p. 311. It may be added, they are, with ſuitable collects, in the liturgy printed by *Bonham Norton* and *John Bill*, 1629, *penes me*. Ed.

§ There is one alteration not mentioned by Mr. *Neal*. In the ſecond collect, in the *viſitation of the ſick*, theſe words are omitted; "Viſite him, O "Lord, as thou didſt *Peter*'s wive's mother, and the captain's ſervant:" which were in K. *Edward*'s, Q. *Elizabeth*'s and K. *James*'s review. Id. p. 311. Ed.

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 633. ‖ Id. p. 642, 3.

that

that their amendments were well received and approved, though ſome of them met with a conſiderable oppoſition. From the lords they were ſent down to the commons, and inſerted in the act of uniformity, as will be ſeen under the next year.

But before this famous act had paſſed either houſe the preſbyterians were reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs. In the month of March, 1661-62,* the grand jury at Exeter found above forty bills of indictment againſt ſome eminent non-conformiſt miniſters for not reading the common prayer according to law. They likewiſe preſented the travelling about of divers itinerant preachers, ejected out of ſequeſtered livings, as dangerous to the peace of the nation. They complained of their teaching ſedition and rebellion in private houſes, and other congregations, tending to foment a new war. They alſo preſented ſuch as neglected their own pariſh churches, and run abroad to hear factious miniſters; and ſuch as walked in the church-yards, or other places, while divine ſervice was reading; all which were the certain forerunners of a general perſecution.

In Scotland the court carried their meaſures with a high hand; for having got a parliament to their mind,§ the earl of Middleton, a moſt notorious debauchee, opened it, with preſenting a letter of his majeſty to the houſe; after which they paſſed an act, declaring all *Leagues not made with the king's authority illegal.* This ſtruck at the root of the *covenant made with* England *in* 1643.‡ They paſſed another act reſcinding all acts made ſince the late troubles, and another impowering the king to ſettle the government of the church *as he ſhould pleaſe.* It was a mad, roaring time, (ſays the biſhop) and no wonder it was ſo, when the men of affairs were almoſt perpetually drunk. The king hereupon directed that the church ſhould be governed by ſynods, preſbyters, and kirk ſeſſions, till he ſhould appoint another government, which he did by a letter to his council of Scotland, bearing date Aug. 14, 1661, in which he recites the inconveniencies which had attended the preſbyterian government for the laſt twenty-three years, and its inconſiſtency with monarchy.—" Therefore (ſays he)

* Kennet's Chron. p. 647. § Burnet, vol. i. p. 161, &c.

‡ Burnet, p. 166.

"from our reſpect to the glory of God, the good and intereſt of the proteſtant religion, and the better harmony with "the government of the church of England, *We declare our "firm reſolution to interpoſe our royal authority for reſtoring the "church of* Scotland *to its right government by biſhops, as it "was before the late troubles.* And our will and pleaſure is, "that you take effectual care to reſtore the rents belonging "to the ſeveral biſhopricks; that you prohibit the aſſem-"bling of miniſters in their ſynodical meetings till our further "pleaſure; and that you keep a watchful eye over thoſe, who "by diſcourſe or preaching endeavour to alienate the affec-"tions of our people from us or our government.—" Purſuant to theſe directions the lords of the council ordered the heralds to make publick proclamation at the market croſs in Edinburgh, Sept. 6, of this his majeſty's royal will and pleaſure. In the month of December a commiſſion was iſſued out to the biſhops of London and Worceſter* to ordain and conſecrate according to the rites and ceremonies of the church of England, Mr. *James Sharp*, archbiſhop of St. *Andrews*, Mr. *Andrew Fairfoul*, archbiſhop of Glaſgow, Mr. *Robert Leighton*, biſhop of Dunblain, and Mr. *James Hamilton*, biſhop of Galloway. A very bad choice, ſays biſhop *Burnet*. *Sharp* was one of the falſeſt and vileſt diſſemblers in the world. *Fairfoul* was next akin to a natural. *Leighton* was an excellent prelate; but *Hamilton*'s life was ſcarce free from ſcandal.† He had ſworn to the covenant, and when one objected to him, that it went againſt his conſcience, he ſaid, *Such medicines as could not be chewed muſt be ſwallowed whole.*§ The Engliſh biſhops inſiſted upon their renouncing their preſby-

* Burnet, p. 133, 134. † Ibid. 191, 192.

* It is, as Dr. *Grey* remarks, that Mr. *Neal* has here ſtrangely confounded two characters; aſcribing to biſhop *Hamilton* what biſhop *Burnet* has applied to biſhop *Fairfoul*. It is ſingular that Dr. *Grey* has, in the next paragraph, committed a ſimilar miſtake; for quoting Mr. *Neal*'s account of the death of Mr. *James Guthrie*, who, on the authority of *Burnet*, he ſays, "ſpoke *an hour* before his execution, with great compoſedneſs," he admits the correctneſs of this paſſage: but adds, that *Burnet*, but two pages before, ſaid, that Mr. *Guthrie* ſpoke for *half an hour* with great appearance of ſerenity; and obſerves, "ſo conſiſtent was this great man with himſelf in the compaſs of two pages." Now the inconſiſtency is in Dr. *Grey*, and not biſhop *Burnet*, who ſpeaks in the firſt place not of Mr. *Guthrie*, but of the Marquis of *Argyle*, vol. i. p. 179. Ed.

terian

terian orders, which they conſented to, and were, in one and the ſame day, ordained, firſt deacons, then prieſts, and laſt of all biſhops, according to the rites of the church of England.

Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, that though the king had a natural hatred to preſbytery, he went very coldly into this deſign; nay, that he had a viſible reluctancy againſt it, becauſe of the temper of the *Scots* nation, and his unwillingneſs to involve his government in new troubles; but the earl of *Clarendon** puſhed it forward with great zeal; and the duke of *Ormond* ſaid, that epiſcopacy could not be eſtabliſhed in Ireland, if preſbytery continued in Scotland. The earls of Lauderdale and Crawford indeed oppoſed it, but the council of Scotland not proteſting, it was determined; but it was a large ſtrain of the prerogative for a king by a royal proclamation to alter the government of a church eſtabliſhed by law, without conſent of parliament, convocation or ſynod of any kind whatſoever; for it was not until May the next year that this affair was decided in parliament.

Some of the Scots miniſters preached boldly againſt this change of government; and among others, Mr. *James Guthrie*, miniſter of Stirlin, for which, and ſome other things, he was convicted of ſedition and treaſon. Biſhop *Burnet*,§ who ſaw him ſuffer, ſays that he expreſſed a contempt of death; that he ſpoke an hour upon the ladder with the compoſure of a man that was delivering a ſermon rather than his laſt words; that he juſtified all he had done, exhorting all people to adhere to the covenant, which he magnified highly. He was executed June 14, 1661, and concluded his dying ſpeech with theſe words,† "I take God to record upon my ſoul, that "I would not exchange this ſcaffold with the palace or mitre "of the greateſt prelate in Britain. Bleſſed be God, who "hath ſhewed mercy to ſuch a wretch, and has revealed "his ſon in me, and made me a miniſter of the everlaſting "goſpel; and that he has deſigned, in the midſt of much con-"tradiction from ſatan and the world, to ſeal my miniſtry up-"on the hearts of not a few of this people, and eſpecially in "the congregation and preſbytery of Stirlin." There was with

* Hiſt. p. 130, 131. Kennet's Chron. 577.

§ Hiſt. of the Stuarts, p. 144. † Kennet's Chron. p. 459. Burnet, p. 181.

him

him on the ſame ſcaffold, young captain *Govan*, whoſe laſt words were theſe, "I bear witneſs with my blood to the perſecuted government of this church, by ſynods and preſbyteries. I bear witneſs to the ſolemn league and covenant, and ſeal it with my blood. I likewiſe teſtify againſt all popery, prelacy, idolatry, ſuperſtition, and the ſervice book, which is no better than a relick of the *Romiſh* idolatry—"* Soon after this the rights of patronages were reſtored, and all the preſbyterian miniſters ſilenced, though the court had not a ſupply of men of any ſort to fill up their vacancies.

The account that biſhop *Burnet* gives of the old *Scots* preſbyterian miniſters, who were poſſeſſed of the church livings before the Reſtoration, is very remarkable, and deſerves a place in this hiſtory. "They were (ſays he) a brave and ſolemn people; their ſpirits were eager, and their tempers ſour, but they had an appearance that created reſpect; they viſited their pariſhes much, and were ſo full of ſcripture, and ſo ready at extempore prayer, that from that they grew to practiſe extempore ſermons; for the cuſtom in Scotland was, after dinner or ſupper, to read a chapter in the bible, and when they happened to come in, if it was acceptable, they would on a ſudden expound the chapter; by this means the people had ſuch a vaſt degree of knowledge, that the poor cottagers could pray extempore. Their preachers went all in one tract in their ſermons, of doctrine, reaſon, and uſe; and this was ſo methodical, that the people could follow a ſermon quite through every branch of it. It can hardly be imagined to what a degree theſe miniſters were loved and reverenced by their people. They kept ſcandalous perſons under ſevere diſcipline; for breach of the ſabbath, for an oath, or drunkenneſs, they were cited before the kirk ſeſſions, and ſolemnly rebuked for it; for fornication they ſtood on the ſtool of repentance in the church, at the time of worſhip, for three days, receiving admonition, and making profeſſions of repentance, which ſome did with many tears, and exhortations to others to take warning by them; for adultery they ſat in the ſame place ſix months covered with ſackcloth. But with all this (ſays the biſhop) they had but a narrow compaſs of

* Burnet, p. 152, 153. † Ib. p. 226, 227.

"learning

" learning, were very affected in their deportment, and were " apt in their ſermons to make themſelves popular, by preach- " ing againſt the ſins of princes and courts, which the people " delighted to hear, becauſe they had no ſhare in them."*

The biſhops and clergy, who ſucceeded the preſbyterians, were of a quite different ſtamp; moſt of them were very mean divines, vicious in their morals, idle and negligent of their cures; by which means they became obnoxious to the whole nation, and were hardly capable of ſupporting their authority through the reign of king *Charles* II. even with the aſſiſtance of the civil power. Biſhop *Burnet* adds§, that they were mean and deſpicable in all reſpects; the worſt preachers he ever heard; ignorant to a reproach, and many of them openly vicious; that they were a diſgrace to their order, and to the ſacred functions, and were indeed the dregs and refuſe of the northern parts. The few who were above contempt or ſcandal were men of ſuch violent tempers, that they were as much hated as the others were deſpiſed.

In Ireland the hierarchy was reſtored after the ſame manner as in Scotland; the king by his letters patent, in right of his power to appoint biſhops to the vacant ſees, iſſued his royal mandate to Dr. *Bramhall*, archbiſhop of Armagh, and Dr. *Taylor* biſhop of Down and Connor, by virtue of which they conſecrated two archbiſhops, and ten biſhops, in one day.† His grace inſiſted on the re-ordination of thoſe who had been ordained in the late times without the hands of a biſhop, but with this ſoftening clauſe in their orders: *Non annihilantes priores ordines (ſi quos habuit) nec validitatem aut invaliditatem eorundem determinantes, multo minus omnes ordines ſacros eccleſiarum forinſecarum condemnantes, quos propriò judiciò relinquimus: Sed ſolummodo ſupplentes quicquid prius defuit per canones eccleſiæ* Anglicanæ *requiſitum*— i. e. " Not an- " nihilating his former orders (if he had any) nor determining " concerning their validity or invalidity, much leſs condemn- " ing all the ſacred ordinations of foreign churches whom we " leave to their own judge, but only ſupplying what was " wanting according to the canons of the church of Eng- " land.—" Without ſuch an explication as this, few of the

§ Page 229. † Kennet's Chron. p. 440, 441.

clergy

clergy of Ireland would have kept their ſtations in the church.* On the 17th of May, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, and the commons in parliament aſſembled in Ireland, declared their opinion and high eſteem of epiſcopal government, and of the book of common-prayer, according to the uſe of the church of England; and thus the old conſtitution, in church as well as ſtate, was reſtored in the three kingdoms.

The French miniſters, who had been tools to perſuade the Engliſh preſbyterians to reſtore the king *without a treaty*, went along with the torrent, and complimented the church of England upon her re-eſtabliſhment; they commended the liturgy, which they formerly treated with contemptuous language. Some few of them pretended to bemoan the want of epiſcopacy among themſelves, and to wonder that any of the Engliſh preſbyterians ſhould ſcruple conformity.† The French church at the Savoy ſubmitted to the rites and ceremonies of the Engliſh hierarchy; and M. *Du Boſc*, miniſter of Caen, writes to the miniſter of the Savoy, that he was as dear to him under the *ſurplice* of England, as under the *robe* of France.‖ So complaiſant were theſe mercenary divines towards thoſe who diſallowed their orders, diſowned their churches, and the validity of all their adminiſtrations.

Lord *Clarendon* and the biſhops having got over the Savoy conference, and carried the ſervice-book with the amendments through the convocation, were now improving the preſent temper of the parliament to procure it the ſanction of the legiſlature; for this purpoſe the king, *though a papiſt*, is made to ſpeak the language of a zealous churchman. In his ſpeech to the parliament, March 1ſt, he has theſe words: "Gentlemen, I hear you are zealous for the church, and "very ſolicitous, and even jealous, that there is not expe- "dition enough uſed in that affair. I thank you for it, ſince "I preſume it proceeds from a good root of piety and de- "votion; but I muſt tell you, that I have the worſt luck in "the world, if after all the reproaches of being a *papiſt*, "while I was abroad, I am ſuſpected of being a *preſbyterian* "now I am come home. I know you will not take it un- "kindly if I tell you, I am as zealous for the church of Eng- "land as any of you can be, and am enough acquainted

* Kennet's Chron. p. 449. † Ibid. p. 462. ‖ Ibid. p. 475.

"with

" with the enemies of it on all ſides. I am as much in love " with the book of common-prayer as you can wiſh, and " have prejudices enough againſt thoſe who do not love it; " who I hope, in time, will be better informed, and change " their minds. And you may be confident, I do as much " deſire to ſee an uniformity ſettled as any among you; and " pray truſt me in that affair, I promiſe you to haſten the " diſpatch of it with all convenient ſpeed; you may rely " upon me in it. I have tranſmitted the book of common- " prayer with the amendments, to the houſe of lords—but " when we have done all we can, the well ſettling that af- " fair will require great prudence and diſcretion, and the " abſence of all paſſion and precipitation."§

The reaſon of the king's requiring *diſcretion* in the parliament, and the abſence of paſſion, was not in favour of the preſbyterians, but the papiſts, who went all the lengths of the prerogative, and publiſhed a remonſtrance about this time, " wherein they acknowledge his majeſty to be God's " vicegerent upon earth in all temporal affairs; that they " are bound to obey him under pain of ſin, and that they " renounce all foreign power and authority, as incapable of " abſolving them from this obligation." It was given out, that they were to have forty chapels in and about the city of London, and much more was underſtood by them (ſays archbiſhop *Teniſon*) who have penetrated into the deſigns of a certain paper, commonly called the *Declaration of Somerſet-Houſe;* but the deſign miſcarried, partly by their diviſions among themſelves, and partly by the reſoluteneſs of the prime miniſter, who charged them with principles inconſiſtent with the peace of the kingdom.* Father *Orleans* ſays, " There " were great debates in this parliament about liberty of con- " ſcience.—The catholick party was ſupported by the earl " of *Briſtol*, a man in great repute; the proteſtant party by " chancellor *Hyde*, chief of an oppoſite faction, and a per- " ſon of no leſs conſideration, who, putting himſelf at the " head of the prevailing church of England party in that " parliament, declared not only againſt the Roman catho- " licks, but againſt the preſbyterians, and all thoſe the

§ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 628, folio.

* Compl. Hiſt. p. 252. Kennet's Chron. p. 482 and 498.

" church

" church of England calls non-conformiſts. The king, *who* " *was no good chriſtian in his actions, but a catholick in his* " *heart*, did all that could be expected from his eaſy temper, " to maintain the common liberty, *that ſo the catholicks might* " *have a ſhare in it;* but the church of England, and chan- " cellor *Hyde*, were ſo hot upon that point, that his majeſty " was obliged to yield rather to the chancellor's importunity " than to his reaſon."§ However, by the favour of the queen-mother, ſwarms of papiſts came over into England, and ſettled about the court; they ſet up private ſeminaries for the education of youth; and though they could not obtain an open toleration, they multiplied exceedingly, and laid the foundation of all the dangers which threatened the conſtitution and proteſtant religion, in the latter part of this and in the next reign.

Towards the latter end of this year, the court and biſhops, not content with their triumphs over the living preſbyterians, deſcended into the grave, and dug up the bodies of thoſe who had been depoſited in Weſtminſter-Abbey in the late times, leſt their duſt ſhould one time or other mix with the loyaliſts; for beſides the bodies of *Cromwell*, and others already mentioned, his majeſty's warrant to the dean and chapter of Weſtminſter was now obtained, to take up the bodies of ſuch perſons who had been unwarrantably buried in the chapel of king *Henry* VII. and in other chapels and places within the collegiate church of Weſtminſter ſince the year 1641, and to inter them in the church-yard adjacent; by which warrant they might have taken up all the bodies that had been buried there for twenty years paſt. Purſuant to theſe orders, on the 12th and 14th of September they went to work, and took up about twenty,* among whom were,

The

§ Kennet's Chron. p. 498.

* Among the following names, the reader will find ſome, who have not been noticed in the preceding hiſtory, or in the notes. The mother of *Oliver Cromwell* was by no means deſerving of the malevolence and indignity with which her memory was treated. For, though ſhe laviſhed the greateſt fondneſs on her only ſon, ſhe was averſe to his protectorate, ſeldom troubled him with her advice, and with reluctance partook of the pageantry of ſovereignty. She was an amiable and prudent woman: who, to make up the deficiency of a narrow income, undertook and managed the brewing trade on her own account, and from the profits of it provided fortunes for her

The body of ELIZ. CROMWELL, mother of OLIVER, daughter of ſir *Richard Stewart*, who died Nov. 18, 1654, and was buried in *Henry* the ſeventh's chapel.

The body of ELIZ. CLAYPOLE, daughter of OLIVER, who died Auguſt 7, 1658, and was buried in a vault made for her in *Henry* the ſeventh's chapel.

The body of ROBERT BLAKE, the famous Engliſh admiral, who after his victorious fight at Santa Cruz, died in Plymouth Sound, Auguſt 7, 1657, and was buried in *Henry* the ſeventh's chapel:—a man, whoſe great ſervices to the Engliſh nation will be an everlaſting monument of his renown.

The body of the famous Mr. JOHN PYM, a Corniſh gentleman, and member of the long parliament, who was buried in the year 1643, and attended to his grave by moſt of the lords and commons in parliament.

The body of Dr. DORISLAUS, employed as an aſſiſtant in drawing up the charge againſt the king, for which he was murdered by the royaliſts, when he was ambaſſador to the ſtates of Holland in 1649.

The body of ſir WILLIAM CONSTABLE, one of the king's judges, governor of Gloceſter, and colonel of a regiment of foot, who died 1655.

her daughters, ſufficient to marry them into good families. Her anxiety for her ſon's ſafety kept her in ſuch conſtant alarm, that ſhe was diſcontented if ſhe did not ſee him twice a day. The report of a gun was never heard by her, without her crying out, "My ſon is ſhot."——It ought to have ſoftened the reſentment of the royaliſts againſt Mrs. *Claypole*, though the daughter of *Cromwell*, that ſhe had importunately interceded for the life of Dr. *Hewett*; and the denial of her ſuit had ſo afflicted her, that it was reported to have been one cauſe of her death, and was the ſubject of her exclamations to her father on her dying bed.——*Thomas May*, eſq; whoſe name appears in the following liſt, was a polite and claſſical ſcholar, the intimate friend of the greateſt wits of his time, and ranked in the firſt claſs of them. He was the author of ſeveral dramatick pieces; and of two hiſtorical poems of the reigns of *Henry* II. and *Edward* III. But his principal work was a "Tranſlation of Lucan's Pharſalia," and a continuation of it.——Colonel, or ſir *John Meldrum*, a Scotſman, diſplayed his military proweſs in the Weſt, defeated the earl of *Newcaſtle* before Hull, with the aſſiſtance of ſir *Thomas Fairfax* took the ſtrong town of Gainſborough and the Iſle of Axholm, conquered the forces of the lords *Byron* and *Molyneux*, near Ormſkirk, and took the town and caſtle of Scarborough. Biogr. Britan. vol. iv. p. 517. Ludlow's Memoirs, 4to. p. 257. Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 94, and vol. ii. p. 265. ED.

* Kennet's Chron. p. 536.

The

The body of colonel EDWARD POPHAM, one of the admirals of the fleet, who died 1651.

The body of WILLIAM STROUD, eſq; one of the five members of parliament demanded by king *Charles* I.

The body of colonel HUMPHREY MACKWORTH, one of *O. Cromwell*'s colonels, buried in *Henry* the ſeventh's chapel, 1654.

The body of DENNIS BOND, eſq; one of the council of ſtate, who died Auguſt 8, 1658.

The body of THOMAS MAY, eſq; who compiled the hiſtory of the long parliament with great integrity, and in a beautiful ſtile. He died in the year 1650.

The body of colonel JOHN MELDRUM, a Scotſman, who died in the wars.

The body of colonel BOSCAWEN, a Corniſh man.

To theſe may be added, ſeveral eminent preſbyterian divines; as,

The body of Dr. *William Twiſſe*, prolocutor of the aſſembly of divines, buried in the ſouth croſs of the Abbey church, July 24, 1645.

The body of Mr. *Stephen Marſhal*, buried in the ſouth aile, November 23, 1655.

The body of Mr. *William Strong*, preacher in the Abbey church, and buried there July 4, 1654. Theſe, with ſome others of leſſer note, both men and women, were thrown together into one pit in St. Margaret's church-yard, near the back door of one of the prebendaries: but the work was ſo indecent, and drew ſuch a general *odium* on the government, that a ſtop was put to any further proceedings.

Among others who were obnoxious to the miniſtry, were the people called QUAKERS, who, having declared openly againſt the lawfulneſs of making uſe of carnal weapons, even in ſelf-defence, had the courage to petition the houſe of lords for a *toleration* of their religion, and for a diſpenſation from taking the oaths, which they held unlawful, not from any diſaffection to the government, or a belief that they were leſs obliged by an *affirmation*, but from a perſuaſion that all oaths were unlawful: and that *ſwearing*, upon the moſt ſolemn occaſions, was forbidden in the new teſtament. The lords in a committee rejected their petition, and, inſtead of granting

granting them relief, paſſed the following act* May 2, the preamble to which ſets forth, "That whereas ſundry perſons have taken up an opinion, that an oath, even before a magiſtrate, is unlawful, and contrary to the word of God. And whereas, under pretence of religious worſhip, the ſaid perſons do aſſemble in great numbers in ſeveral parts of the kingdom, ſeparating themſelves from the reſt of his majeſty's ſubjects, and from the publick congregations and uſual places of divine worſhip; be it therefore enacted, that if any ſuch perſons after the 24th of March, 1661-2, ſhall refuſe to take an oath when lawfully tendered, or perſuade others to do it, or maintain, in writing or otherwiſe, the unlawfulneſs of taking an oath; or if they ſhall aſſemble for religious worſhip to the number of five or more, of the age of fifteen, they ſhall for the firſt offence forfeit five pounds; for the ſecond ten pounds; and for the third ſhall abjure the realm, or be tranſported to the plantations: And the juſtices of peace at their open ſeſſions may hear and finally determine in the affair." The act was paſſed by commiſſion, and had a dreadful influence upon that people, though it was notorious they were far from ſedition or diſaffection to the government. *G. Fox*, in his addreſs to the king, acquaints his majeſty, that three thouſand and ſixty-eight of their friends had been impriſoned ſince his majeſty's reſtoration; that their meetings

* Some of the ſociety, getting early intelligence of this bill, interfered to ſtop its progreſs. *Edward Burrough*, *Richard Hubberthorn*, and *George Whitehead*, attended the parliament to ſolicit againſt paſſing it into an act: and were admitted, but without ſucceſs, to offer their reaſons againſt it, at the bar of the houſe. "But political conſiderations, party animoſity, and "bigotted and exaſperated zeal for the church, (ſo called) were the moving "cauſes of action with the majority. Appeals to their reaſon and humanity "were vain." It aggravated the injuſtice and ſeverity of this act, that it was framed, notwithſtanding a paper, containing the ſentiments of the *quakers* reſpecting oaths, had been lately preſented to the king and council by *Edward Burrough*, entitled "A Juſt and Righteous Plea:" which ſtated their conſcientious ſcruples, expreſſed in ſtrong terms their loyalty, and declared, "that it had ever been with them an eſtabliſhed principle, "confirmed by a conſonant practice, to enter into no plots, combinations, "or rebellions againſt government, nor to ſeek deliverance from injuſtice "or oppreſſion by any ſuch means." Gough's Hiſtory of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 499, &c. Ed.

were

were daily broken up by men with clubs and arms, and their friends thrown into the water, and trampled under foot, till the blood guſhed out, which gave riſe to their meeting in the open ſtreets. Another narrative was printed, ſigned by twelve witneſſes, which ſays, that more than four thouſand two hundred quakers were impriſoned; and of them five hundred were in and about London, and the ſuburbs; ſeveral of whom were dead in the gaols.* But theſe were only the beginning of ſorrows.

RELIGION, which had been in vogue in the late times, was now univerſally diſcountenanced; the name of it was hardly mentioned but with contempt, in a health or a play. Thoſe who obſerved the ſabbath, and ſcrupled profane ſwearing and drinking healths, were expoſed under the opprobrious names of puritans, fanaticks, preſbyterians, republicans, ſeditious perſons, &c. The preſbyterian miniſters were every where ſuſpended or deprived, for ſome unguarded expreſſions in their ſermons or prayers. Lord *Clarendon* was at the head of all this madneſs, and declared in parliament, "that the king could diſtinguiſh between *tenderneſs* of "conſcience and *pride* of conſcience; that he was a prince "of ſo excellent a nature, and of *ſo tender a conſcience himſelf*, that he had the higheſt compaſſion for all errors of "that kind, and would never ſuffer the weak to undergo "the puniſhment ordained for the wicked." Such was the deep penetration of the chancellor; and ſuch the reward the preſbyterians received for their paſt ſervices!

The profligate manners of the court, at the ſame time, ſpread over the whole land, and occaſioned ſuch a general licentiouſneſs, that the king took notice of it in his ſpeech at

* Sewel, p. 346. Kennet's Chron. p. 651.

* "Some were put into ſuch noiſome priſons as were owned not fit for "dogs. Some priſons ſo crowded that the priſoners had not room to ſit "down altogether. In Cheſhire ſixty-eight perſons were thus locked up in "a ſmall room. No age or ſex found any commiſeration. Men of ſixty, "ſeventy, or more years of age, were, without pity or remorſe, ſubjected "to all the rigours of ſuch impriſonments, under the infirmities of a natural "decline; many times they were forced to lie on the cold ground, without "being permitted the uſe of ſtraw, and kept many days without victuals. "No wonder that many grew ſick and died by ſuch barbarous impriſonments as theſe." Gough, vol. i. p. 538. ED.

the

the end of this ſeſſion of parliament. "I cannot but obſerve "(ſays his majeſty) that the whole nation ſeems to be a lit-"tle corrupted in their exceſs of living; ſure all men ſpend "much more in their clothes, in their diet, and all other "expences, than they have been uſed to do; I hope it has "been only the exceſs of joy after ſo long ſuffering that has "tranſported us to theſe other exceſſes, but let us take heed "that the continuance of them does not indeed corrupt our "natures. I do believe I have been faulty myſelf; I promiſe "you I will reform, and if you will join with me in your ſe-"veral capacities, we ſhall by our examples do more good "both in city and country than any new laws would do." This was a frank acknowledgment and a good reſolution, but it was not in the king's nature to retrench his expences, or controul his vices for the publick good.*

Though

* In the preceding year died, on the 22d of December, aged 72 years, Mr. *Thomas Luſhington*, a ſcholar of eminence and a favourer of the ſentiments of *Socinus*; who tranſlated into *Engliſh*, and publiſhed, *Crellius*'s Commentary on the epiſtle to the *Galatians*, and a Commentary on that to the Hebrews from the *Latin* of the ſame author, or ſome other Unitarian writer. He publiſhed among other works two ſermons on Matth. xxviii. 13, and Acts. ii. 1, entitled, 'The Reſurrection reſcued from the Soldiers' Calumnies.' He was reckoned more ingenious than prudent, and was more apt to diſplay his fancy than to proceed upon ſolid reaſon. At one time he perſonated in his ſermon, a jewiſh phariſee and perſecutor of Chriſt, deſcanting on the whole life of our Saviour in a way ſuited to draw ſcorn and averſion on him and his attendants; he then changed his character, and ſpeaking as a diſciple of *Chriſt*, he anſwered the cavils and invectives before thrown out with ſuch dexterity, that his hearers broke into ſuch loud and repeated applauſes as hindered him for a good ſpace from proceeding in his ſermon. He was a native of Sandwich, and matriculated at Broadgate's Hall in Oxford, when he was ſeventeen, in 1606-7. He graduated, as maſter of arts, in Lincoln college, in 1618. In 1631 biſhop *Corbet* gave him the prebendal ſtall of Bemiſter Secunda in the church of Saliſbury; and afterwards beſtowed on him the rectory of Burnham Weſtgate, in Norfolk. In the rebellion he loſt his ſpiritualities, but on the return of *Charles* II. was reſtored to them. He died and was buried at Sittingbourne near Milton, in Kent. Wood's Athen. Oxon. v. ii. p. 71, 72. Ed.

In the year 1661, or ſoon after the reſtoration, died alſo Mr. *Henry Denne*, whom we have mentioned before, vol. iii, p. 294, note, and p. 523. He began his miniſtry in the church of England, and in 1641 drew great attention by a ſermon which he preached at Baldock in Hertfordſhire; in this diſcourſe he freely expoſed the ſin of *perſecution*, and inveighed againſt the pride and covetouſneſs of the clergy, their pluralities and non-reſidences, and the corrupt

Though the revenues of the crown were augmented above double what they had been at any time ſince the reformation; and though the king had a vaſt dowry with his queen, whom he married this ſpring, yet all was not ſufficient to defray the extravagance of the court; for beſides the king's own expences, the queen mother maintained a ſplendid court of *Roman* catholicks at Somerſet-houſe, and might have done ſo as long as ſhe had lived, if ſhe could have kept within moderate bounds; but her conduct was ſo imprudent and profuſe that ſhe was obliged to return to France after three or four years, where ſhe died in the year 1669. A lady of ſuch bigotry in religion§, and intrigue in politicks, that her alliance to this nation was little leſs than a judgment from heaven.

To procure more ready money for theſe extravagances, it was reſolved to ſell the town of Dunkirk to the French, for five hundred thouſand pounds. The lord chancellor *Clarendon* was the projector of this vile bargain,‡ as appears by the letters

corrupt practices of the ſpiritual courts. He was reckoned by one, who had a great hand in the public affairs of the age, "to be the ableſt man in the "kingdom for prayer, expounding and preaching." When the government declared their deſign to reform religion, Mr. *Denne* and many others were led to extend their enquiries, after religious truth, to points which before they had only taken for granted: and, it appearing to him, in his reſearches, that the practice of *baptiſing children* was without any foundation in ſcripture, or the writings of the Chriſtians for the two firſt ages, he publickly profeſſed himſelf a *baptiſt*, and was baptized by *immerſion* at London in 1643. This expoſed him to the reſentment of thoſe who ſat at the *helm* of *eccleſiaſtical affairs*: but notwithſtanding this he obtained the pariſh of Elſly in Cambridgeſhire. Meeting with oppoſition and perſecution, he quitted his living and went into the *army*, and gained reputation in the military line. In 1658, he held a public diſputation, concerning *infant baptiſm*, with Dr. *Gunning*, in St. *Clement*'s church, Temple-bar; in which he is ſaid to have afforded ſtrong proofs of his abilities and learning, as a good *ſcholar* and compleat *diſputant*. Mr. *Edwards* gives him the character of "a very "affecting preacher." A clergyman put on his grave this epitaph:

"To tell his wiſdom, learning, goodneſs unto men,
"I need ſay no more, but here lies *Henry Denne*."

Croſby's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Baptiſts, vol. i. p. 297, &c. Ed.

§ It was the grand argument with the Duke of *York*, for his adherence to the tenets of popery, that his mother had, upon her laſt bleſſing, commanded him to be firm and ſtedfaſt thereto. Rereſby's Memoirs, p. 16.

‡ Dr. *Grey* is much diſpleaſed with Mr. *Neal* for imputing the ſale of Dunkirk to lord *Clarendon*: and remarks on it, that "had the count *D'Eſtrades* declared

letters of count *D'Eſtrades*, publiſhed ſince his death, in one of which his lordſhip acknowledges, that the *thought came from himſelf.** Several mercenary pamphlets were diſperſed to juſtify this ſale; but the wars with France in the reigns of king *William* and Queen *Anne* have ſufficiently convinced us, that it was a fatal ſtab to our trade and commerce; inſomuch that even the queen's laſt miniſtry durſt not venture to make a peace with France till the fortifications of it were demoliſhed.

But to divert the people's eyes to other objects, it was reſolved to go on with the proſecution of ſtate criminals, and with humbling and cruſhing the non-conformiſts: Three of the late king's judges being apprehended in Holland, by the forward zeal of Sir *G. Downing*, (viz.) colonel *Okey*, *Corbet* and *Berkſtead*, were brought over to England by permiſſion of the States, and executed on the act of attainder, April 19. They died with the ſame reſolution and courage as the former had done, declaring they had no malice againſt the late king, but apprehended the authority of parliament ſufficient to juſtify their conduct.

Before the parliament roſe the houſe addreſſed the king to bring colonel *Lambert* and Sir *Harry Vane*, priſoners in the Tower, to their trial; and accordingly, June 4, they were arraigned at the King's-Bench bar; the former for levying war againſt the king; and the latter for compaſſing his death. *Lambert* was convicted, but for his ſubmiſſive behaviour was

declared poſitively that the lord *Clarendon* had no concern therein, it is probable that his authority would have been rejected or paſſed over in ſilence. But lord *Clarendon* was a great friend to *monarchy* and *epiſcopacy*; and therefore lord *Clarendon*'s character muſt at all adventures be run down. The reader will determine concerning the candour and fairneſs of this cenſure. The paſſages in which *D'Eſtrades* aſcribes this tranſaction to lord *Clarendon* are to be ſeen in *Rapin*, and in Dr. *Harris*'s life of *Charles* II. vol. ii, p. 191-98. Dr. *Grey*, on the other hand refers to *Kennet* and *Roger Coke*, eſq. as acquitting his lordſhip from adviſing the ſale of Dunkirk. Biſhop *Burnet*, it may be added, ſays, on the information of his lordſhip's ſon, "that he kept himſelf out of that affair entirely." To reconcile the nation to the ſale of Dunkirk, the king promiſed to lay up all the money in the Tower, and that it ſhould not be touched but upon extraordinary occaſions. But in violation of his word and of decency, it was immediately ſquandered away among the creatures of his miſtreſs, *Barbara Villiers*. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own times, vol. i. p. 251. ED.

* Rapin, p. 630, 631.

pardoned as to life, but confined in the iſle of Guernſey, where he remained a patient priſoner till his death, which happened about thirty years after. Sir *Harry Vane* had ſuch an intereſt in the convention parliament, that both lords and commons petitioned for his life, which his majeſty promiſed; and yet afterwards, at the inſtigation of the preſent houſe of commons, he was tried and executed. Sir *Harry* made a brave defence; but it was determined to ſacrifice him to the ghoſt of the earl of *Strafford*; and when his friends would have had him petition for his life, he refuſed, ſaying, *If the king had not a greater regard for his word and honour than he had for his life, he might take it.* Nevertheleſs biſhop *Burnet* ſays,* "He was naturally a fearful man, and had a head as dark in "the notions of religion; but when he ſaw his death was de- "termined, he compoſed himſelf to it with a reſolution that "ſurprized all who knew how little of that was natural to "him. He was beheaded on Tower-hill, June 14, where a "new and very indecent practice was begun; it was obſerved "that the dying ſpeeches of the *regicides* had left impreſſions "on the hearers that were not at all to the advantage of the "government; and ſtrains of a peculiar nature being expected "from him, drummers were placed under the ſcaffold, who, "as ſoon as he began to ſpeak of the public, upon a ſign "given, ſtruck up with their drums. But this put him into "no diſorder; he deſired they might be ſtopt, for he knew "what was meant by it. Then he went to his devotion; and "as he was taking leave of thoſe about him, he happened "to ſay ſomething again with relation to the times, when "the drums ſtruck up a ſecond time; ſo he gave over, ſaying, "*It was a ſorry cauſe that would not bear the words of a dying "man;* and died with ſo much compoſedneſs, that it was ge- "nerally thought the government loſt more than it gained "by his death." The Oxford hiſtorian ſays, he appeared on the ſcaffold like an old *Roman*, and died without the leaſt ſymptoms of concern or trouble.

But the grand affair that employed the parliament this ſpring, was the famous *Act of uniformity of public prayers*, &c. deſigned for the incloſure of the church, and the *only door of admiſſion* to all eccleſiaſtical preferments. The review of the

* Burnet, p. 237, 8.

common

common-prayer had been in convocation three or four months,* and was brought into parliament, with their alterations and amendments, before *Chriſtmas*;§ the bill was read the firſt time in the houſe of commons Jan. 14, and paſſed after ſundry debates but by ſix voices, *Yeas* 186; *Noes* 180; but it met with greater obſtacles among the lords, who offered ſeveral amendments, which occaſioned conferences between the two houſes. The lords would have exempted *ſchoolmaſters, tutors, and thoſe who had the education of youth;* and in the diſabling clauſe would have included only *livings with cure.*‡ But the commons being ſupported by the court would abate nothing,‖ nor conſent to any proviſion for ſuch as ſhould be ejected. They would indulge no latitude in the *ſurplice or croſs in baptiſm*, for fear of eſtabliſhing a ſchiſm, and weakening the authority of the church, as to her right of impoſing indifferent rites and ceremonies.† And the court were willing to ſhut out as many as they could from the eſtabliſhment, to make a *general toleration* more neceſſary. When the lords urged the king's declaration from Breda, the commons replied, that it would be ſtrange to call a ſchiſmatical conſcience a tender one; but ſuppoſe this had been meant (ſay they) his majeſty can be guilty of no breach of promiſe, becauſe the declaration had theſe two limitations, a *reference to parliament;*—and *ſo far as was conſiſtent with the peace of the kingdom.* May 8, the reſult of the conference with the houſe of commons, being reported to the lords, the houſe laid aſide their objections, and concurred with the commons, and the bill paſſed; but, as biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, with no great majority. May 19, it received the royal aſſent, and as to take place from the 24th of Auguſt following. This

* Dr. *Grey* is at a loſs to underſtand how the act of *uniformity* could come into the *Convocation* and continue there for three or four months: for the two houſes never ſend their bills *thither* for their peruſal and approbation. He thinks, therefore, that Mr. *Neal*'s miſtake muſt be owing to their review of the *Common Prayer*. Examination, vol. iii. p. 320. Ed.

§ Kennet's Chron. p. 604. ‡ Ib. p. 677.

‖ The reaſon for extending it to *ſchoolmaſters* was, we are told, to guard againſt the influence and force of education. Exam. p. 321. Ed.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 679.

act being prefixed to the book of common-prayer, and lying open to publick view, I ſhall only give the reader an abſtract of it. It is entitled,

" *An act for the uniformity of public prayers, and adminiſ-*
" *tration of ſacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, and for*
" *eſtabliſhing the forms of making, ordaining, and conſecrating*
" *biſhops, prieſts and deacons in the church of England.*"

The preamble ſets forth, " That from the firſt of queen " *Elizabeth* there had been one uniform order of common " ſervice and prayer enjoined to be uſed by act of parliament, " which had been very comfortable to all good people, until " a great number of people in divers parts of the realm, " living without knowledge and the due fear of God, did " wilfully and ſchiſmatically refuſe to come to their pariſh " churches, upon Sundays, and other days appointed to be " kept as holy days. And whereas, by the ſcandalous neg- " lect of miniſters in uſing the liturgy during the late unhap- " py troubles, many people have been led into factions and " ſchiſms, to the decay of religion, and the hazard of many " ſouls; therefore, for preventing the like for time to come, " the king had granted a commiſſion, to review the book of " common prayer, to thoſe biſhops and divines who met at " the Savoy; and afterwards his majeſty required the clergy " in convocation to reviſe it again; which alterations and " amendments having been approved by his majeſty, and " both houſes of parliament; therefore for ſettling the peace " of the nation, for the honour of religion, and to the in- " tent that every perſon may know the rule to which he is " to conform in public worſhip, it is enacted by the king's " moſt excellent majeſty, &c.

" That all and ſingular miniſters ſhall be bound to ſay and " uſe the morning prayer, evening prayer, and all other " common prayers in ſuch order and form as is mentioned in " the book; and that every parſon, vicar, or other miniſter " whatſoever, ſhall before the feaſt of St. *Bartholomew*, which " ſhall be in the year of our lord 1662, openly and pub- " lickly, before the congregation aſſembled for religious wor- " ſhip, declare his unfeigned *aſſent* and *conſent* to the uſe of " all things contained and preſcribed in the ſaid book in theſe " words, and no other." " *I* A. B.

" *I* A. B. *do here declare my unfeigned aſſent and conſent to* " *all and every thing contained and preſcribed in and by the* " *book, entitled, The book of common-prayer and adminiſtration* " *of ſacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church,* " *according to the uſe of the church of England, together with* " *the pſalter, or pſalms of David, pointed as they are to be ſung* " *or ſaid in churches; and the form and manner of making, or-* " *daining, and conſecrating of biſhops, prieſts and deacons.*"*

" The penalty for neglecting or refuſing to make this de- " claration, is deprivation *ipſo facto* of all his ſpiritual pro- " motions.

" And it is further enacted, that every dean, canon, and pre- " bendary; all maſters, heads, fellows, chaplains, and tutors, " in any college, hall, houſe of learning, or hoſpital; all pub- " lic profeſſors, readers in either univerſity, and in every col- " lege and elſewhere; and all parſons, vicars, curates, lectu- " rers; and every ſchoolmaſter keeping any public or private " ſchool; and every perſon inſtructing youth in any private " family, ſhall, before the feaſt of St. *Bartholomew*, 1662, " ſubſcribe the following declaration, (*viz.*)

" *I* A. B. *do declare, that it is not lawful upon any pretence* " *whatſoever to take arms againſt the king; and that I do abhor* " *that traiterous poſition of taking arms by his authority, againſt* " *his perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him; and* " *that I will conform to the liturgy of the church of England, as* " *it is now by law eſtabliſhed. And I do hold, that there lies no* " *obligation upon me, or on any other perſon, from the oath com-* " *monly called the* ſolemn league and covenant, *to endeavour* " *any change or alteration of government either in church or ſtate,* " *and that the ſame was in itſelf an unlawful oath, and impoſed* " *upon the ſubjects of this realm, againſt the known laws and* " *liberties of this kingdom.*

" This declaration is to be ſubſcribed by the perſons above- " mentioned before the archbiſhop, biſhop, or ordinary of " the dioceſe, on pain of deprivation, for thoſe who were " poſſeſſed of livings; and for ſchoolmaſters and tutors, three " months impriſonment for the firſt offence; and for every " other offence three months impriſonment, and the forfei-

* This form of ſubſcription and ſolemn declaration was inſerted by the lords, with whom this act of uniformity began. ED.

" ture

" ture of five pounds to his majeſty. Provided that after the " 25th of March 1682, the renouncing of the *ſolemn league* " *and covenant* ſhall be omitted.

" It is further enacted, that no perſon ſhall be capable of " any benefice, or preſume to conſecrate and adminiſter the " holy ſacrament of the lord's ſupper, before he be ordained a " prieſt by epiſcopal ordination, on pain of forfeiting for every " offence one hundred pounds.*

" No form, or order of common prayer, ſhall be uſed in " any church, chapel, or other place of publick worſhip, or in " either of the univerſities, than is here preſcribed and ap- " pointed.

" None ſhall be received as lecturers, or be permitted to " preach, or read any ſermon or lecture in any church or " chapel, unleſs he be approved and licenſed by the arch- " biſhop or biſhop, and ſhall read the thirty-nine articles of " religion, with a declaration of his *unfeigned aſſent* and *con-* " *ſent* to the ſame: and unleſs the firſt time he preaches any " lecture or ſermon, he ſhall openly read the common-pray- " er, and declare his aſſent to it; and ſhall on the firſt lecture- " day of every month afterwards, before lecture or ſermon, " read the common-prayer and ſervice, under pain of being " diſabled to preach; and if he preach while ſo diſabled, to ſuf- " fer three months impriſonment for every offence.

" The ſeveral laws and ſtatutes formerly made for unifor- " mity of prayer, &c. ſhall be in force for confirming the " preſent book of common-prayer, and ſhall be applied for " puniſhing all offences contrary to the ſaid laws, with relation " to the ſaid book, and no other.

" A true printed copy of the ſaid book is to be provided " in every pariſh church, chapel, college and hall, at the coſt " and charge of the pariſhioners or ſociety, before the feaſt of " St. *Bartholomew*, on pain of forfeiting three pounds a " month, for ſo long as they ſhall be unprovided of it."†

It

* This clauſe was alſo inſerted by the lords. Ed.

† " The act of uniformity and the corporation act," Mr. *Gough* obſerves, " did not in themſelves materially affect the quakers, who aſpired to no " places of honour or profit, and who teſtified againſt preaching for hire, and " fought for no more than a toleration and protection in their religious and " civil

It was certainly unreaſonable in the legiſlature to limit the time of ſubſcription to ſo ſhort a period,* it being next to impoſſible that the clergy in all parts of the kingdom ſhould read and examine the alterations within that time. The dean and prebendaries of Peterborough declared, that they could not obtain copies before Auguſt 17, the Sunday immediately preceding the feaſt of St. *Bartholomew*; ſo that all the members of that cathedral did not and could not read the ſervice in manner and form as the act directs, and therefore they were obliged to have recourſe to the favour of their ordinary to diſpenſe with their default; however, their preferments were then legally forfeited, as appears by the act of the 15th of *Charles* II. cap. 6, entitled, *An act for the relief of ſuch as by ſickneſs, or other impediments, were diſabled from ſubſcribing the declaration of the act of uniformity*; which ſays, that thoſe who did not ſubſcribe within the time limited were utterly diſabled, and *ipſo facto* deprived, and their benefices void, as if they were naturally dead. And if this was the caſe at Peterborough, what muſt be the condition of the clergy in the more northern counties? In fact, there was not one divine in

" civil rights, to lead a quiet and peaceable life in all godlineſs and honeſty;" yet the corporation act in its conſequences did affect them, by filling the city and country with perſecuting magiſtrates. Hiſtory of the Quakers. vol. i. p. 469. ED.

* Dr. *Grey* argues that this objection is taken off by a clauſe, exempting from the penalties of the act thoſe who were prevented ſubſcribing within the limited time by ſome *lawful impediment* allowed and approved by the *ordinary* of the place, and complying with its requiſition within a month after ſuch impediment was removed; and the doctor adds, that, in purſuance of this clauſe, Dr. *Laney*, the biſhop of Peterborough, diſpenſed with the dean and chapter of that church. He further alledges a public advertiſment given in London, 6th of Auguſt, 1662, declaring that the book of common-prayer was then perfectly and exactly printed, and books in folio were provided for all churches and chapels in the kingdom; which left a ſpace of 18 days for conveying them through the country. But the doctor did not calculate, how many of theſe days would be run out, before this notice had circulated through the nation, and had reached the remoter parts and country pariſhes lying at a diſtance from the great poſt roads. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, " the vaſt number of copies, being many thouſands, that were to be " wrought off for all the pariſh churches of England, made the impreſſion " go on ſo ſlowly, that there were few books ſet out to ſale when the day " came." Burnet, vol. i. p. 269. Examination, vol. i. p. 420-23, and vol. iii. p. 322-3. ED.

ten

ten that lived at any conſiderable diſtance from London who did peruſe it within that time; but the matter was driven on with ſo much precipitancy, (ſays biſhop *Burnet*†) that it ſeems implied, that the clergy ſhould ſubſcribe implicitly to a book they had never ſeen; and this was done by too many, as the by biſhops themſelves confeſſed.

The terms of conformity now were,

(1.) *Re-ordination*, if they had not been epiſcopally ordained before.

(2.) *A declaration of their unfeigned aſſent and conſent to all and every thing preſcribed and contained in the book of common-prayer, and adminiſtration of ſacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church of England, together with the pſalter, and the form and manner of making, ordaining, and conſecrating of biſhops, prieſts and deacons.*

(3.) *To take the oath of canonical obedience.*

(4.) *To abjure the* ſolemn league and covenant, *which many conſcientious miniſters could not diſentangle themſelves from.*

(5.) *To abjure the lawfulneſs of taking arms againſt the king, or any commiſſioned by him, on any pretence whatſoever.*

It appears from hence, that the terms of conformity were higher than before the civil wars; and the common-prayer book more exceptionable; for, inſtead of ſtriking out the *apocryphal* leſſons, more were inſerted, as the ſtory of *Bel and the dragon*; and ſome new holidays were added, as St. *Barnabas*, and the *converſion* of St. *Paul*; a few alterations and new collects were made by the biſhops themſelves, but care was taken (ſays *Burnet**) that nothing ſhould be altered, as was moved by the preſbyterians.—The validity of preſbyterian ordination was renounced, by which the miniſtrations of the foreign churches were diſowned.—Lecturers and ſchool-maſters were put upon the ſame foot with incumbents as to oaths and ſubſcriptions.—A new declaration was invented, which none who underſtood the conſtitution of England could ſafely ſubſcribe—and to terrify the clergy into a compliance, no ſettled proviſion was made for thoſe who ſhould be deprived of their livings, but all were refer-

† Page 269 * Page 267.

red

red to the royal clemency.‡—A ſeverity (ſays biſhop *Burnet*) neither practiſed by queen *Elizabeth* in enacting the liturgy, nor by *Cromwell* in ejecting the royaliſts; in both which a fifth of the benefice was reſerved for their ſubſiſtence.

Mr. *Rapin* has ſeveral remarks on this act: if we compare it with the king's declaration from Breda, (ſays he†) it will eaſily be ſeen what care the miniſters about the king, who were the real authors or promoters of this act, had for his honour and promiſe; though ſome therefore may look upon this act as the great ſupport and bulwark of the church, others, no leſs attached to its intereſts, will perhaps look upon it as her diſgrace and ſcandal.—His ſecond remark is, for the reader to take notice of the amount of the promiſes made to the preſbyterians by the king's party, upon the aſſurance of which they had ſo chearfully laboured for his reſtoration, and followed the directions tranſmitted by his friends.—His third remark is, that by an artifice, the moſt groſs conſpiracies were invented, which had no manner of reality; or ſuppoſing they had, could no ways be charged on the preſbyterians, who were not to anſwer for the crimes of other ſects.

On the other hand, biſhop *Kennet* ſays,* "the world has "reaſon to admire not only the wiſdom of this act, but even "the moderation of it, as being effectually made for *mini-* "*ſterial conformity alone*, and leaving the people unable to "complain of any impoſition. And it would certainly have "had the deſired, and moſt happy effect, of unity and peace, "(ſays his lordſhip) if the government had been in earneſt "in the execution of it." Muſt the bleſſings of unity and peace then be built on the foundation of perſecution, plunder, perfidy, and the waſtes of conſcience? If his majeſty's

‡ This was done by a *proviſo*, drawn up by the lords, "that ſuch per- "ſons as have been put out of their livings, by virtue of the act of unifor- "mity, may have ſuch allowances out of their livings for their ſubſiſtence "as his majeſty ſhall think fit." Grey's Examination, vol. i. p. 423. A feeble, inefficient proviſo, permitting the king to be kind, but leaving it to his option to be unjuſt and cruel; tantaliſing diſtreſs, rather than relieving it. Ed.

† Vol. ii. p. 629, folio.

* The references are, I apprehend, to the Biſhop's Complete Hiſtory. There is a paſſage correſpondent to the firſt in the Chronicle, p. 712. Ed.

declaration

declaration concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs breathed the ſpirit of true wiſdom and charity, and ought to ſtand for a pattern to poſterity, whenever they are diſpoſed to heal the breaches of the church, (as the biſhop has elſewhere declared‖) where could be the wiſdom and moderation of this act, which turned out two thouſand miniſters into the world to beg their bread upon ſuch ſevere terms? And whereas the biſhop ſays, the people had no reaſon to complain of impoſition, was it no hardſhip to be obliged to go to church, and join in a form of worſhip that went againſt their conſciences? Does not the act revive and confirm all the penal laws of queen *Elizabeth* and king *James*, in theſe words, "Be it farther enacted, "that the ſeveral good laws and ſtatutes of this realm, which "have been formerly made, and are now in force for the "uniformity of prayers, and adminiſtration of the ſacra- "ments within this realm of England, and places aforeſaid, "ſhall ſtand in full force and ſtrength to all intents and pur- "poſes whatſoever, and ſhall be applied, practiſed, and be "put in uſe, for the puniſhing all offences contrary to the "ſaid law." Surely this muſt affect the laity! It is more to be admired in my opinion, that the clergy of England, and all officers both civil and military, could ſubſcribe a declaration which gave up the whole conſtitution into the hands of an arbitrary prince; for if the king had aboliſhed the uſe of parliaments, and commanded his ſubjects to embrace the popiſh religion, which way could they have relieved themſelves, when they had ſworn, that *it was not lawful to take up arms againſt the king, or any commiſſioned by him, on any pretence whatſoever, on pain of high treaſon?* It is hard to reconcile this doctrine with the REVOLUTION of king WILLIAM and queen MARY. I ſhall only add, that many of the moſt learned and judicious divines of the church have wiſhed, for their own ſakes, that the act might be amended and altered.

Mr. *Collyer*, a nonjuring clergyman, who ſuffered for his principles, ſpeaks more like a gentleman and a chriſtian than the biſhop: "The misfortune of the preſbyterians (ſays he) "cannot be remembered without regret; thoſe who quit "their intereſts are certainly in earneſt, and deſerve a cha-

‖ Kennet's Chron. p. 246.

"ritable

" ritable conſtruction. Miſtakes in religion are to be ten-
" derly uſed, and conſcience ought to be pitied when it
" cannot be relieved."

It is fit the authors and promoters of this memorable act, which broke the peace of the church, and eſtabliſhed a ſeparation, ſhould ſtand upon record. Among theſe the earl of *Clarendon* deſerves the firſt place, who was once for moderate meaſures, but afterwards altered his conduct (ſays biſhop *Burnet*†) out of reſpect to the biſhops. " The rhe-
" torick and intereſt of this great miniſter," (ſays *Collyer**) " might poſſibly make an impreſſion upon both houſes, and
" occaſion the paſſing the act of uniformity in the condition
" it now ſtands." He entertained the preſbyterians with hopes, while he was cutting away the ground from under their feet. Strange! that one and the ſame hand could, conſiſtently with *conſcience* and *honour*, draw up the king's declaration from Breda, and his late declaration concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs, and this ſevere act of uniformity.

Next to chancellor *Hyde* was Dr. *Sheldon*, biſhop of London, and afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury, of whom notice has been already taken; he was a facetious man, (ſays *Burnet*‡) but of no great religion. When the earl of *Mancheſter* told the king, he was afraid the terms of conformity were ſo hard that many miniſters would not comply; the biſhop replied, he was afraid they would, *but now we know their minds* (ſays he) *we will make them all knaves if they conform.* And when Dr. *Allen* ſaid, it is pity the door is ſo ſtrait; he anſwered, *it is no pity at all; if we had thought ſo many of them would have conformed, we would have made it ſtraiter.*§ And Mr. *Baxter* adds, that as far as he could perceive, it was by ſome deſigned it ſhould be ſo.

† Page 270. * Collyer, p. 88. ‡ Page 257.

§ It reflects ſome honour on the name of biſhop *Saunderſon*, that he ſpoke of this act in a milder ſtrain. To a worthy clergyman, who was with him the evening after the king paſſed it, he ſaid; " that more was im-
" poſed on miniſters than he wiſhed had been." On paſſing the act he ſent for Mr *Matthew Sylveſter*, whoſe living was in his dioceſe, and treating him with great civility, earneſtly preſſed him not to quit his living, and patiently heard him ſtate his difficulties: and when he found, that he could not obviate them to his ſatisfaction, he lamented it, and at laſt ſignified a concern, that ſome things were carried ſo high in the eccleſiaſtical ſettlement;

Next to biſhop *Sheldon* was biſhop *Morley*, a pious man, (ſays *Burnet*) but extremely paſſionate and very obſtinate. *Morley* was thought the honeſter man, but *Sheldon* the abler ſtateſman. To theſe may be added, Dr. *Gunning* biſhop of Ely; *Henchman* of London; *Dolben* of Rocheſter; *Stern* of York; Dr. *Pierce*, *Sparrow*, and *Barwick*, all creatures of the court, and tools of the prerogative.

But neither the courtiers nor biſhops could have accompliſhed their deſigns without tampering with the parliament. Care was therefore taken of the beſt ſpeakers, and men of influence among the commons. The parliament was undoubtedly acted by a ſpirit of revenge, (ſays *Rapin*†) and being of principles directly oppoſite to the preſbyterians, who were for reducing the royal power within certain limits, they reſolved to put it out of their power for ever to reſtrain the prerogative, or alter the government of the church; and the king, being in continual want of money, was content to ſacrifice the preſbyterians for a large ſupply of the nation's money, eſpecially when he knew he was ſerving the cauſe of popery at the ſame time, by making way for a general toleration.

The preſbyterian miniſters had only three months to conſider what to do with themſelves, and their families. There were ſeveral conſultations both in city and country to know each other's ſentiments; and it happened here, as it did afterwards about taking the oaths to king *William* and queen *Mary*; ſome, who perſuaded their brethren to diſſent, complied themſelves and got the other's livings. It is not to be ſuppoſed they had all the ſame ſcruples.—Biſhop *Kennet* ſays,* that *renouncing the covenant* was the greateſt obſtacle of conformity to the preſbyterians. But his lordſhip is miſtaken; for if abjuring the covenant had been omitted, they could not have taken the *corporation oath*. Some could not in conſcience comply with the very form of the hierarchy. Great numbers ſcrupled the buſineſs of *re-ordination*, which implied a renouncing the validity of

ment; which, he ſaid, ſhould not have been if he could have prevented it. Calamy's Hiſtory of his own Life, vol. ii. p. 111, MS. and Church and Diſſenters compared, p. 81. Ed.

† Page 632, &c. * Page 471.

their

their former miniſtrations. But that which the diſſenters of all denominations refuſed, was *giving their aſſent and conſent to all and every thing contained in the book of common-prayer.* This they apprehended to be more than was due to any human compoſure.

Mr. *Eachard* repreſents them as under great difficulties; "Some (ſays he) were poſitive againſt any compliance, but "great numbers were doubtful and uncertain, and had great "ſtruggles between the attractions of conſcience and ho- "nour, intereſt and humour. The act was ſtrictly pen- "ned, and preſſed hard upon late principles and practices. "A continual intercourſe of letters paſſed between thoſe in "the city, and the reſt in the countries, how to proceed in "this nice affair. Sometimes the chief of them were for "compliance, as I have been aſſured (ſays he) by the beſt "hands, and then upon further conſideration they changed "their minds. They were under conſiderable temptations "on both ſides; on one ſide their livings and preferments "were no ſmall inducement towards their compliance; on "the other ſide, beſides their conſciences, they were much "encouraged by the greatneſs of their numbers, and were "made to believe, that if they unanimouſly ſtood out, the "church muſt come to them, ſince the people would never "bear ſo ſhocking a change.—Beſides, they had great ex- "pectations from ſeveral friends at court, and particularly "the popiſh party, who gave them great encouragement, "not only by a promiſe of penſions to ſome, but alſo by a "toleration, and a ſuſpenſion of the act itſelf, which not "long after was partly made good. No doubt but the non- "compliance of ſeveral proceeded purely from a tender con- "ſcience, and in that caſe ought not only to be pitied, but "rather applauded than condemned." Biſhop *Burnet* adds, that the leaders of the preſbyterian party took great pains to have them all ſtick together: they ſaid, that if great numbers ſtood out it was more likely to produce new laws in their favour; ſo it was thought (ſays his lordſhip) that many went out in the croud to keep their friends company.

It is poſſible ſome noblemen, and others who were in the intereſt of the preſbyterians, might adviſe them to adhere to each other; but it is hardly credible, that men of abilities and

and good ſenſe ſhould throw up their livings, ſacrifice their uſefulneſs, and beggar their families, for the ſake of good company.

Some of the non-conformiſts quitted their ſtations in the church before the 24th of Auguſt, as Mr. *Baxter* and others, with an intent to let all the miniſters in England know their reſolution beforehand.† Others about London preached their farewell ſermons the Sunday before Bartholomew-day; ſeveral of which were afterwards collected into a volume, and printed with their effigies in the title-page; as the reverend Dr. *Manton*, *Bates*, *Jacomb*, *Calamy*, *Matth. Mead*, and others. The like was done in ſeveral counties of England; and ſuch a paſſionate zeal for the welfare of their people ran through their ſermons as diſſolved their audiences into tears.

At length the fatal St. *Bartholomew* came, when about two thouſand relinquiſhed their preferments in the church, or refuſed to accept of any upon the terms of the act of uniformity: an example hardly to be paralleled in the chriſtian world! It raiſed a grievous cry over the nation, for here were many men much valued (ſays biſhop *Burnet**) and diſtinguiſhed by their abilities and zeal, now caſt out ignominiouſly, reduced to great poverty, provoked by ſuch ſpiteful uſage, and caſt upon thoſe popular practices, which both their principles and their circumſtances ſeemed to juſtify, of forming ſeparate congregations, and of diverting men from the publick worſhip. This begot eſteem, and raiſed compaſſion, as having a fair appearance of ſuffering perſecution for conſcience. Mr. *Locke* calls them worthy, learned, pious, orthodox divines, who did not throw themſelves out of ſervice, but were forcibly ejected. Nor were they caſt out becauſe there was a ſupply of miniſters to carry on the work of religion, for there was room for the employment of more hands, if they were to be found.

At the reformation from popery by queen *Elizabeth*, there were not above two hundred deprived of their livings; beſides they were treated with great mildneſs, and had ſome allowances out of their livings; whereas theſe were treated with the utmoſt ſeverity, and caſt entirely upon providence for a ſupply. They were driven from their houſes, from

† Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 384.

* Page 270, 280.

the

the ſociety of their friends; and, what was yet more affecting, from all their uſefulneſs, though they had merited much from the king, and laboured indefatigably for his reſtoration. The former were men of another faith, and owned a foreign head of the church; whereas theſe were of the ſame faith with the eſtabliſhed church, and differed only about rites and ceremonies. It had been ſaid, that greater numbers were ejected in the late times upon the foot of the covenant;§ but if this were true, it was in a time of war, when the civil and religious differences between the king and parliament were ſo intermixed, that it was impoſſible to ſeparate one from the other; the whole nation was in confuſion, and thoſe who ſuffered by the *covenant*, ſuffered more for their loyalty, than their religion; for when the war was ended, the covenant was relaxed, and ſuch as would live peaceably returned to their vacant cures, or were admitted to others.

Beſides, the *ingratitude* of the high-churchmen upon this occaſion ought to be taken notice of. "Who can anſwer "for the violence and injuſtice of actions in a civil war (ſays "a divine of the church of England)? Thoſe ſufferings "were in a time of general calamity, but theſe were ejected "not only in a time of peace, but a time of joy to all the "land, and after an act of oblivion, when all pretended to "be reconciled and made friends, and to whoſe common re-

§ Dr. *Grey* aſſerts this: and there was a laboured attempt by Dr. *Walker* to prove, that the clergy, ejected, or ſuffering, in the civil wars, exceeded in numbers thoſe whom the act of uniformity ejected or ſilenced; and that the ſufferings of the former ſurpaſſed in nature and ſeverity thoſe of the latter. The publication, which endeavoured to eſtabliſh theſe points, was a folio, in ſmall print, entituled, "An Attempt towards recovering an "account of the numbers and ſufferings of the clergy of the church of "England, heads of colleges, fellows, ſcholars, &c. who were ſequeſtered, "harraſſed, &c. in the late times of the grand rebellion: occaſioned by the "ninth chapter (now the ſecond volume) of Dr. *Calamy*'s Abridgment of the "Life of Mr. *Baxter*; together with an examination of that chapter." The publick was at firſt amuſed with ſo large a work, but by degrees began to ſpeak freely of it in converſation, where it had the fate of other performances. It received from the preſs two able replies: one by Mr. *John Withers*, a judicious and worthy diſſenting miniſter in Exeter; the other by Dr. *Calamy*, in a tract entitled, "The Church and Diſſenters Compared as to Perſecu-"tion." On this ſubject we would refer the reader back to Mr. *Neal*, vol. iii. p. 124. ED.

"joicings

"joicings theſe ſuffering miniſters had contributed their "earneſt prayers and great endeavours."† Another divine of the ſame church writes, "I muſt own, that in my judg- "ment, however both ſides have been exceſſively to blame, "yet that the ſeverities uſed by the church to the diſſenters "are leſs excuſable than thoſe uſed by the diſſenters to the "church. My reaſon is, that the former were uſed in times "of peace and a ſettled government, whereas the latter "were inflicted in a time of tumult and confuſion; ſo that "the plunderings and ravagings endured by the *church mi-* "*niſters*, were owing (many of them at leaſt) to the rude- "neſs of the ſoldiers, and the chances of war; they were "plundered not becauſe they were conformiſts, but cavaliers, "and of the king's party. The allowing of the ſequeſtered "miniſters a fifth part of their livings was a chriſtian act,* "and what, I confeſs, I ſhould have been glad to have ſeen "imitated at the reſtoration. But no mercy was to be "ſhewn to theſe unhappy ſufferers, though it was impoſ- "ſible on a ſudden to fill up the gap that was made by their "removal."

Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, the old clergy, now much enriched, were deſpiſed, but the young clergy who came from the univerſity did good ſervice. But though all the ſtriplings in both univerſities were employed, a great many poor livings in the country had no incumbents for a conſiderable time. The author of *The five Groans of the Church*, a very ſtrict conformiſt, complains with great warmth, of above three

† Conf. Plea for Non-Conformity, p. 12, 13.

* Dr. *Grey* quotes here, from Dr. *Fuller*, (Church Hiſt. book xi. p. 230.) a long detail of the evaſions, on which many of the ſequeſtered clergy were refuſed their fifths. Dr. *Walker* has alſo complained, that ſcarcely one in ten ever had them without trouble, and to the full value. "This is a "caſe, in which," as Dr. *Calamy* obſerves, "it is no eaſy thing to make "calculation." Suppoſing it to have been paid ever ſo indifferently, it was certainly a better proviſion than was made by the *act of uniformity*, for thoſe who were ejected and ſilenced. It afforded the ſufferers, to a degree, a *legal remedy* for their calamities: and would doubtleſs, in many inſtances, be efficient. Dr. *Fuller* ſpeaks of it as an inſtance of "the *pitiful* "and *pious intentions* of parliament; which, no doubt, deſired to be like "the beſt of beings, who has cloſely applieth his *lenitive* as *corroſive plaſ-* "*ters*, and that his *mercy* may take as true effect as his juſtice." But this matter has been before ſtated by Mr. *Neal*, vol. iii. p. 127, 28. ED.

thouſand

thouſand miniſters admitted into the church, who were unfit to teach becauſe of their youth; of fifteen hundred debauched men ordained; of the ordination of many illiterate men; of one thouſand three hundred forty-two factious miniſters, a little before ordained; and that of twelve thouſand church livings, or thereabouts, three thouſand or more being impropriate, and four thouſand one hundred ſixty-five *ſine cures*, there was but a poor remainder left for a painful and honeſt miniſtry.

Such were the ſpoils of uniformity! And though Mr. *Eachard* ſays, there was more ſenſe and ſound doctrine preached in one twelve-month after the preſbyterian miniſters were turned out, than in nigh twenty years before; yet another *church writer*, who knew them better, calls the young clergy "florid and genteel preachers, of a more romantick "than true majeſtick and divine ſtile, who tickled and captivated people at firſt, but did little ſervice to the ſouls of "men, and in proceſs of time had fewer admirers and friends "than at firſt. He adds, that in the late times they all ſpake "the ſame things, and carried on the ſame work, which was "the inſtruction, converſion, conſolation, and edification of "ſouls, not biting one another, nor grudging at one another. "I never heard (ſays he) in many hundreds of ſermons, di"verſities of opinions either ſet up by ſome, or pulled down "by others; we heard indeed that ſome were *independants*, "others *preſbyterians*, and others *epiſcopal*, but we heard no "ſuch things from the pulpits. Some men think that the "preaching of thoſe days was mere fanaticiſm, bleſſing the "uſurpation, railing againſt biſhops, or deifying *Calvin* with "an infallibility; but *Calvin* was preached no farther than "Chriſt ſpake in him; *Non* Calvinum *ſed Chriſtum prædi*"*cabant.*"*

The truth of this obſervation will appear further, by mentioning the names of ſome of thoſe miniſters, whoſe learning and piety were univerſally acknowledged, and who were capable of preaching and writing as good ſenſe, and to as good purpoſe, as moſt of their ſucceſſors; as Dr. *Gilpin*, *Bates*, *Manton*, *Jacomb*, *Owen*, *Goodwin*, *Collins*, *Conant*, *Grew*,

* Conformiſt Plea, part I. in pref. and p. 53.

Burgeſs, and *Anneſly*; Mr. *Bowles*, *Baxter*, *Clarkſon*, *Woodbridge*, *Newcomen*, *Calamy*, *Jackſon*, *Pool*, *Caryl*, *Charnock*, *Gouge*, *Jenkins*, *Gale*, *Corbet*, *Cradock*, *Matth. Mead*, *Howe*, *Kentiſh*, *Alſop*, *Vincent*, *Greenhill*, *S. Clark*, *Flavel*, *Phil. Henry*, and others of like character, "whom I have heard vilified, and repreſented according to the fancies, paſſions, or "intereſts of men, (ſays a learned conformiſt) but I dare not "but be juſt to them, as to eminent profeſſors of the chriſtian "faith, and think that common chriſtianity has ſuffered much "by their ſilencing and diſparagement. A great part of the "world is made to believe, that *the non-conformiſts* are not fit "to be employed in the church, nor truſted by the ſtate; but "what they are God knows, and the world may know, if "they pleaſe to conſult their writings—They are not to them "that know them, what they are reported by them that "know them not—I know them ſufficiently to make me be-"wail their condition, and the vaſt damage to thouſands of "ſouls by their excluſion, not only in the outſkirts, but in "the very heart of England, who are committed in many parts "to them that neither can nor will promote their everlaſt-"ing intereſts."* Upon the whole, though I do not pretend that all the ejected miniſters were equally learned, pious‡ and deſerving, yet upon a calm and ſedate view of things I cannot help concluding, that in the main they were a body of as *eminent confeſſors* for truth and liberty as this or any other nation has produced.

Many complied with the terms of conformity, not becauſe they approved them, but for the ſake of their families, or becauſe they were unwilling to be buried in ſilence, as biſhop *Reynolds*, *Wilkins*, *Hopkins*, *Fowler*, &c. Several young ſtudents, who were deſigned for the pulpit, applied themſelves to law or phyſick, or diverted to ſome ſecular employment. Biſhop *Kennet*, in order to extenuate their calamities,§ has

* Conform. Plea, in pref. part i.

‡ To ſuppoſe that more than 2000 men could be equal in worth and piety, would be to admit an impoſſibility; but it deſerves notice, that biſhop *Kennet* is ſo candid as to *limit* the charge of ſcandalous lives and characters, or of a conduct which was at leaſt no credit to the cauſe for which they ſuffered, to *ſome few* only. Grey's Examination, p. 332. ED.

§ Kennet's Chron. p. 888, &c.

taken

taken pains to point out the favours the ejected miniſters received from private perſons:* Some (ſays he) found friends among the nobility and gentry, who relieved their neceſſities; ſome were taken as chaplains into good families, or officiated in hoſpitals, priſons, or chapels of eaſe; ſome became tutors, or ſchool-maſters; ſome who went beyond ſea were well received in foreign parts; ſome became eminent phyſicians and lawyers; ſome had good eſtates of their own, and others married great fortunes: But how does this extenuate the guilt of the church or legiſlature, who would have deprived them of theſe retreats if it had been in their power? The biſhop adds, "*Therefore we do ill to charge the church with perſecution, "when the laws were made by the civil government with a view "to the peace and ſafety of the ſtate, rather than to any honour "or intereſt of the church.*" It ſeems therefore the load of perſecution muſt lie wholly upon the legiſlature: but had the biſhops and clergy no hand in this affair; did they not puſh the civil government upon theſe extremities, and not only concur, but proſecute the penal laws with unrelenting rigour throughout the greateſt part of this reign? The church and ſtate are ſaid to be ſo incorporated as to make but *one conſtitution*, and the *penal laws* are ſhifted from one to the other till they are quite loſt; the *church* cannot be charged with *perſecution*, becauſe it makes no laws; nor can the civil government be charged with it, becauſe it makes them not againſt conſcience, but with a view to the ſafety of the ſtate; with ſuch idle ſophiſms are men to be amuſed, when it is to cover a reproach!

Dr. *Bates* ſays, "they (the miniſters) fell a ſacrifice to the "wrath and revenge of the old clergy, and to the ſervile "compliance of the young gentry with the court, and their "diſtaſte of ſerious religion.† That this is no raſh imputa- "tion upon the ruling clergy is evident (ſays the doctor) not

* Dr. *Grey* has given the paſſage of biſhop *Kennet* at length, which Mr. *Neal* has here noticed. But the amount of the biſhop's ſtatement, which runs out into 31 particulars, only ſhews, that ſome *men* were more equitable and kind than was the *legiſlature*; and that they who ſuffered under the operation of an *iniquitous law*, met with relief from the *kind diſpoſals* of Divine PROVIDENCE. ED.

† Baxter, p. 101.

" only from their concurrence in paſſing theſe laws, (for " actions have a language as convincing as thoſe of words) " but from Dr. *Sheldon* their great leader, who expreſſed " his fears to the earl of *Mancheſter* leſt the preſbyterians " ſhould comply. The act was paſſed after the king had en- " gaged his faith and honour in his declaration from *Breda* " to preſerve liberty of conſcience inviolable; which promiſe " opened the way for his reſtoration; and after the royaliſts " had given public aſſurance, that all former animoſities ſhould " be laid aſide as rubbiſh, under the foundation of univerſal " concord."

Sad were the calamities of far the greater part of theſe unhappy ſufferers, who with their families muſt have periſhed, if private collections in London, and divers places of the country, had not been made for their ſubſiſtence.* Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, they caſt themſelves on the providence of God, and the charity of friends. The reverend and pious Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, late of St. Sepulchre's, was their advocate, who with two or three of his brethren, made frequent application to ſeveral worthy citizens, of whom they received conſiderable ſums of money for ſome years, till that charity was diverted into another channel; but nevertheleſs " many " hundreds of them, (according to Mr. *Baxter*§) with their " wives and children, had neither houſe nor bread;† the peo- " ple they left were not able to relieve them, nor durſt they " if they had been able, becauſe it would have been called a " maintenance of ſchiſm or faction. Many of the miniſters, " being afraid to lay down their miniſtry after they had been " ordained to it, preached to ſuch as would hear them, in " fields and private houſes, till they were apprehended and " caſt into gaols, where many of them periſhed.—The peo- " ple were no leſs divided, ſome conformed, and others were

* Kennet's Chron. p. 838, 192. § Life, part ii. p. 385.

† The obſervation made, not long before he died by the excellent Mr. *Philip Henry*, who ſurvived theſe times, deſerves to be mentioned here. It was, that " though many of the ejected miniſters were brought very low, had " many children, were greatly harraſſed by perſecution, and their friends " generally poor and unable to ſupport them; yet in all his acquaintance he " never knew nor could remember to have heard of any non-conformiſt mi- " niſter in priſon for debt." P. Henry's Life, p. 74, 2d ed. ED.

" driven

" driven to a greater diſtance from the church, and reſolved " to abide by their faithful paſtors at all events: They mur- " mured at the government, and called the biſhops and con- " forming clergy cruel perſecutors; for which, and for their " frequenting the private aſſemblies of their miniſters, they " were fined and impriſoned, till many families left their na- " tive country, and ſettled in the plantations."

The preſbyterian miniſters, though men of gravity, and far advanced in years, were rallied in the pulpits under the opprobrious name of *ſchismaticks* and *fanaticks;* they were expoſed in the play-houſe, and inſulted by the mob, inſomuch that they were obliged to lay aſide their habits, and walk in diſguiſe. " Such magiſtrates were put into commiſſion as ex- " ecuted the penal laws with ſeverity. Informers were en- " couraged and rewarded. It is impoſſible (ſays the *Conform- " iſt Plea for the Non-Conformiſt**) to relate the number of the " ſufferings both of miniſters and people; the great trials, " with hardſhips upon their perſons, eſtates and families, by " uncomfortable ſeparations, diſperſions, unſettlements and " removes; diſgraces, reproaches, impriſonments, chargeable " journies, expences in law, tedious ſickneſſes, and incurable " diſeaſes ending in death; great diſquietments and frights to " the wives and families, and their doleful effects upon them. " Their congregations had enough to do beſides a ſmall " maintenance, to help them out of priſons, or maintain them " there. Though they were as frugal as poſſible they could " hardly live; ſome lived on little more than brown bread " and water; many had but eight or ten pounds a year to " maintain a family, ſo that a piece of fleſh has not come to " one of their tables in ſix weeks time; their allowance could " ſcarce afford them bread and cheeſe. One went to plough " ſix days and preached on the Lord's day. Another was " forced to cut tobacco for a livelihood. The zealous juſ- " tices of peace knew the calamities of the *miniſters*, when " they iſſued out warrants upon ſome of the *hearers*, becauſe " of the poverty of the preachers. Out of reſpect to the " worth and modeſty of ſome of them, (ſays my author§) I " forbear their names." Upon theſe foundations, and with

* Part iv. p. 40. § Ibid. part iv. p. 43.

theſe

theſe triumphs, was the preſent conſtitution of the church of England reſtored. I ſhall make no further remarks upon it, but leave it to the cenſure of the reader.

Among the preſbyterian divines who died this year, was Mr. *John Ley*, M. A. born at Warwick, Feb. 4, 1583, and educated in Chriſt-church, Oxford, where he took the degrees in arts, and was preſented to the living of Great-Budworth in Cheſhire. He was afterwards prebendary of Cheſter, and ſubdean, and clerk of the convocation once or twice. In the year 1641, he took part with the parliament, was one of the aſſembly of divines, chairman of the committee for examination of miniſters, and preſident of Sion college. In the year 1645, he ſucceeded Dr. *Hyde* in the rich parſonage of Brightwell, Berks. In 1653, he was one of the *tryers*, and at length obtained the rectory of Solyhull in Warwickſhire, but having broken a vein by over-ſtraining himſelf in ſpeaking, he reſigned his living, and retired to Sutton-Colfield, where he died, May 16, 1662, in the ſeventy-ninth year of his age. He was a very learned perſon, well read in the fathers and councils, a popular preacher, a pious and devout chriſtian, and one of the main pillars (ſays Mr. *Wood**) of the preſbyterian cauſe.

Mr. *Henry Jeanes*, M. A. was born in Somerſetſhire about the year 1611, and educated in New-Inn, and afterwards in Hart-Hall, Oxon, where he took the degrees in arts, and entered into holy orders. He was an admired preacher in the univerſity, and was quickly preferred to the rectory of Beercrocomb, and the vicarage of Kingſton in Somerſetſhire. In the year 1641, he cloſed with the parliament, and became rector of Chedſoy near Bridgwater. Here he took into his family ſeveral young perſons, and inſtructed them in the liberal arts and ſciences; he was a moſt excellent philoſopher, a noted metaphyſician, and well verſed in polemical divinity. With all theſe qualifications (ſays Mr. *Wood*†) he was a contemner of the world, generous, free-hearted, jolly, witty, and facetious. He wrote many books, and died in the city of Wells a little before the fatal day of St. Bartholomew, and was buried in the cathedral church there, *ætatis* 52.

* Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 100. † Ibid. p. 125.

Dr

Dr. *Humphrey Chambers* was born in Somerſetſhire, and educated in Univerſity college, Oxon. In the year 1623, he was made rector of Claverton in Somerſetſhire, but was afterwards ſilenced by his dioceſan, biſhop *Piers*, for preaching up the morality of the ſabbath, and impriſoned for two years. He was one of the aſſembly of divines. In the year 1648, he was created *D. D.* and had the rich rectory of Pewſey given him by the earl of Pembroke. After the king's reſtoration he kept his living till the very day the act of uniformity took place, when having preached his farewell ſermon on *Pſal.* cxxvi. 6, he went home, fell ſick and died, and was buried in his church at Pewſey, Sept. 8, without the ſervice of the church, which had juſt then taken place.†

Mr. *Simeon Aſh* was educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. His firſt ſtation in the church was in Staffordſhire, where he contracted an acquaintance with the moſt eminent puritans. He was diſplaced from his living for refuſing to read the *book of ſports*, and not conforming to the ceremonies. After ſome time he got liberty to preach in an exempt church at Wroxhall, under the protection of ſir *John Burgoign*; and elſewhere, under the lord *Brook*, in Warwickſhire. Upon the breaking out of the civil war he became chaplain to the earl of *Mancheſter*, and had a conſiderable part in the Cambridge viſitation. After the king's death he vigorouſly oppoſed the new commonwealth, and declaimed publickly againſt the *engagement*. He was concerned in all the deſigns for bringing in the king, and went with other London divines to congratulate his majeſty at Breda. He was a chriſtian of primitive ſimplicity, and a non-conformiſt of the old ſtamp, being eminently ſincere, charitable, holy, and of a cheerful ſpirit. He had a good paternal eſtate, and was very hoſpitable, his houſe being much frequented by his brethren, by whom he was highly eſteemed. He died in an advanced age on the very evening before Bartholomew-day, in a cheerful and firm expectation of a future happineſs.

Mr. *Edward Bowles*, M. A. born 1613, and educated in Katherine hall, Cambridge, under Dr. *Sibbes* and Dr. *Brown-*

† Calamy, vol. ii. p. 753, or Palmer's Nonconf. Memorial, vol. ii. p. 509.

‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 1, or Ibid. vol. i. p. 85.

rigge.

rigge. He was firſt chaplain to the earl of *Mancheſter*, and upon the reduction of York to the parliament ſettled in that city. He was a wiſe and prudent man, having a clear head and a warm heart; an excellent ſcholar, and an uſeful preacher. He attended lord *Fairfax* when general *Monk* paſſed thro' Yorkſhire, and preſented an addreſs to the general for a free parliament. He was very zealous and active in promoting the king's reſtoration, and waited on his majeſty with lord *Fairfax* at Breda. It is credibly reported that the deanery of York was offered him, but not being ſatisfied with conformity, he was excluded the *minſter*, though he continued preaching at Allhallows, and afterwards at St. Martin's, as he had opportunity.† When the fatal Bartholomew-day approached he grew ſick of the times, and died in the flower of his life, aged forty-nine, and was buried on the eve of St. Bartholomew, 1662.

[In the preceding year there paſſed an act for regulating the preſs, enacting, "that no private perſon or perſons "ſhould print, or cauſe to be printed, any book or pam-"phlet whatſoever, unleſs the ſame was firſt lawfully li-"cenſed and authoriſed to be printed by certain per-"ſons appointed by the act to licenſe the ſame; viz. *Law* "*books* by the lord chancellor, or one of the chief juſtices, "or by the chief baron: books of *hiſtory*, or concerning "*ſtate-affairs*, by one of the principal ſecretaries of ſtate; "on *heraldry*, by the earl marſhal; and all other books, "i. e. to ſay all *novels*, *romances*, and *fairy tales*, and all "books about *philoſophy*, *mathematicks*, *phyſick*, *divinity*, or "*love*, by the lord archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, or the biſhop "of *London* for the time being." "The framers of this "curious act," obſerves lord *Stanhope*, "no doubt, ſuppoſing "that theſe *right reverend* prelates were, of *all* men in the "kingdom, moſt converſant with *all* theſe ſubjects." This act commenced in June 1662, and paſſed only for two years. It was continued by an act of the 16th of *Charles* II. and by another act of the 17th of the ſame reign; and in a few months afterwards it expired. We may form ſome idea of

† Calamy, vol. ii. p. 779—782, or Palmer's Nonconf. Mem. vol. ii. p. 580.

th

the private inſtructions given to the licenſer, as well as of his exceſſive caution and ignorant zeal, when we are aſſured, that on his taking exception to the following lines in *Milton*'s Paradiſe Loſt, that admirable poem had like to have been ſuppreſſed.

" As when the ſun, new riſen,
" Looks through the horizontal myſty air
" Shorn of his beams; or from behind the moon
" In dim eclipſe, diſaſterous twilight ſheds
" On half the nation, and with fear of change
" Perplexes monarchies."

Stanhope on the Rights of Juries, p. 64, &c. Secret Hiſtory of the Court and Reign of Charles II. vol. i. p. 441, note; and Dr. Harris's Life of Charles II. vol. ii. p. 263—274. ED.]

CHAP. VII.

From the Act of Uniformity to the Baniſhment of the Earl of Clarendon *in the Year* 1667.

—1662.—

AT this time, ſays biſhop *Burnet*, the name of PURITANS was changed into that of PROTESTANT NON-CONFORMISTS, who were ſubdivided into *preſbyterians*, *independants*, *anabaptiſts*, and *quakers*; theſe being ſhut out of the eſtabliſhment, had nothing now in view but a toleration, which the credulous preſbyterians ſaid they had ſtrong aſſurances of, before the act of uniformity paſſed into a law; but in this they were diſappointed, as well as in every thing elſe; for which the *independants* told them they might thank themſelves, becauſe their *managers* had proteſted againſt including the papiſts; whereas the legiſlature and the biſhops were concerned to prevent any miſchief from that quarter, and to their care the preſbyterians ſhould have left it.† Some obſerving how much the court and parliament were ſet againſt them, were for removing with their miniſters to Holland; and others propoſed New-England; but the papiſts, at a meeting of the earl of *Briſtol*'s houſe, agreed to do whatever they could to keep the non-conformiſts in England, and buoy them up with hopes of a toleration.

The king was a concealed Roman catholick, and had ſwarms of that perſuaſion about his perſon and court, who had fought for his father in the wars, or been civil to him in his exile; their deſign was to introduce a toleration of their religion, by the royal indulgence, in common with other diſſenters from the eſtabliſhment; and the king was ſo far in their meaſures, that he declared openly *he would give liberty to all or none.* The court was therefore content that the act of uniformity ſhould paſs in the ſevereſt terms, on

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 282.

purpoſe

purpoſe *to make the number of diſſenters more conſiderable*; and when this was objected, it was replied, *the more diſſenters the better*, becauſe it will make a toleration more needful, in which the papiſts will be included.† The papiſts had two maxims from which they never departed; one was, *to keep themſelves united, and promote a general toleration, or a general proſecution.* The other, *to divide the proteſtants as much as poſſible among themſelves.* For this reaſon the ſword was put into the hands of ſuch magiſtrates as would inflame the differences, and exaſperate their ſpirits one againſt the other. Nor were there wanting ſome hot-headed young clergymen, who ran greedily into the ſnare, and became the tools of popery and arbitrary power, till the proteſtant religion was expiring, and muſt inevitably have been loſt, had it not been revived almoſt by a miracle. With a like view the laws againſt prophaneneſs and immorality were relaxed, men's morals were neglected, interludes, maſquerades, promiſcuous dancing, prophane ſwearing, drunkenneſs, and an univerſal diſſolution of manners, were connived at, and the very name of godlineſs became a reproach.

The parliament, being made up of a ſet of penſioners and mercenaries, went into all the court meaſures, and enacted more penal laws for religion, than it may be all the parliaments put together ſince the reformation. They preſſed the act of uniformity with inflexible rigour, and enforced it with ſo many other penal laws, that under their wing popery grew to ſuch a height, as to threaten the extirpation of the *Northern hereſy*. At length many of the members being dead, and others grown fat with the ſpoils of the publick, they would have retrieved their errors, and diſtinguiſhed between *proteſtant non-conformiſts* and *papiſh recuſants*, but it was too late; and the king having found ways and means to ſubſiſt without parliaments, reſolved to adhere by his ſtanding maxim, *to give eaſe to all diſſenters or to none.*

It is impoſſible to excuſe the clergy from their ſhare in the troubles of this reign. If the convocation of 1662, in their review of the liturgy, had made any amendments for the ſatisfaction of the preſbyterians, they would undoubtedly have paſſed both houſes of parliament, and healed in ſome

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 285.

meaſure

meaſure the diviſions of the church; but they were actuated by a ſpirit of revenge, and not only promoted ſuch laws as might deprive the preſbyterians of the power of hurting them for the future; but aſſiſted in putting them in execution. None had a greater ſhare in inflaming the minds of the people, and in ſounding the trumpet to perſecution. But here the reader muſt diſtinguiſh between thoſe zealots, who, from reſentment, bigotry, or ſiniſter views, ſet themſelves to encourage and promote all the methods of oppreſſion and tyranny; and thoſe, who, though they complied with the terms of conformity themſelves, were diſpoſed to an accommodation with the proteſtant non-conformiſts upon moderate terms.

The biſhops were generally of the former ſort; they were old and exaſperated, fond of their perſecuting principles, and fearful of every thing that tended to relieve the preſbyterians. They went with zeal into all the ſlaviſh doctrines of the prerogative, and voted with the court in every thing they required. But even ſome of theſe biſhops, who at firſt were very zealous to throw the preſbyterians out of the church, afterwards grew more temperate. Dr. *Laney*, biſhop of Peterborough, who made a great buſtle in the Savoy conference, was willing at length to wipe his hands of the dirty work, and (to uſe his own expreſſion) could look through his fingers, and ſuffer a worthy non-conformiſt to preach publickly near him for years together.—Biſhop *Saunderſon* had a roll of non-conformiſt miniſters under his angry eye, deſigned for diſcipline, but when he was near his end, he ordered the roll to be burnt, and ſaid he would die in peace.—And moſt remarkable is the paſſage in the laſt will and teſtament of Dr. *Coſins*, biſhop of Durham, a zealous enemy of the preſbyterians, and who had met with ill uſage in the late times.—"I take it to be my duty, (ſays he) and that of "all the biſhops and miniſters of the church, to do our ut-"moſt endeavour, that at laſt an end may be put to the dif-"ferences of religion, or at leaſt that they may be leſſened." Such was the different temper of this learned prelate in the vigour of life, and when he came to review things calmly on his dying bed. To theſe may be added biſhop *Gauden*, *Wilkins*, *Reynolds*, and a few others, who were always moderate,

derate, and are ſaid to carry the wounds of the church in their hearts to the grave; but the far greater majority of the bench, eſpecially thoſe who frequented the court, were of different principles.

The like may be obſerved of the inferior clergy, who were divided, a few years after, into thoſe of the *court* and the *country*; the former were of an angry ſuperſtitious ſpirit, and far more ſtrenuous for a few indifferent ceremonies, than for the peace of the church, or its more important articles; their ſermons were filled with the reverence due to their *holy mother*, with the ſacred dignity of their own indelible characters, with the ſlaviſh doctrines of paſſive-obedience and non-reſiſtance, and with the moſt bitter raillery and invectives againſt the routed preſbyterians; they encouraged the enacting ſevere laws, and carried them into execution as long as their ſuperiors would permit, without any regard to mercy or merit; but took comparatively little or no care, by their doctrine or example, of the morals of the people, which were ſhamefully neglected throughout the nation. The clergy of this character were by far the more numerous for twenty years after the reſtoration; the tide of church preferments running in this channel, and their doctrines being the moſt faſhionable.

The *country* clergy were of a quite different ſpirit; they were determined proteſtants and true churchmen, but more diſpoſed to a coalition with proteſtant diſſenters than with papiſts: Among theſe were the *Tillotſons*, *Stillingfleets*, *Whitchcots*, *Wilkins*, *Cudworths*, &c. men of the firſt rank for learning, ſobriety and virtue; they were the moſt eminent preachers of the age, whoſe ſermons and writings did honour to the church of England, and ſupported its character in the worſt of times. They lamented the corruptions and vices of the people, and ſtood in the gap againſt an inundation of popery and tyranny; but their numbers were ſmall, becauſe the road to preferment lay another way: and when the high church clergy had betrayed the liberties of their country, and the cauſe of the proteſtant religion, into the hands of the papiſts, theſe appeared boldly in their defence, diſarmed their adverſaries, and ſaved the nation.

When

When therefore we ſpeak of the furious proceedings of the biſhops and clergy, it muſt not be underſtood of the whole body, but only of thoſe who were tools of a corrupt court and miniſtry, and who, out of ignorance or other private and perſonal motives, went blindfold into all their deſtructive meaſures.

Biſhop *Burnet*, in his book againſt the author of *Parliamentum Pacificum*, has the following remarkable paſſage: "It is well known, that thoſe who were ſecretly papiſts, and "diſguiſed their religion, as the king himſelf did, animated "the chief men of the church to carry the points of uniformity as high as poſſible—That there might be many non-"conformiſts, and great occaſion for a toleration, under "which popery might creep in; for if the king's declaration "from Breda had taken place, of two thouſand miniſters "that were turned out, above ſeventeen hundred had ſtayed "in; but the practice of the papiſts had too great an in-"fluence on the churchmen, whoſe ſpirits were too much "ſoured by their ill uſage during the war; nor were they "without ſucceſs on the diſſenters, who were ſecretly en-"couraged to ſtand out, and were told, that *the king's temper and principles, and the conſideration of trade, would certainly procure them a toleration.* Thus they tampered "with both parties; liberty of conſcience was their profeſ-"ſion, but when a ſeſſion of parliament came, and the king "wanted money, then a new ſevere law againſt the diſſent-"ers was offered to the angry men of the church party as "the price of it; and this ſeldom failed to have its effect; "ſo that they were like the jewels of the crown, pawned "when the king needed money, but redeemed at the next "prorogation."

The ſame prelate obſerves in another performance, "that "the firſt ſpirit of ſeverity was heightened by the practices of "the papiſts.—That many churchmen, who underſtood not "the principles of human ſociety, and the rules of the En-"gliſh government, wrote ſeveral extravagant treatiſes about "the *meaſures of ſubmiſſion*; that the diſſenters were put to "great hardſhips in many parts of England." But concludes, that "He muſt have the brow of a jeſuit that can "caſt this *wholly* upon the church of England, and *free the*

"*court*

" *court of it.* Upon the whole matter (ſays his lordſhip) " it is evident, that the paſſions and infirmities of ſome " of the church of England being unhappily ſtirred up by " the diſſenters, they were fatally conducted by the popiſh " party to be the inſtruments of doing a great deal of miſ- " chief."

But to go on with the hiſtory: three days after the act of uniformity took place, the ſilenced miniſters preſented a petition to his majeſty for a toleration, by the hands of Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Bates*, and Mr. *Calamy*, to this effect; " that " having had former experience of his majeſty's clemency " and indulgence, ſome of the London miniſters, who are " like to be deprived of all future uſefulneſs by the late " act of uniformity, humbly caſt themſelves at his majeſty's " feet, deſiring him of his princely wiſdom to take ſome ef- " fectual courſe, that they may be continued in their mini- " ſtry, to teach his people obedience to God and his majeſty; " and they doubt not but by their dutiful and peaceable be- " haviour, they ſhall render themſelves not altogether un- " worthy of ſo great a favour."‡ The matter being debated next day in council, his majeſty gave his opinion for an indulgence if it was feaſible. Others were for conniving at the more eminent divines, and putting curates into their churches to read the ſervice till they ſhould die off:* This was the opinion of the earl of *Mancheſter*, who urged it with a great deal of earneſtneſs; but lord *Clarendon* was for the ſtrict execution of the law: " Surely (ſays he) there " cannot be too intent a care in kings and princes to pre- " ſerve and maintain all decent forms and ceremonies both " in church and ſtate, which keeps up the reverence due to " religion, as well as the duty and dignity due to the go- " vernment and the majeſty of kings."§ Biſhop *Sheldon* was of the ſame ſide, and declared, that if the act was ſuſpended he could not maintain his epiſcopal authority; that this would render the legiſlature rediculous, and be the occaſion of endleſs diſtractions.‖ England is accuſtomed to to obey laws, (ſays he) ſo that while we ſtand on that ground we are ſafe; and to anſwer all objections, he undertook to

‡ Kennet's Chron. p. 753. * Ibid. p. 730, 742.

§ Parker's Hiſtory, p. 29. ‖ Burnet, vol. i. p. 279.

fill

fill the vacant pulpits more to the people's ſatisfaction. By ſuch arguments, delivered with great earneſtneſs and zeal, they prevailed with the council to let the law take place for the preſent.

Nevertheleſs, about four months after, his majeſty publiſhed a declaration to all his loving ſubjects, by advice of his privy council, dated December 26, 1662, in which, after reciting thoſe words of his declaration from Breda, relating to his giving liberty to tender conſciences, and his readineſs to conſent to an act of parliament for that purpoſe, his majeſty adds, "As all theſe things are freſh in our memory, ſo "are we ſtill firm in the reſolution of performing them to "the full. But it muſt not be wondered at, ſince that par- "liament to which thoſe promiſes were made, never thought "fit to offer us an act for that purpoſe, that *we being ſo "zealous as we are (and by the grace of God ſhall ever be) "for the maintenance of the true proteſtant religion*, ſhould "give its eſtabliſhment the precedency before matters of in- "dulgence to diſſenters from it; but that being done, we "are glad to renew to all our ſubjects concerned in thoſe "promiſes of indulgence this aſſurance, That as for what "concerns the penalties upon thoſe, who (living peaceably) "do not conform to the church of England through ſcruple, "or tenderneſs of miſguided conſcience, but modeſtly, and "without ſcandal, perform their devotions in their own "way, we ſhall make it our ſpecial care, as far as in us lies, "without invading the freedom of parliament, to incline "their wiſdom at the next approaching ſeſſions, to concur "with us in making ſome act for that purpoſe, as may ena- "ble us to exerciſe with a more univerſal ſatisfaction *that "power of diſpenſing which we conceive to be inherent in us;* "nor can we doubt of their cheerful co-operating with us "in a thing wherein we conceive ourſelves ſo far engaged "both in honour, and in what we owe to the peace of our "dominions, which we profeſs we can never think ſecure "whilſt there ſhall be a colour left to diſaffected perſons "to inflame the minds of ſo many multitudes upon the ſcore "of conſcience, with deſpair of ever obtaining any effect "of our promiſes for their eaſe."

His

His majeſty then proceeds to obviate the objection of his favouring papiſts; and after having avowed to the world the due ſenſe he had of their having deſerved well from his royal father, and from himſelf, and even from the proteſtant religion, in adhering to them with their lives and fortunes, for the maintenance of their crown in the religion eſtabliſhed, he declares, that "it is not in his intention to exclude them "from all benefit from ſuch an act of indulgence, but that "they are not to expect an open toleration; but refers the "manner to the approaching ſeſſions of parliament, which "he doubts not will concur with him in the performance of "his promiſes."—He concludes, "with hoping that all his "ſubjects, with minds happily compoſed by his clemency "and indulgence, (inſtead of taking up thoughts of deſerting "their profeſſions, or tranſplanting) will apply themſelves "comfortably, and with redoubled induſtry, to their ſeveral "vocations, in ſuch manner as the private intereſt of every "one in particular may encourage him to contribute cheer-"fully to the general proſperity.

"Given at our court at Whitehall, this 26th of December, "in the 14th year of our reign."

This declaration was thought to be framed at Somerſet-houſe, where the queen-mother kept her court, without the knowledge of lord *Clarendon* or biſhop *Sheldon*; and, according to *Burnet*, was the reſult of a council of papiſts at the earl of *Briſtol*'s, (who were under an oath of ſecrecy) and of the king himſelf.* It is modeſtly expreſſed; and though it carries in it a claim of the *diſpenſing power*, and of good-will to popery, yet it refers all to the parliament. Accordingly his majeſty, in his ſpeech at the opening the next ſeſſions, Feb. 28, 1663, ſupported his declaration in the following words, "That though he was in his nature an enemy "to all ſeverity in religion, he would not have them infer "from thence, that he meant to favour popery, though "ſeveral of that profeſſion, who had ſerved him and his fa-"ther well, might juſtly claim a ſhare in that indulgence "he would willingly afford to other diſſenters; not that I "intend them to hold any place in the government (ſays his

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 282, 3.

" majeſty) for *I will not yield to any, no not to the biſhops them-*
" *ſelves, in my zeal for the proteſtant religion, and my liking*
" *the act of uniformity;* and yet if the diſſenters will behave
" themſelves peaceably and modeſtly under the government,
" *I could heartily wiſh I had ſuch a power of indulgence to uſe*
" *upon all occaſions, as might not needleſly force them out of the*
" *kingdom, or ſtaying here, give them cauſe to conſpire againſt*
" *the peace of it.*" This was the firſt open claim of a *diſpen-*
ſing power, which the reader will obſerve did not propoſe a *law for liberty of conſcience*, but that his majeſty might have a legal power of *indulgence* veſted in himſelf, which he might uſe or recal as he thought fit. This alarmed the houſe of commons, who voted the thanks of the houſe for his majeſty's reſolution to maintain the act of uniformity; but that it was the opinion of the houſe, that *no indulgence be granted to diſſenters from it;* and an addreſs was appointed to be drawn up, and preſented to his majeſty, with the following reaſons:

" We have conſidered (ſay they) your majeſty's *declaration*
" *from* Breda, and are of opinion, that it was not a *promiſe*,
" but a gracious declaration to comply with the advice of
" your parliament, whereas no ſuch advice has been given.*
" They who pretend a right to the ſuppoſed promiſe, put
" the right into the hands of their repreſentatives, who have
" paſſed the act of uniformity.§ If any ſhall ſay, a right to
" the benefit of the declaration ſtill remains, it tends to diſ-
" ſolve the very bond of government, and to ſuppoſe a diſa-
" bility in the whole legiſlature to make a law contrary to
" your majeſty's declaration. We have alſo conſidered the
" nature of the *indulgence* propoſed, and are of opinion,
" 1. That it will eſtabliſh ſchiſm by a law, and make the cen-
" ſures of the church of no conſideration. 2. That it is un-
" becoming the wiſdom of parliament to paſs a law in one

* Rapin, vol. ii. p. 634.

§ According to this curious mode of reaſoning, the authority of a truſt juſtifies the abuſe of it, and perſons elected for the general welfare are not accountable for acting contrary to the intereſt of their conſtituents. Such a poſition is juſt as abſurd, to uſe the ſimile of a late writer, as to imagine " that phyſicians, choſen to ſuperintend and cure the ſick in hoſpitals, have " a right to kill their patients if they pleaſe." Secret Hiſtory of the Reign of Charles II. vol. ii. p. 7, note. Ed.

" ſeſſion

" ſeſſion for uniformity, and in another ſeſſion to paſs a law " to fruſtrate or weaken it, the reaſons continuing the ſame. " 3. That it will expoſe your majeſty to the reſtleſs importu- " nities of every ſect who ſhall diſſent from the eſtabliſhed " church. 4. That it will increaſe ſectaries, which will " weaken the proteſtant profeſſion, and be troubleſome to the " government; and in time ſome prevalent ſect may contend " for an eſtabliſhment which may end in popery. 5. That " it is unprecedented, and may take away the means of con- " victing recuſants. 6. That the indulgence propoſed will " not tend to the peace, but to the diſturbance of the king- " dom; the beſt way therefore to produce a ſettled peace is " to preſs vigorouſly the act of uniformity."

The reader will judge of the force of theſe reaſons, which, in my opinion, would juſtify the ſevereſt perſecution in the world; however, the king was convinced with a ſum of money, and therefore made no other reply, but that *he had been ill underſtood.* The houſe then addreſſed him to put the laws in execution againſt papiſts; and a proclamation was iſſued out for that purpoſe, but little regarded. However, this oppoſition to the king and the *Roman* catholicks by lord *Clarendon*, and his friends in the houſe of commons, laid the foundation of his impeachment the next year, and of his ruin ſome time after. Biſhop *Kennet* admits, That the king was inclined to a general indulgence,* " though whether it was from " his good-nature, or a ſecret inclination to introduce popery, " is not very decent to determine;" but both he and *Eachard* are of opinion,‖ " That the king's clemency hardened the " diſſenters againſt the church; whereas, if they had loſt all " dependance on a court intereſt, and had found the king " and his miniſtry intent upon the ſtrict execution of the act " of uniformity, moſt of them (ſay they) would at this junc- " ture have conformed." A notorious miſtake! the contrary to this being evident to a demonſtration throughout the courſe of this reign. The conformity of honeſt men does not depend upon the will, but the underſtanding, and it is very ungenerous at this diſtance to impeach men's integrity, who underwent a long courſe of the ſevereſt trials to retain it.

* Page 258. ‖ Eachard, p. 806.

Some of the ejected preſbyterians, who were men of piety and learning, complied as far as they could, and made a diſtinction between *lay-conformity*, and *miniſterial*; they practiſed the former, and went ſometimes to their pariſh churches before or after the exerciſe of their miniſtry in ſome private houſes; and this they did, not for intereſt or advantage, but to all appearance to expreſs their catholiciſm and brotherly love.* Here was the riſe of *occaſional conformity*, practiſed by Dr. *Bates*, Mr. *Baxter*, and others, to their death; but this, inſtead of being well taken, was the occaſion of bringing ſome of them into trouble; for Mr. *Calamy*, late miniſter of Aldermanbury, being at his pariſh church December 28, the preacher happened to diſappoint them; upon which, at the importunity of the pariſhioners, Mr. *Calamy* went up into the pulpit, and preached a ſermon upon *Eli's concern for the Ark of God*; a ſubject much upon their thoughts at that time: but this was ſo highly reſented at court, that he was ſent to Newgate next week for ſedition, in breaking the king's laws.† It was done *in terrorem*, ſays my author, but there was ſuch a clamour among the people, and ſuch a reſort of perſons of diſtinction to viſit the priſoner, that his majeſty thought fit to releaſe him in a few days, which not being done by due courſe of law, the commons reſented it, and preſented an addreſs, that the laws for the future might have their free courſe. This diſguſted the king, who was willing to aſſert his prerogative, and ſhew ſome favour to the preſbyterians, that he might cover the papiſts; but lord *Clarendon*, who was their implacable enemy, and at the head of that party which meditated their ruin, oppoſed the court meaſures, and encouraged his friends in both houſes to abide by the laws.‡

The following ſummer [1663] there was a freſh diſcourſe of liberty for the ſilenced miniſters; and the court were ſo far in the deſign as to encourage them to petition for a *general toleration*, inſinuating this to be the only way of relief, and that the legiſlature would go on to increaſe their burdens, and lay them in gaols till they complied. The *independants* went up to court to ſpeak for themſelves, but the *preſbyterians* refuſed;

* Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 436. Compl. Hiſt. p. 267.

† Calamy, vol. ii. p. 6. ‡ Rapin, p. 312-13.

upon

upon which Mr. *Baxter* ſays, the independant brethren thought it owing to them that they miſſed of their intended liberty.* The court being diſpleaſed, lord *Clarendon* and his friends took the opportunity to awaken their reſentments, by fathering upon the non-conformiſts ſome new plots againſt the government. There was ſaid to be a conſpiracy in the North among the republicans and ſeparatiſts, to reſtore the long parliament, and put *Lambert* and *Ludlow* at their head, though the former was ſhut up in priſon in a remote iſland, and the other gone into baniſhment. There had been ſome unadviſed and angry converſation among the meaner ſort of people of republican principles, but it was not pretended that any gentleman of character, much leſs that the body of the Engliſh non-conformiſts, were acquainted with it; however, about twenty were tried and condemned at York and Leeds, and ſeveral executed. Some very mean perſons were indicted at the Old-Bailey for a branch of the ſame deſign, as *Tongue*, *Phillips*, *Stubbes*, *Hind*, *Sellars*, and *Gibbes:* they were not tried ſeparately, but ſet at the bar together, and condemned in the lump. It was pretended that the fifth monarchy men, anabaptiſts, independants, and ſome quakers, were conſenting to ſome deſperate deſigns, but the authors were never diſcovered; however, four of theſe pretended conſpirators were executed, who confeſſed, at the place of execution, that they had heard ſome treaſonable expreſſions in company, but denied to the laſt that they were acquainted with any conſpiracy againſt the king; and whoever reads their trials will be inclined to think, that it was a deſign of thoſe who were at the head of affairs, to inflame the populace againſt the non-conformiſts, in order to bring on them greater ſeverities.†

An act was paſſed this ſummer *for the relief of ſuch perſons as by ſickneſs, or other impediments, were diſabled from ſubſcribing the declaration in the act of uniformity, and explanation of the ſaid act.* The preamble ſets forth, "That divers per-"ſons of eminent loyalty, and known affection to the liturgy "of the church of England, were out of the kingdom; and "others by reaſon of ſickneſs, diſability of body, or otherwiſe,

* Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 430, 3.

† Kennet's Chron. p. 840, 1. Calamy, vol. i. p. 305. Rapin, p. 635.

could

" could not ſubſcribe within the time limited, and were there-
" fore diſabled, and *ipſo facto* deprived of their prebendaries,
" or other livings, therefore further time is given them to the
" feaſt of the *nativity of our Lord* next enſuing; or if out of
" England, forty days after their return:"* Which ſhews, that the time limited by the act of uniformity was not ſufficient. The journal of the houſe of lords mentions a clauſe inſerted by their lordſhips, explaining the *ſubſcription* and *declaration* to relate only to *practice* and *obedience to the law*, which paſſed the upper houſe, though ſeveral temporal lords proteſted againſt it, as deſtructive to the church of England; however, when it came down to the commons, the clauſe was rejected, and the lords did not think fit to inſiſt upon its being reſtored.†

While the parliament were relieving the loyaliſts, they increaſed the burdens of the non-conformiſts, for under colour of the late pretended plots, they paſſed an act for *ſuppreſſing ſeditious conventicles;* the preamble to which having ſet forth, that the ſectaries, under pretence of tender conſciences, at their meetings had contrived inſurrections, the act declares the 35th of Queen *Elizabeth* to be in full force, which condemns all perſons refuſing peremptorily to come to church, after conviction, to baniſhment, and in caſe of return to death, without benefit of clergy. It enacts further, " That if any
" perſon above the age of ſixteen, after the firſt of July 1664,
" ſhall be preſent at any meeting, under colour or pretence
" of any exerciſe of religion, in other manner than is allowed
" by the liturgy or practice of the church of England, where
" ſhall be five or more perſons than the houſhold, ſhall for
" the firſt offence ſuffer three months impriſonment, upon
" record made upon oath under the hand and ſeal of a juſtice
" of peace, or pay a ſum not exceeding five pounds; for the
" ſecond offence ſix months impriſonment, or ten pounds;
" and for the third offence the offender to be baniſhed to
" ſome of the American plantations for ſeven years, excepting

* 15 Car. II. cap. 6.

" † Thus it is the declared ſenſe of the legiſlature, that the unfeigned " aſſent and conſent relates not only to the *uſe*, but to the *inward and en-* " *tire approbation* of *all* and *every thing* as expreſſed in the ſubſcription." Fowler's French Conſtitution, p. 352, note.

‡ 16 Car. II. cap. 4. " New

"New-England and Virginia, or pay one hundred pounds; "and in caſe they return, or make their eſcape, ſuch perſons "are to be adjudged felons, and ſuffer death without benefit "of clergy. Sheriffs, or juſtices of peace, or others com- "miſſioned by them, are empowered to diſſolve, diſſipate, "and break up all unlawful conventicles, and to take into "cuſtody ſuch of their number as they think fit. They who "ſuffer ſuch conventicles in their houſes or barns are liable "to the ſame forfeitures as other offenders. The proſecu- "tion is to be within three months. Married women taken "at conventicles are to be impriſoned for twelve months, "unleſs their huſbands pay forty ſhillings for their redemp "tion. This act to continue in force for three years after "the next ſeſſion of parliament."

This was a terrible ſcourge over the *laity*, put into the hands of a ſingle juſtice of peace, without the verdict of a jury, the oath of the *informer* being ſufficient. The deſign of the parliament (ſays *Rapin*) was to drive them to deſpair, and to force them into real crimes againſt the government. By virtue of this act the gaols in the ſeveral counties were quickly filled with diſſenting proteſtants, while the papiſts had the good fortune to be covered under the wing of the prerogative. Some of the miniſters who went to church in ſermon time, were diſturbed for preaching to a few of their pariſhioners after the publick ſervice was over; their houſes were broke open, and their hearers taken into cuſtody; warrants were iſſued out for levying twenty pounds on the miniſter, twenty pounds upon the houſe, and five ſhillings upon each hearer. If the money was not immediately paid, there was a ſeizure of their effects, the goods and wares were taken out of the ſhops; and in the country, cattle were driven away and ſold for half the value. If the ſeizure did not anſwer the fine, the miniſter and people were hurried to priſon, and held under cloſe confinement for three or ſix months. The trade of an *informer* began to be very gainful, by the encouragement of the ſpiritual courts. At every quarter-ſeſſions ſeveral were fined for not coming to church, and others excommunicated; nay, ſome have been ſentenced to abjure the realm, and fined in a ſum much larger than all they were worth in the world.

Before

Before the conventicle act took place the laity were courageous,* and exhorted their miniſters to preach till they went to priſon; but when it came home to themſelves, and they had been once in gaol, they began to be more cautious, and conſulted among themſelves, how to avoid the edge of the law in the beſt manner they could; for this purpoſe their aſſemblies were frequently held at midnight, and in the moſt private places; and yet, notwithſtanding all their caution, they were frequently diſturbed; but it is remarkable, that under all their hardſhips they never made the leaſt reſiſtance, but went quietly along with the ſoldiers or officers, when they could not fly from them. The diſtreſs of ſo many families made ſome confine themſelves within their own houſes, ſome remove to the plantations, and others have recourſe to *occaſional conformity*, to avoid the penalty for not coming to church; but the *independants*, *anabaptiſts*, and *quakers*, declined the practice, for they ſaid, If *perſecution* was the mark of a falſe church, it muſt be abſolutely unlawful to join with one that was ſo notoriouſly guilty.

Indeed the *quakers* gloried in their ſufferings, and were ſo reſolute as to aſſemble openly at the Bull and Mouth near Alderſgate,‖ from whence the ſoldiers and other officers dragged them to priſon, till Newgate was filled, and multitudes died by cloſe confinement in the ſeveral gaols. The account publiſhed about this time ſays, there were ſix hundred of them in priſon, *merely for religion ſake*, of whom ſeveral were baniſhed to the plantations. Sometimes the *quakers* met and continued ſilent, upon which it was queſtioned, whether ſuch an aſſembly was a *conventicle for religious exerciſe;* and when ſome were tried for it in order to baniſhment, they were acquitted of the baniſhment, and came off with a fine, which they ſeldom paid, and were therefore continued in priſon.† In ſhort the quakers about London gave ſuch full employment to the *informers*, that they had leſs leiſure to attend the meetings of other diſſenters.

So great was the ſeverity of theſe times, and the arbitrary proceedings of the juſtices, that many were afraid to pray in their families, if above four of their acquaintance who came only to viſit them were preſent. Some families ſcrupled aſk-

* Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 436. ‖ Sewel, p. 445.

† Baxter's Life, part ii. p. 436.

ing

ing a bleſſing on their meat, if five ſtrangers were at table. In London, where the houſes join, it was thought the law might be evaded if the people met in ſeveral houſes, and heard the miniſter through a window or hole in the wall; but it ſeems this was over-ruled, the determination being (as has been obſerved) in the breaſt of a ſingle mercenary juſtice of peace. And while conſcientious people were thus oppreſſed, the common people gave themſelves up to drunkenneſs, prophane ſwearing, gaming, lewdneſs, and all kinds of debauchery, which brought down the judgments of heaven upon the nation.

The firſt general calamity that befel the kingdom, was a war with the *Dutch*, which the king entered into this winter, by the inſtigation of the young *French* monarch *Lewis* XIV. who, being grown rich by a long peace, ſought for an opportunity to make new conqueſts in the *Spaniſh Flanders*; for this purpoſe he engaged the maritime powers in a war, that by weakening each other's hands they might not be at leiſure to aſſiſt the Spaniards whom he intended to attack. The Engliſh made complaints of the encroachments of the Dutch upon their trade, and indignities offered to his majeſty's ſubjects in India, Africa, and elſewhere; the French promoted theſe miſunderſtandings, and promiſed to ſupply the king with what ſums of money he wanted; till at length war was proclaimed Feb. 22, 1664-65, in the courſe of which ſundry bloody engagements happened at ſea; the two nations were drained of their blood and their treaſure, and the proteſtant intereſt almoſt ruined, while the French were little more than ſpectators. The war continued about two years and a half, and then ended with no manner of advantage to either nation.

[In the year 1663 there was obtained, by the intereſt of Mr. *Baxter* and Mr. *Aſhurſt* with the lord chancellor *Hyde*, a charter for the incorporating "A ſociety or company for "propagation of the goſpel in New-England, and the parts "adjacent in America." Such a ſociety had been formed under the ſanction of an act of parliament in 1646: and, by a collection made in all the pariſhes in England, there had been raiſed a ſum ſufficient to purchaſe an eſtate in land of between 500l. and 600l. a year. Upon the reſtoration of king

king *Charles* II. the charter became void, and colonel *Beddingfield*, a Roman-catholick officer in the army, of whom a conſiderable part of the land was bought, ſeized it for his own uſe; pretending he had ſold it under the value, in hopes of recovering it upon the king's return. The ſociety, being reeſtabliſhed, at great trouble and expence, were again put in poſſeſſion of the eſtate by a decree of chancery, which the honourable Mr. *Boyle* was very inſtrumental in obtaining. He was appointed the firſt governor of the company.*

On the 4th of June this year died, aged 81, Dr. *William Juxon*, archbiſhop of Canterbury, whoſe elevation to the poſt of lord high-treaſurer of England and other early preferments have been mentioned before, (vol. ii. p. 275.) He was born in Chicheſter, received his grammar learning at Merchant-taylors ſchool, became fellow of St. *John*'s college, Oxford in 1598, and batchelor of the civil law in 1603, being about that time a ſtudent in *Gray*'s inn. Soon after he entered into holy orders, and in 1609 was made vicar of St. *Giles*, Oxford. In 1626 he executed the office of vice-chancellor. After the death of *Charles* I. he retired to his paternal manor of Little-Compton in Glouceſterſhire, and devoted himſelf to liberal ſtudies. On the reſtoration, he was advanced, Sept. 4, 1660, to the ſee of *Canterbury*. He was buried with great funeral pomp in St. *John*'s college, Oxon. He is ſaid to have acted, at a very critical time, with a prudence, moderation, and integrity, which enmity could not impeach in his arduous office as high treaſurer. He left many monuments of his munificence and liberality. "The "mildneſs of his temper, the gentleneſs of his manners, and "the integrity of his life," ſays Mr. *Granger*, "gained him "univerſal eſteem; and even the haters of Prelacy could ne"ver hate *Juxon*."†

Mr. *Henry Jeſſey*, an eminent divine among the puritans, died, alſo, on the 4th of Sept. this year. He was born on the 3d of Sept. 1601, at Weſt-Rowton, near Cleveland in

* Neal's Hiſtory of New-England, vol. i. p. 262.

† Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 109, 154. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 662-3, and Richardſon de Præſulibus, p. 162.

Yorkſhire

Yorkſhire, where his father was miniſter. At ſeventeen years of age he was ſent to St. *John*'s college in Cambridge; he continued ſix years at the univerſity, where he commenced firſt bachelor, then maſter of arts. In 1623 died his father, who had hitherto ſupplied him according to his ability; which event left him in ſuch ſtrait circumſtances, that he had not above 3d. a day for his maintenance, yet he ſo œconomically managed this ſmall pittance, as to ſpare ſome of it for hiring books. He purſued his ſtudies with diligence, and, not contenting himſelf with the *ipſe dixit* of authority, he inveſtigated ſcience freely. He left the univerſity well verſed in the *Hebrew* and the writings of the *rabbies*, with a knowledge of *Syriac* and *Chaldee*. During this period his mind imbibed a ſtrong ſenſe of religion, and he determined to devote himſelf to the miniſtry. He ſpent nine years, after leaving the univerſity, as chaplain in the family of Mr. *Brampton Gurdon*, at Aſſington in Suffolk, improving his time, and, among other ſtudies, giving his attention to phyſick. In 1627 he received *epiſcopal* ordination, but could not be prevailed upon to accept any promotion until 1633, when the living of Aughton, in Yorkſhire, was given to him. But he was removed the very next year for not uſing the ceremonies, and for taking down a crucifix. On this he was received into the family of Sir *Matthew Bointon* in the ſame county, and preached frequently at two pariſhes in the neighbourhood. In 1635, accompanying his patron to London, he was invited to be paſtor of the congregation formed in 1616 by Mr. *Henry Jacob*; this his modeſty led him to decline for ſome time, but, after many prayers and much conſideration, he accepted the invitation, and continued in this poſt till his death. Soon after the ſentiments of the *baptiſts* were embraced by many of this ſociety. This put him upon ſtudying the controverſy; and the reſult was, that after great deliberation, many prayers, and frequent conferences with pious and learned friends, he altered his ſentiments, firſt concerning the mode, and then the ſubjects of baptiſm. But he maintained the ſame temper of friendſhip and charity towards other chriſtians, not only as to converſation, but church communion. When he viſited the churches in the north and weſt of England, he laboured to promote the ſpirit of love and union

union among them, and was a principal perſon in ſetting up and maintaining, for ſome time, a meeting of ſome eminent men of each denomination in London. He divided his labours according to the liberality of his temper. In the afternoon of every Lord's day he was among his own people. In the morning he uſually preached at St. *George*'s church, Southwark, and once in the week at Ely-houſe, and at the Savoy to the maimed ſoldiers. The maſter ſtudy of his life was a new tranſlation of the bible; in this deſign he engaged the aſſiſtance of many perſons of note. It was almoſt compleated, when the great turn given to publick affairs at the reſtoration rendered it abortive. The benevolence of his exertions formed a moſt diſtinguiſhing trait in his character. He choſe a ſingle life, that he might be more at liberty for ſuch labours. Beſides his own alms, he was a conſtant ſolicitor and agent for the poor, and carried about with him a liſt and deſcription of the moſt peculiar objects of charity, which he knew. Thirty families had all their ſubſiſtence from him. But his charity was not limited to his own congregation: and where he thought it no charity to give, he would often lend without intereſt or ſecurity. One of the moſt remarkable inſtances of his charity, which had ſcarcely a precedent, was what he ſhewed to the poor *Jews* at Jeruſalem, who by a war between the *Swedes and Poles*, which cut off their ſubſiſtence from their rich brethren in other countries, were reduced to great extremities. Mr. *Jeſſey* collected for them 300l. and ſent with it letters with a view to their converſion to chriſtianity. In the year 1650 he had written a treatiſe to remove their prejudices, and convince them of the meſſiahſhip of Jeſus, recommended by ſeveral of the aſſembly of divines, and afterwards tranſlated into *Hebrew* to be diſperſed among the Jews of all nations. He was expoſed to a great number of viſitors; which occaſioned him to have it written over his ſtudy door;

AMICE, QUISQUIS HUC ADES;
AUT AGITO PAUCIS, AUT ABI,
AUT ME LABORANTEM ADJUVA.

WHATEVER FRIEND COMES HITHER,
DISPATCH IN BRIEF, OR GO,
OR HELP ME BUSIED TOO. *H. J.*

When

When he went long journies, he laid down rules to regulate the converſation for his fellow travellers, which were enforced by ſmall pecuniary mulcts on the violation of them. He was meek and humble, and very plain in ſpeech, dreſs and demeanour. He was ſo great a ſcripturiſt, that if one began to rehearſe any paſſage, he could go on with it, and name the book, chapter and verſe, where it might be found. The original languages of the Old and New Teſtament were as familiar to him as his mother tongue. He was ſeveral times apprehended at meetings for religious worſhip. Upon the reſtoration he was ejected from his living at St. *George*'s, ſilenced from his miniſtry, and committed to priſon. About five or ſix months after his laſt releaſe, he died full of peace and joy; lamented by perſons of different perſuaſions, ſeveral thouſands of whom attended his funeral. Croſby's Hiſtory of the Baptiſts, vol. i. p. 307—21. Palmer's Non-conformiſts Memorial, vol. i. p. 108—13. The Life and Death of Mr. *Jeſſey*, 1671; where are the letters written to the Jews, remarks on our tranſlation of the bible, and rules for a new verſion. ED.]

The next judgment which befel the nation was the moſt dreadful *plague* that had been known within the memory of man. This was preceded by an unuſual drought; the meadows were parched and burnt up like the highways, inſomuch that there was no food for the cattle, which occaſioned firſt a murrain among them, and then a general contagion among the human ſpecies, which increaſed in the city and ſuburbs of London until eight or ten thouſand died in a week.* The richer inhabitants fled into the remoter coun-

* Dr. *Grey* has introduced here a full and affecting narrative of the progreſs of this calamity, and of the mortality it produced; drawn up by the pen of Mr. *Vincent*, one who charitably gave his aſſiſtance at that time, as copied by Dr. *Calamy*, in his Continuation, p. 33. It was uſual for people, as they went about their buſineſs, to drop down in the ſtreet. A bagpiper, who, exceſſively overcome with liquor, had fallen down and lay aſleep in the ſtreet, was taken up, and thrown into a cart, and betimes the next morning, carried away with ſome dead bodies. At day-break he awoke, and riſing began to play a tune: which ſo ſurprized thoſe who drove the cart, and could ſee nothing diſtinctly, that in a fright they betook them to their heels, and would have it they had taken up the devil in the diſguiſe of a dead man. Sir John Rereſby's Memoirs, p. 10, 11. ED.

ties;

ties; but the calamities of thoſe who ſtayed behind, and of the poorer ſort, are not to be expreſſed. Trade was at a full ſtand; all commerce between London and the country was entirely cut off, leſt the infection ſhould be propagated thereby. Nay, the country houſe-keepers and farmers durſt not entertain their city friends or relations till they had performed quarantine in the fields or out-houſes. If a ſtranger paſſed through the neighbourhood, they fled from him as an enemy. In London the ſhops and houſes were quite ſhut up, and many of them marked with a red croſs, and an inſcription over the door, *Lord have mercy upon us!* Graſs grew in the ſtreets; and every night the bell-man went his rounds with a cart, crying, *Bring out your dead.* From London the plague ſpread into the neighbouring towns and villages, and continued near three quarters of a year, till it had ſwept away almoſt one hundred thouſand of the inhabitants.

Some of the eſtabliſhed clergy, with a commendable zeal, ventured to continue in their ſtations, and preach to their pariſhioners throughout the courſe of the plague, as Dr. *Walker*, Dr. *Horton*, Dr. *Meriton*, and a few others;* but moſt of them fled, and deſerted their pariſhes at a time when their aſſiſtance was moſt wanted; upon this ſome of the ejected miniſters ventured to preach in the vacant pulpits, imagining that ſo extraordinary a caſe would juſtify their diſregard to the laws. The miniſters who embarked in this ſervice were the reverend Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, Mr. *Cheſter*, Mr. *Janeway*, Mr. *Turner*, *Grimes*, *Franklin*, and others. The face of death, and the arrows that fled among the people in darkneſs at noon-day, awakened both preachers and hearers: Many who were at church one day were thrown into their graves the next; the cry of great numbers was, *What ſhall we do to be ſaved?* A more awful time England had never ſeen.

But it will amaze all poſterity, that in a time both of war and peſtilence, and when the non-conformiſt miniſters were hazarding their lives in the ſervice of the ſouls of the diſtreſſed and dying citizens of London, that the prime miniſter and his creatures,§ inſtead of mourning for the nation's ſins, and meditating a reformation of manners, ſhould pour out all their

* Baxter's Life, part iii. p. 2. § Ibid. part iii. p. 3.

vengeance

vengeance upon the non-conformiſts, in order to make their condition more inſupportable. One would have thought ſuch a judgment from heaven, and ſuch a generous compaſſion in the ejected miniſters, ſhould have ſoftened the hearts of their moſt cruel enemies; bnt the preſbyterians muſt be cruſhed, in defiance of the rebukes of Providence. Biſhop *Kennet* and Mr. *Eachard* would excuſe the miniſtry, by alledging, that ſome of the old *Oliverian officers* were enliſted in the *Dutch* ſervice;* which, if true, was nothing to the body of the preſbyterians, though lord *Clarendon* did what he could to incenſe the parliament, and make them believe they were in confederacy with the enemies of the government. In his harangue to the houſe, he ſays, "their countenances were more erect, and more inſolent, ſince the "beginning of the war than before; that they were ready, "if any misfortune had befallen the king's fleet, to have "brought the war into our fields and houſes. The horrid "murderers of our late royal maſter have been received into "the moſt ſacred councils in Holland; and other infamous "perſons of our nation are admitted to a ſhare in the con"duct of their affairs, with liberal penſions. Too many of "his majeſty's ſubjects have been enliſted in their ſervice for "a maintenance. Their friends at home made no doubt of "doing the buſineſs themſelves, if they could pitch upon a "lucky day to begin the work. If you carefully provide for "ſuppreſſing your enemies at home, you will find your ene"mies abroad more inclined to peace—" Is it poſſible that ſuch a ſpeech could proceed from the lips of a wiſe and faithful counſellor, who was to aſk for money to carry on the war? Could the chancellor think, that the way to conquer abroad was to divide and harraſs the king's ſubjects at home, in the midſt of the diſtreſs of a terrible plague? He confeſſed afterwards, that he was moſt averſe to this war, and abhorred it from his very ſoul; and yet he makes a handle of it to rain down vengeance on the preſbyterians, who had no concern in it; but it happened to them as in popiſh countries, when any general calamity befals the people, it is imputed to too great an indulgence to *hereticks*, and the vengeance is returned upon their heads.‡ Biſhop *Burnet* is of opinion that

* Eachard, p. 824. ‡ Ib. p. 846.

the

the Oxford act was rather owing to the liberty the non-conformiſts took in their ſermons to complain of their own hardſhips, and to lament the vices of the court, as the cauſes of the preſent calamities. And ſuppoſing this to be true, their complaints were not without reaſon.

However, the load was to lie on the diſſenting miniſters, and therefore an act was brought into the houſe to baniſh them from their friends, which had the royal aſſent, October 31, 1665. It was entituled, *An Act to reſtrain Non-Conformiſts from inhabiting Corporations*; the preamble to which ſets forth, "That divers parſons, and others in holy orders, "not having ſubſcribed the act of uniformity, have taken "upon them to preach in unlawful aſſemblies, and to inſtil "the poiſonous principles of ſchiſm and rebellion into the "hearts of his majeſty's ſubjects, to the great danger of "the church and kingdom. Be it therefore enacted, that "all ſuch non-conformiſt miniſters ſhall take the following "oath: *I* A. B. *do ſwear, that it is not lawful upon any pre-* "*tence whatſoever, to take arms againſt the king*;* *and that I* "*do abhor that traiterous poſition of taking arms by his au-* "*thority, againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſ-* "*ſioned by him, in purſuance of ſuch commiſſions; and that I* "*will not at any time endeavour any alteration of government* "*either in church or ſtate.* And all ſuch non-conformiſt "miniſters ſhall not after the 24th of March, 1665, unleſs "in paſſing the road, come, or be within five miles of any "city, town corporate, or borough that ſends burgeſſes to "parliament; or within five miles of any pariſh, town, or "place, wherein they have ſince the act of oblivion been "parſon, vicar, or lecturer, &c. or where they have preached "in any conventicle on any pretence whatſoever, before "they have taken and ſubſcribed the aforeſaid oath before "the juſtices of peace at their quarter-ſeſſions for the coun-"ty, in open court; upon forfeiture for every ſuch offence "of the ſum of forty pounds, one third to the king, another "third to the poor, and a third to him that ſhall ſue for it.

* A project was formed of impoſing this clauſe on the whole nation, by requiring this oath of every ſubject. The point was ſo near being carried, that the bill brought in for the purpoſe was rejected by three voices only. Secret Hiſtory of the Reign of Charles II. vol. ii. p. 172, note. Ed.

"And

"And it is further enacted, that ſuch as ſhall refuſe the oath "aforeſaid ſhall be incapable of teaching any publick or "private ſchools, or of taking any boarders§ or tablers to "be taught or inſtructed, under pain of forty pounds, to be "diſtributed as above. Any two juſtices of peace, upon "oath made before them of any offence committed againſt "this act, are empowered to commit the offender to priſon "for ſix months, without bail or mainprize."

The earl of *Southampton*, lord *Wharton*, *Aſhley*, Dr. *Earl* biſhop of Saliſbury, and others, vehemently oppoſed this bill, out of compaſſion to the non-conformiſts, and as it enforced an unlawful and unjuſtifiable oath, which (as the earl of *Southampton* obſerved) *no honeſt man could take*; but the madneſs of the times prevailed againſt all reaſon and humanity.‡ The promoters of the act were lord chancellor *Clarendon*, archbiſhop *Sheldon*, *Ward* the new biſhop of Saliſbury, and their creatures, with all that were ſecret favourers of popery (ſays biſhop *Burnet*.) It was moved that the word *legally* might be inſerted in the oath, before the word *commiſſioned*; and that before the words *endeavoured to change the government*, might be inſerted the word *unlawfully*; but all amendments were rejected;† however, *Bridgman*, chief juſtice of the *common-pleas*, declaring that the oath muſt be ſo underſtood, Dr. *Bates* and about twenty others took it, to avoid the imputation of ſedition; but they had ſuch a lecture afterwards from the bench for their ſcruples, that they repented of what they had done before they went out of court. Mr. *Howe*, and about twelve in Devonſhire, and a few in Dorſetſhire, took the oath with a declaration in what ſenſe and with what limitations they underſtood it.*

But the body of the non-conformiſt miniſters refuſed the oath, chooſing rather to forſake their habitations, their relations, and friends, and all viſible ſupport, than deſtroy the

§ "This act ſeemed," it is juſtly obſerved, "to be the laſt ſtep in the "climax of intolerance; for to deprive men of the means of ſubſiſtence im-"plies more deliberate cruelty, though it does not excite ſo much horror "as fire and faggots." Secret Hiſtory of the Reign of Charles II. vol. ii. p. 171, note. Ed.

‡ Baxter, part iii. p. 3. Burnet, vol. i. p. 329.

† Baxter's Life, part iii. p. 15. * Howe's Life, p. 41.

peace of their conſciences. Thoſe miniſters who had ſome little eſtate or ſubſtance of their own, retired to ſome remote and obſcure villages, or ſuch little market-towns as were not corporations, and more than five miles from the places where they had preached; but in many counties it was difficult to find ſuch places of retirement; for either there were no houſes untenanted, or they were annexed to farms which the miniſters were not capable of uſing; or the people were afraid to admit the miniſters into their houſes, leſt they ſhould be ſuſpected as favourers of non-conformity.§ Some took advantage of the miniſters' neceſſities, and raiſed their rents beyond what they could afford to give. Great numbers were thus buried in obſcurity, while others who had neither money nor friends, went on preaching as they could, till they were ſent to priſon, thinking it more eligible to periſh in a gaol than to ſtarve out of one; eſpecially when by this means they had ſome occaſional relief from their hearers, and hopes that their wives and children might be ſupported after their death.† Many who lay concealed in diſtant places from their flocks in the day-time, rode thirty or forty miles to preach to them in the night, and retired again before day-light. Theſe hardſhips tempted ſome few to conform (ſays Mr. *Baxter*,) contrary to their former judgments; but the body of diſſenters remained ſtedfaſt to their principles, and the church gained neither reputation nor numbers. The *informers* were very diligent in hunting after their game; and the ſoldiers and officers behaved with great rudeneſs and violence. When they miſſed of the miniſters, they went into the barns and out-houſes, and ſometimes thruſt their ſwords up to the hilts in the hay and ſtraw, where they ſuppoſed they might lie concealed; they made havock of their goods, and terrified the women and children almoſt out of their lives. Theſe methods of cruelty reduced many miniſters with their families to the neceſſity of living upon brown rye-bread and water; but few were reduced to publick beggary, (ſays Mr. *Baxter**) the providence of God appearing wonderfully for their relief, in their greateſt extremities.

§ Baxter, part iii. p. 4. Burnet, p. 331.

† Baxter's Life, part iii. p. 15. * Page 4.

And

And as if the judgments of heaven upon this nation were not heavy enough, nor the legiſlature ſufficiently ſevere, the biſhops muſt throw their weight into the ſcale; for in the very midſt of the plague July 7, 1665, archbiſhop *Sheldon* ſent orders to the ſeveral biſhops of his province to return the names of all ejected non-conformiſt miniſters, with their places of abode, and manner of life; and the returns of the ſeveral biſhops are ſtill preſerved in the Lambeth library.* The deſign of this enquiry was to gird the laws cloſer upon the diſſenters, and to know by what means they earned their bread; and if this tender-hearted archbiſhop could have had his will, they muſt have ſtarved, or ſought a livelihood in foreign countries.

This year put an end to the life of Dr. *Cornelius Burges*, a divine of the puritan ſtamp‡ educated at Oxford, and chaplain

* Comp. Hiſt. vol. iii. p. 279.

‡ "If all the *puritans*," ſays Dr. *Grey*, "had been of his rebellious "ſtamp, they had certainly been a *wicked crew*, but there was a great dif- "ference in *puritans*, ſome very good, and ſome very bad, as is juſtly ob- "ſerved by Mr. *Fuller*." In his firſt volume alſo, p. 268, the doctor impeaches the character of this divine, in the words of *Eachard*; who calls him "*The ſeditious Dr. Burgeſs*, and one of the greateſt *Bontefeus* of the "whole party, being the perpetual trumpeter to the moſt violent proceed- "ings, a great inſtrument in bringing on the miſeries of the nation; who "died in great want and poverty, tormented and eaten up by a cancer in "his neck and cheek—a fearful inſtance of rebellion and ſacrilege." To theſe and other invectives of the archdeacon *Eachard* againſt Dr. *Burgeſs*, Dr. *Calamy* replied; but the reply goes chiefly to ſhew the archdeacon's partiality, by inveighing in this manner againſt *Burgeſs*, when the characters of ſome on the other ſide were open to ſimilar charges. The *fact*, which ſeems to bear hard on the name of this divine is, that though he declared it "by no means lawful to alienate the biſhops' lands from publick "and pious uſes, or to convert them to any *private perſon*'s property;" yet he gained ſo much as to grow rich by the purchaſe of them. After the reſtoration he loſt all. This, Dr. *Calamy* thinks, might be allowed a ſufficient puniſhment without branding his memory. What inconſiſtency or faults ſoever might be chargeable on Dr. *Burgeſs*, the interpretation which the archdeacon puts on his death deſerves ſevere cenſure, "as raſh and pre- "ſuming." This method gives a particular and invidious conſtruction to events that ariſe from *general* laws, and equally befal the righteous and the wicked: and it ſhews, how *they* who uſe it would direct, if it were in their power, the evils and calamities of life. It indicates as much a want of candour and generoſity as of ſound judgment.—— It appears from a MS. hiſtory drawn up by Dr. *Henry Sampſon*, a noted phyſician, that Dr. *Burgeſs* was deemed a man of ſolid parts and great learning; that no temptations could

lain to king *Charles* I. He ſuffered much by the high commiſſion court, but taking part with the parliament, was choſen one of the pacifick divines who met at the Jeruſalem Chamber, to accommodate differences in the church: He often preached before the houſe of commons, and was one of the aſſembly of divines, but refuſed to take the covenant till he was ſuſpended. He was ejected at the reſtoration from St. Andrews in the city of Wells in Somerſetſhire, and having laid out all his money in the purchaſe of biſhops' lands, he was reduced to abſolute poverty.‖ He appeared at the head of the London divines, againſt bringing the king to his trial, and was eſteemed a very learned and able divine. He died at his houſe at Watford, June 1665.

We have already remembered Dr. *Cheynel* among the Oxford profeſſors, a man of great abilities, and a member of the aſſembly of divines. He quitted his preferments in the univerſity, for refuſing to take the *engagement*, and was ejected from the living of Petworth at the reſtoration, without having enriched himſelf by any of his preferments.† It is reported that he was ſometimes diſordered in his head, but he was perfectly recovered ſome years before his death, which happened at his houſe near Brighthelmſtone in Suſſex, September 1665.*

induce him to return to the epiſcopal ſide; that in the year 1648, he preached a ſermon fuller of loyalty than the boldeſt at that time would dare to expreſs; that he was againſt impoſing the covenant, and refuſed to take it till he was ſuſpended. He was excellently ſkilled in the liturgical controverſies and thoſe of church-government; and was poſſeſſed of all the books of common-prayer that were ever printed in England, and beſtowed them upon Oxford library. Dr. Calamy's Letter to Mr. Archdeacon Eachard, p. 107—111. ED.

‖ Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 235. Calamy, vol. ii. p. 586, or Palmer's Non-Conformiſts Memorial, vol. ii. p. 384.

† For he was remarkable throughout his life for hoſpitality and contempt of money. Dr. *Johnſon* publiſhed an account of this extraordinary man, that appeared firſt in the Gentleman's Magazine for March and April 1775: which, Mr. *Palmer* remarks, is a ſatire both upon Dr. *Cheynel* and the times. Dr. *Cheynel*, this narrative ſays, "had an intrepidity which was never to "be ſhaken by any danger, and a ſpirit of enterprize not to be diſcouraged "by difficulty: which were ſupported by an unuſual degree of bodily "ſtrength. Whatever he believed he thought himſelf obliged to profeſs, "and what he profeſſed he was ready to defend." ED.

* Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 245. Calamy, vol. ii. p. 675, and Palmer's Non-Conformiſts Memorial, vol. ii. p. 467. [There

[There died in priſon this year, Mr. *Samuel Fiſher*, a man of great parts and literature, of eminent piety and virtue, who reflected honour on each denomination of chriſtians, with which through the change of his ſentiments he became ſucceſſively connected. His father was a haberdaſher of hats, and mayor of Northampton. In 1623, at the age of eighteen, he became a ſtudent in Trinity college, Oxford; where he took the degree of maſter of arts, and then removed to New Inn. At the univerſity, he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his application and proficiency, gained an accurate knowledge of Greek and Roman antiquities, and was particularly given to the ſtudy of rhetorick and poetry. When he had finiſhed his academick courſe, he became chaplain to Sir *Arthur Haſelrigg*. In 1632 he was preſented to the vicarage of Lidd in Kent, a living of 500l. a year. Here he had the character of a very powerful preacher, united with humility and affability of carriage. While in this ſituation, in conſequence of frequent converſation with a *baptiſt* miniſter, he was led into an examination of the queſtions concerning baptiſm, which ended in his embracing the opinions of the *baptiſts*, being baptized by *immerſion*, and taking the paſtoral care of a congregation of that people, having freely reſigned his living and returned his diploma to the biſhop; which thoſe who differ from him muſt applaud as a ſingular inſtance of ſincerity and ſelf-denial. On this he rented a farm and commenced grazier; "by which he procured a decent compe-"tency, enhanced" (ſays Mr. *Gough*) "by the conſolation "of ſolid content, and the internal teſtimony of an appro-"ving heart." During his connection with the *baptiſts* he baptized ſome hundreds, and was frequently engaged in publick diſputes in vindication of their ſentiments, to the number of nine in the courſe of three years, with ſeveral noted miniſters, ſometimes in the preſence of 2000 auditors, and once with Dr. *Cheynel*. He publiſhed alſo a treatiſe, entitled "Baby Baptiſm mere Babiſm;" which is repreſented as containing the whole ſtate of the controverſy as it was then managed. He was deemed an ornament to the ſect, and was one of the chief defenders of their doctrine. In 1655, he embraced the principles of the *quakers*, and became an active and laborious miniſter among them. He preached

at

at Dunkirk againſt the idolatry of the prieſts and friars: and, in company with another friend, travelled on foot over the Alps to Rome; where they teſtified againſt the ſuperſtitions of the place, and diſtributed ſome books amongſt the eccleſiaſticks: and left it without moleſtation. After his return he ſuffered among *proteſtants* the perſecution which he eſcaped among the Romaniſts. The great part of the four laſt years of his life was ſpent in priſon; and after two years confinement in the White-Lyon priſon in Southwark, he died, "in perfect peace with God; in good eſteem both "with his friends and many others, on account of the emi-"nence of his natural parts and acquired abilities as a ſcho-"lar, and of his exemplary humility, ſocial virtues, and cir-"circumſpect converſation as a chriſtian: In meekneſs in-"ſtructing thoſe who oppoſed him, and labouring inceſſantly "by his diſcourſes and by his writings to propagate and "promote true chriſtian practice and piety." Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 243. Croſby's Hiſtory of the Baptiſts, vol. i. p. 361, &c. and Gough's Hiſtory of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 163, and vol. ii. p. 141. ED.]

The vices of the nation not being ſufficiently puniſhed by *peſtilence* and *war*, it pleaſed Almighty God this year to ſuffer the city of London to be laid in aſhes by a dreadful *conflagration*, which broke out in Pudding-lane behind the Monument, Sept. 2, 1666, and within three or four days, conſumed thirteen thouſand two hundred dwelling-houſes, eighty-nine churches, among which was the cathedral of St. Paul's; many publick ſtructures, ſchools, libraries, and ſtately edifices. Multitudes loſt their goods and merchandize, and the greateſt part of their ſubſtance, and ſome few their lives; the king, the duke of *York*, and many of the nobility, were ſpectators of the deſolation, but had not the power to ſtop its progreſs, till at length it ceaſed almoſt as wonderfully as it began. Moorfields was filled with houſhold goods, and the people were forced to lodge in huts and tents: Many families who were the laſt week in proſperity, were now reduced to beggary, and obliged to begin the world again. The authors of this *fire* were ſaid to be the *papiſts*, as appears by the inſcription upon the monument. The parliament,

ment, being of this opinion, petitioned the king to iſſue out a proclamation, requiring all popiſh prieſts and jeſuits to depart the kingdom within a month, and appointed a committee who received evidence of ſome papiſts who were ſeen to throw fire-balls into houſes, and of others who had materials for it in their pockets; but the men were fled, and none ſuffered but one *Hubert*, a Frenchman, by his own confeſſion.*

In this general confuſion, the churches being burnt, and many of the pariſh miniſters withdrawn for want of habitations or places of worſhip, the non-conformiſts reſolved again to ſupply the neceſſities of the people, depending upon it that in ſuch an extremity, they ſhould eſcape perſecution. Some churches were erected of boards, which they called *tabernacles*, and the diſſenters fitted up large rooms with pulpits, ſeats, and galleries, for the reception of all who would come. Dr. *Manton* had his rooms full in Covent-Garden; Mr. *Tho. Vincent*, Mr. *Doolittle*, Dr. *Turner*, Mr. *Grimes*, Mr. *Jenkyns*, Mr. *Nath. Vincent*, Dr. *Jacomb*, Mr. *Watſon*, had their ſeparate meetings in other places. The independants alſo, as Dr. *Owen*, Dr. *Goodwin*, Mr. *Griffiths*, *Brooks*, *Caryl*, *Barker*, *Nye*, and others, began the ſame practice; many citizens frequented the meetings, where the liturgy was not read; though the few pariſh pulpits that remained were filled with vety able preachers; as Dr. *Tillotſon*, *Stillingfleet*, *Patrick*, *White*, *Gifford*, *Whichcot*, *Horton*, *Meriton*, &c. But none of theſe calamities had any farther influence upon the court prelates, than that they durſt not proſecute the preachers ſo ſeverely for the preſent.‡

Among the non-conformiſt miniſters who died this year, were the Reverend Mr. *Edward Calamy*, B. D.‖ the ejected miniſter of Aldermanbury, born in London, 1600, and bred in Pembroke-Hall, Cambridge; he was firſt chaplain to Dr. *Felton*, biſhop of Ely; and afterwards ſettled at St. Edmondsbury, from whence, after ten years, he with thirty other

* *Hubert* was a French *Hugonot*, of Roan in Normandy. Though he confeſſed the fact, yet, according to *Eachard*, he ſuffered unjuſtly; for he was a ſort of lunatick, and had not landed in England till two days after the fire, as appeared by the evidence of the maſter of the ſhip who had him on board. Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 349. Ed.

‡ Baxter's Life, part iii. p. 19. ‖ Calamy's Abridg. vol. ii. p. 4.

miniſters,

miniſters, were driveu out of the dioceſe by biſhop *Wren*'s viſitation articles and the book of ſports. Upon the death of Dr. *Stoughton*, 1639, he was choſen to Aldermanbury, where he ſoon gained a vaſt reputation. He was one of the divines who met in the Jeruſalem chamber for accommodating eccleſiaſtical matters in the year 1641. He was afterwards a member of the aſſembly at Weſtminſter, and an active man in all their proceedings. He was one of the moſt popular preachers iu the city,* and had a great hand in the king's reſtoration, but ſoon repented his having done it without a previous treaty. He refuſed a biſhoprick, becauſe he could not have it upon the terms of the king's declaration; and ſoon after the *Bartholomew* act, was impriſoned in Newgate for preaching an occaſional ſermon to his pariſhioners.§ He afterwards lived pretty much retired till this year, when being

* His week-day lecture was conſtantly attended for twenty years together by perſons of the greateſt quality, there being ſeldom ſo few as twenty coaches. He was preſident in meetings of the city miniſters, and qualified, by natural and acquired abilities, to be the leader of the *preſbyterians*, He dared to cenſure the conduct of *Cromwell* to his face, and was never known to be intimidated, where he thought his duty was concerned. Of which his grandſon gives a remarkable proof.† He was one of the writers againſt the liturgy. The title of one of the anſwers to him and his brethren is a curious ſpecimen of the taſte and ſpirit of the times. It was called "A "Throat Hapſe for the Frogs and Toads that crept abroad croaking againſt "the Common-Prayer-Book." Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. ii. p. 184. octavo, and note. Ed.

§ This confinement made no ſmall noiſe; Mr. *Calamy* was a man ſo generally beloved and reſpected. Dr. *Wilde* publiſhed a copy of verſes on the occaſion, which was ſpread through all parts of the kingdom. And the paſſage through Newgate-ſtreet was obſtructed by the coaches of thoſe who viſited him in his impriſonment. A popiſh lady, who had been ſtopt by them, finding what alarm and diſturbance this proceeding againſt Mr. *Calamy* had produced, took the firſt opportunity to wait upon the king at Whitehall, and communicate the whole matter to him, expreſſing her fear, that if ſuch ſteps as theſe were taken, he would loſe the affections of the city, which might be of very ill conſequence. On this remonſtrance, and for ſome other reaſons, Mr. *Calamy* was in a little time diſcharged by the expreſs order of his majeſty. Memoirs of Dr. Edmund Calamy, a MSS. Ed.

† Preaching before General Monk, ſoon after the reſtoration, having occaſion to ſpeak of filthy lucre, he ſaid, "Some men will betray three kingdoms for filthy "lucre's ſake:" and immediately threw his handkerchief, which he uſually waved up and down while he was preaching, towards the general's pew. Palmer and Granger, ut ſupra. Ed.

driven

driven in a coach through the ruins of the city of London, it ſo affected him, that he went home, and never came out of his chamber more, dying within a month in the 67th year of his age.*

Mr. *Arthur Jackſon*, M. A. the ejected miniſter of St. Faith's, was born about the year 1593, and educated in Cambridge. He became miniſter of St. *Michael*'s Wood-ſtreet in the year 1625, when the peſtilence raged in the city; and continued with his pariſh throughout the whole courſe of the diſtemper.† He was fined five hundred pounds for refuſing to give evidence againſt Mr. *Love*, and committed priſoner to the Fleet, where he remained ſeventeen weeks. At the reſtoration he was choſen by the provincial aſſembly of London to preſent a bible to the king at his public entrance.§ He was afterwards one of the commiſſioners of the Savoy; and when the uniformity act took place, being old, he retired to a private life, and died with great ſatisfaction in his non-conformity, Aug. 5, 1665, in the ſeventy-fourth year of his age.

Dr. *William Spurſtow*, the ejected miniſter of Hackney, was ſometime maſter of Katherine-Hall, Cambridge, but ejected for refuſing the *engagement*. He was one of the authors of *Smectymnuus*, a member of the aſſembly of divines, and afterwards one of the commiſſioners of the Savoy; a man of great learning, humility and charity, and of a cheerful converſation: He lived through the *ſickneſs* year, but died the following in an advanced age.‡

This year was memorable for the fall of the great earl of *Clarendon*, lord high chancellor of England, who attended

* Non-conformiſts Memorial, vol. i. p. 73.

† Calamy's Abridg. vol. ii. p. 3; or Palmer's Non-conformiſts Memorial, vol. i. p. 104.

§ "There was," Mr. *Granger* obſerves, "a particular propriety in aſ-"ſigning this office to him, as he had written a commentary on ſeveral parts "of the bible." He was a man of prodigious application; at the univerſity he ſtudied fourteen or ſixteen hours a day, and to the day of his death conſtantly roſe, ſummer and winter, at three or four o'clock in the morning. Granger's Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 43, octavo. ED.

‡ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 471; or Palmer's Nonconformiſts Memorial, vol. ii. p. 173.

the

the king in his exile, and upon his majeſty's reſtoration was created a peer, and advanced to the high dignity of chancellor of England. He governed with a ſovereign and abſolute ſway as prime miniſter for about two years; but in the year 1663, he was impeached of high treaſon by the earl of *Briſtol*; and though the impeachment was dropt for want of form, his intereſt at court declined from that time, and after the Oxford parliament of 1665, his lordſhip was out of all credit. This ſummer the king took the ſeals from him, and on the 12th of November Sir *Edward Seymour* impeached him of high treaſon, at the bar of the houſe of peers, in the name of all the commons of England, for ſundry arbitrary and tyrannical proceedings contrary to law, by which he had acquired a greater eſtate than could be honeſtly gotten in that time—For procuring grants of the king's lands to his relations, contrary to law—for correſponding with *Cromwell* in his exile*—for adviſing and effecting the ſale of Dunkirk—for iſſuing out *Quo Warranto's* to obtain great ſums of money from the corporations—for determining people's title to their lands at the council table, and ſtopping proceedings at law, &c. The earl had made himſelf obnoxious at court by his magiſterial carriage to the king,† and was grown very unpopolar by his ſuperb and magnificent palace at St. James's, erected in a time of war and peſtilence, which coſt him fifty thouſand pounds:§ Some called it Dunkirk-houſe, as being built with his ſhare of the price of that fortreſs; and others Holland-houſe, as if he had received money from the king's enemies in time of war. The king's ſecond marriage, which proved

* Dr. *Grey* ſuppoſes that Mr. *Neal* could not but know that lord *Clarendon* had cleared himſelf from this charge to the king's ſatisfaction during his exile; who declared "that he was ſorry that he was not in a condition to "do him more juſtice than to declare him innocent, which he did, and com-"manded the clerk of the council to draw up a full order for his juſtification: "which his majeſty himſelf would ſign." Ed.

† Burnet, p. 365, 369, 370.

§ Mr. *Eachard* ſays that this palace was built in the abſence of the chancellor, principally at the expence of the *Vintner*'s company; and that when he came to ſee the caſe of it, he rather ſubmitted than conſented, and with a ſigh ſaid, "This houſe will one day be my ruin." Grey's Examination, vol. iii. p. 352, note. The doctor fills two pages here, with quoting lord *Clarendon*'s vindication of himſelf. Ed.

barren,

barren, was laid to his charge, and ſaid to be contrived for the advancement of his grand-children by the ducheſs of York, who was the earl's daughter. When his majeſty inclined to part with his queen, and if poſſible to legitimate his addreſſes to Miſs *Steward*, the chancellor got her married privately to the duke of *Richmond*, without the king's knowledge, which his majeſty was told was to ſecure the ſucceſſion of the crown to his own family. This intriguing, together with his high oppoſition to the Roman catholicks, and to all who were not of his principles, procured him many enemies, and ſtruck him quite out of the king's favour. The earl did not think fit to abide the ſtorm, but withdrew to France, leaving a paper behind him, in which he denies almoſt every article of his charge;* but the parliament voted his defence ſcandalous, and ordered it to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman. December 18, his lordſhip was baniſhed the king's dominions for life by act of parliament; he ſpent the remaining ſeven years of his life at Roan in Normandy, among papiſts and preſbyterians, whom he would hardly ſuffer to live in his own country, and employed the chief of his time in writing the hiſtory of the grand rebellion,§ which is in every one's hands.

The

* The articles of the charge ſtated by Mr. *Neal* were, if you credit Dr. *Welwood*, the oſtenſible cauſes only of the chancellor's fall. The true reaſon why he was abandoned to his enemies was, that he ſecretly oppoſed the deſign of the parliament to ſettle ſuch a revenue upon the king during life as would place him beyond the neceſſity of aſking more, except on ſome extraordinary occaſion: and he drew the earl of *Southampton* into his views, urging that he knew the king ſo well, that if ſuch a revenue were once ſettled upon him for life, neither of them two would be of any farther uſe; and there would be no probability of ſeeing many more ſeſſions of parliament during that reign. This came to the king's ears. Memoirs, p. 109-10, 6th ed. Lord *Cornbury* in a letter to the duke of *Ormond*, preſerved by *Carte*, ſaid that, his father never ſtirred as long as he ſaw any probability of being brought to his trial in parliament, though all his friends perſuaded him to leave the kingdom, fearing that his innocence would not protect him againſt the malice of his enemies. When he found that there was a deſign to prorogue the parliament on purpoſe to try him by a *jury of peers*, by which means he might fall into the hands of the *proteſting lords*, he reſolved to avail himſelf of an opportunity of going over to Calais. Grey's Exam. vol. iii. p. 355, 56. ED.

§ He alſo read over *Livy* and *Tacitus*, and almoſt *Tully*'s works; and "was a much greater, perhaps a happier man alone and in exile," ſays Mr. *Granger*,

The earl of *Clarendon* was a proteſtant of Laudean principles in church and ſtate, and at the head of all the penal laws againſt the non-conformiſts to this time. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays,‡ "He was a good chancellor,§ but a little too "rough; that he meddled too much in foreign affairs, which "he never underſtood well: that he had too much levity "in his wit, and did not obſerve the decorum of his poſt." Mr. *Rapin* adds,‖ "That from him came all the blows aimed "at the non-conformiſts ſince the beginning of this reign. His "immoderate paſſion againſt preſbyterianiſm was this great "man's foible. He gloried in his hatred of that people; "and, perhaps, contributed more than any other perſon to "that exceſs of animoſity which ſubſiſts againſt them at this "day among the followers of his maxims and principles." Mr. *Eachard* ſays, "His removal was a great ſatisfaction to "the diſſenters;" directly contrary to Mr. *Baxter*, "who "obſerves a remarkable providence of God, that he who "had dealt ſo cruelly by the non-conformiſts ſhould be ba-"niſhed *by his own friends*, while the *others*, whom he had "perſecuted, were moſt moderate in his caſe, and many of "them for him. It was a great eaſe that befel good men by

Mr. *Granger*, "than *Charles* the ſecond upon his throne." Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 360, and vol. iv. p. 64, note. ED.

‡ Page 33.

‡ Dr. *Grey* gives biſhop *Burnet*'s character of the lord *Chancellor* more at length; and prefixes another character of his lordſhip drawn by the pen of Mr. *Carte*, to "obviate," as he expreſſes himſelf, "the ill-natured re-"flection caſt upon him by Mr. *Neal*; becauſe he adhered to the intereſt of "his king and country, and would not give up the church eſtabliſhed into "the hands of unreaſonable fanatics." ED.

§ A domeſtick incident, related by biſhop *Burnet*, is ſuppoſed to have fixed and heightened the chancellor's zeal for the conſtitutional liberties of his country, in civil matters. On a viſit which he paid to his father, a gentleman of Wiltſhire, when he began to grow eminent in his profeſſion, as they were walking one day in a field, his father obſerved to him, "that men of "his profeſſion did often ſtretch law and prerogative to the prejudice of the "liberty of the ſubject, to recommend and advance themſelves;" and charged him, that he ſhould "never ſacrifice the laws and liberties of his country "to his own intereſt, or to the will of a prince." He repeated this twice; and immediately fell into a fit of apoplexy, of which he died in a few hours. Burnet's Hiſtory of his own Times, vol. i. p. 231.

‖ Vol. ii. p. 650, folio ed.

"his

" his fall, (ſays he) for his way was to *decoy men into conſpira-*
" *cies, or pretended plots, and upon thoſe rumours innocent peo-*
" *ple were laid in priſon, ſo that no man knew when he was*
" *ſafe; whereas ſince his time, though the laws have been made*
" *more ſevere, yet men are more ſafe.*"* His lordſhip was undoubtedly a perſon of very conſiderable abilities, which have been ſufficiently celebrated by his admirers, but I have not been able to diſcover any great or generous exploits for the ſervice of the publick; and how far his conduct with regard to the non-conformiſts was conſiſtent with humanity, religion, or honour, muſt be left with the reader.

* Baxter, part iii. p. 20, 21.

CHAP. VIII.

From the Baniſhment of the Earl of Clarendon *to the King's Declaration of Indulgence in the year* 1672.

—1667.—

UPON the fall of the earl of *Clarendon*, the diſcourſe of a toleration began to revive: The king in his ſpeech to his parliament, Feb. 10, has this paſſage: "One thing "more I hold myſelf obliged to recommend to you at this "preſent, that is, that you would ſeriouſly think of ſome "courſe to beget a better union and compoſure in the minds "of my proteſtant ſubjects in matters of religion, whereby "they may be induced not only to ſubmit quietly to the "government, but alſo cheerfully give their aſſiſtance to "the ſupport of it."* Sundry pamphlets were publiſhed upon this head; and the duke of *Buckingham* being now prime miniſter, the non-conformiſts about London were connived at, and people went openly and boldly to their meetings.

But the houſe of commons, who were yet influenced by the pernicious maxims of the late chancellor, petitioned the king to iſſue out his proclamation, for enforcing the laws againſt conventicles, and for preſerving the peace of the kingdom, againſt unlawful aſſemblies of papiſts and non-conformiſts. Accordingly, his majeſty iſſued out his proclamation, that "upon conſideration of the late petition, and "upon information that divers perſons in ſeveral parts of "the realm (abuſing his clemency, even while it was under "conſideration to find out a way for the better union of his "proteſtant ſubjects) have of late frequently and openly, "in great numbers, and to the great diſturbance of the "peace, held unlawful aſſemblies and conventicles, his ma-"jeſty declares, that he will not ſuffer ſuch notorious con-

* Calamy's Abridgment, vol. i. p. 316.

"tempt

" tempt of the laws to go unpuniſhed, but requires, charges, " and commands, all officers to be circumſpect and vigilant " in their ſeveral juriſdictions, to enforce and put the laws " in execution againſt unlawful conventicles, commanding " them to take particular care to preſerve the peace."

The ſufferings of the diſſenters began to excite compaſſion in the minds of the people, inſomuch that their numbers viſibly increaſed, partly through the indulgence of the court, and the want of churches ſince the fire of London, and partly through the poverty of the common people, who having little to loſe, ventured to go publickly to *meetings* in defiance of the laws. The indolence of the eſtabliſhed clergy, and the diligence of the non-conformiſt miniſters, contributed very much to the increaſe of *non-conformiſts*. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays,§ " The king was highly offended at the behaviour of " moſt of the biſhops; archbiſhop *Sheldon* and *Morley*, who " kept cloſe by lord *Clarendon*, the great patron of perſecu- " ting power, loſt the king's favour; the former never re- " covered it, and the latter was ſent from court into his dio- " ceſe. When complaint was made of ſome diſorders and " conventicles, the king ſaid the clergy were chiefly to blame, " for if they had lived well, and gone about their pariſhes, " and taken pains to convince the non-conformiſts, the na- " tion might have been well ſettled, but they thought of " nothing but to get good benefices, and keep a good table." In another converſation with the biſhop, about the ill ſtate of the church,† his majeſty ſaid, " If the clergy had done " their parts it had been eaſy to run down the non-confor- " miſts, but they will do nothing, (ſays the king) and will " have me do every thing; and moſt of them do worſe than " if they did nothing. I have a very honeſt chaplain, (ſays " he) to whom I have given a living in Suffolk, but he is a " very great blockhead, and yet has brought all his pariſh " to church; I cannot imagine what he could ſay to them, " for he is a very ſilly fellow; but he has been about from " houſe to houſe, and I ſuppoſe his nonſenſe has ſuited their " nonſenſe; and in reward of his diligence I have given him " a biſhoprick in Ireland." About this time *Ralph Wallis*, a cobler of Gloceſter, publiſhed an account of a great num-

§ Vol. i. p. 371, 379. † Page 380.

ber

ber of ſcandalous conformiſt miniſters, and enumerated their ſcandals, to the great diſpleaſure of the clergy; and I fear (ſays Mr. *Baxter**) to the temptation of many non-conformiſts, who might be glad of any thing to humble the prelatiſts.

The learned Dr. *Lazarus Seaman*, the ejected miniſter of Allhallows, Bread-ſtreet, died this year, of whom we have given ſome account among the Cambridge profeſſors; he was educated in Emanuel college, and by his indefatigable induſtry roſe to high reputation in the learned world for his exact acquaintance with the oriental languages; he was an able divine, an active member of the aſſembly at Weſtminſter, and was taken notice of by king *Charles* I. at the treaty of the iſle of Wight, for his ſingular abilities in the debates about church government.‖ He was alſo maſter of Peterhouſe, Cambridge, but loſt all at the reſtoration; he underwent ſtrong pains with admirable patience, and at length died in peace in the month of September 1667.‡

Mr. *George Hughes*, B. D. the ejected miniſter of Plymouth, born in Southwark,§ and educated in Corpus Chriſti college in Cambridge. He was called to a lecture in London, but was ſilenced for non-conformity by archbiſhop *Laud*. After ſome time he went to Taviſtock, and laſt of all ſettled at Plymouth, having inſtitution and induction from Dr. *Brownrigge* biſhop of Exeter, in the year 1644. Here he continued till the year 1662, whence he was ejected a week before the act of uniformity took place. He was afterwards impriſoned in St. Nicholas Iſland, where he contracted an incurable ſcurvy and dropſy, which at length put an end to his life. He was well read in the fathers, an acute diſputant, a moſt faithful paſtor to a large flock under his care, and a moſt holy, pious, and exemplary chriſtian. He had the greateſt intereſt and influence of any miniſter in the weſt country, and

* Life, part iii. p. 23.

‖ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 17, and Palmer's Non-conf. Mem. vol. ii. p. 76.

‡ He left a very valuable library, which yielded 700l. and was the firſt ſold by auction in England. Ed.

§ In 1603, when his mother, who had never child before, though ſhe was now married to her fourth huſband, was fifty-two years of age. She lived to her 96th year. Ed.

refuſed

refuſed a rich biſhoprick at the reſtoration. He was both charitable and hoſpitable when it was in his power, and died at length in a moſt heavenly manner, in the month of July, 1667, and in the ſixty-fourth year of his age. The reverend Mr. *John Howe*, his ſon-in-law, compoſed a Latin epitaph for him, which is inſcribed on his tomb.*

The kingdom was at this time full of factions and diſcontents, ariſing from the late calamities of fire and plague, as well as the burthen of the Dutch war; trade was at a ſtand, and great numbers of his majeſty's ſubjects were both diſpirited and impoveriſhed by the penal laws; but that which ſtruck all conſiderate men with a panick, was the danger of the proteſtant intereſt, and the liberties of Europe, from the formidable progreſs of the French armies, which this very ſummer overrun the Spaniſh Flanders, and took the ſtrong towns of Charleroy, Bergue, Aeth, Douay, Tournay, Audenard, Liſle, Courtray, Furnes, &c. which, with their dependencies, were yielded in full ſovereignty to France by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. The Engliſh court ſeemed unconcerned at the French conqueſts, till they were awakened by the clamours of the whole nation; upon this Sir *William Temple* was ſent into Holland, who in a few weeks concluded a triple alliance between England, Holland, and Sweden, which ſtrengthened the proteſtant intereſt while it ſubſiſted; but the French miſtreſſes and money could diſſolve the ſtrongeſt bonds.

In this critical ſituation of affairs abroad, ſome attempts were made to quiet the minds of his majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects at home, for men began to think it high time for proteſtants to put a ſtop to the pulling down their neighbours houſes, when the common enemy was threatening the deſtruction of them all; therefore lord keeper *Bridgman*, lord chief juſtice *Hales*, biſhop *Wilkins*, *Reynolds*, Dr. *Burton*, *Tillotſon*, *Stilling fleet*, and others, ſet on foot a *comprehenſion* of ſuch as could be brought into the church by ſome abatements, and a *toleration* for the reſt. But the project was blaſted by the court biſhops, and lord *Clarendon*'s friends, who took the alarm, and raiſed a mighty outcry of the danger of the church.† No body (ſay they) knows where the demands of

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 222, or Palmer's Nonconf. Memorial, vol. i. p. 387.

† Burnet, vol. i. p. 380, &c.

the preſbyterians will end; the cauſe of the hierarchy will be given up, if any of thoſe points are yielded, which have been ſo much conteſted; beſides, it is unworthy of the church to court, or even treat with her enemies, when there is ſo little reaſon to apprehend that we ſhould gain any conſiderable numbers thereby. But to this it was replied, that the prodigious increaſe of popery and infidelity was a loud call of Providence, to attempt every thing that could be done without ſin for healing our diviſions. That though the non-conformiſts could not legally meet together to bring in their conceſſions in the name of the body, it was well enough known what they ſcrupled, and what would bring moſt of them into the church. That a compliance in ſome leſſer matters of indifference would be no reproach, but an honour to the church, how ſuperior ſoever ſhe might be in argument or power.

The propoſals were drawn up by biſhop *Wilkins* and Dr. *Burton*, and communicated by the lord keeper to Dr. *Bates*, *Manton*, and *Baxter*, and by them to their brethren, under the following particulars:

1. That ſuch miniſters who in the late times had been ordained only by preſbyters, ſhould have the impoſition of the hands of a biſhop, with this form of words: *Take thou authority to preach the word of God, and adminiſter the ſacraments in any congregation of the* CHURCH OF ENGLAND, *when thou ſhalt be lawfully appointed thereunto.*

2. That inſtead of all former ſubſcriptions, after the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy, they ſubſcribe the following declaration: I *A. B.* do hereby profeſs and declare, that I approve the doctrine, worſhip, and government eſtabliſhed in the church of England, as containing all things neceſſary to ſalvation; and that I will not endeavour by myſelf, or any other, directly or indirectly, to bring in any doctrine contrary to that which is ſo eſtabliſhed. And I do hereby promiſe, that I will continue in the communion of the church of England, and will not do any thing to diſturb the peace thereof.

3. That the geſture of kneeling at the ſacrament, the croſs in baptiſm, and bowing at the name of Jeſus, be left indifferent, or taken away.

† Baxter's Life, part iii. p. 25.

4. That

4. That if the liturgy and canons be altered in favour of diſſenters, then every preacher upon his inſtitution ſhall declare his aſſent to the lawfulneſs of the uſe of it, and promiſe, that it ſhall be conſtantly uſed at the time and place accuſtomed.

The alterations propoſed to be made in the liturgy, were theſe:

To read the pſalms in the new tranſlation.

To appoint leſſons out of the canonical ſcripture inſtead of the apocrypha.

Not to enjoin god-fathers and god-mothers, when either of the parents are ready to anſwer for the child in baptiſm. To omit that expreſſion in the prayer, *By ſpiritual regeneration.* To change the queſtion, *Wilt thou be baptized?* into, *Wilt thou have this child baptized?* To omit thoſe words in the thankſgiving, *To regenerate this infant by thy Holy Spirit, and to receive him for thy child by adoption.* And the firſt rubrick after baptiſm, *It is certain by God's word, &c.* In the exhortation after baptiſm, inſtead of, *Regenerate and grafted into the body*, to ſay, *received into the church of Chriſt.* No part of the office of baptiſm to be repeated in publick when the child has been lawfully baptized in private.

To omit this paſſage in the office of confirmation: *After the example of thy holy apoſtles, and to certify them by this ſign of thy favour and gracious goodneſs towards them.* And inſtead of, *vouchſafe to regenerate*, read, *vouchſafe to receive into thy church by baptiſm.*

To omit the expreſſions in matrimony, *with my body I thee worſhip*; and that in the collect, *Thou haſt conſecrated, &c.*

In the viſitation of the ſick, miniſters to be allowed to make uſe of ſuch prayers as they judge expedient.

In the burial of the dead, inſtead of, *Foraſmuch as it has pleaſed Almighty God, of his great mercy, to take unto himſelf, &c.* read, *Foraſmuch as it has pleaſed Almighty God to take out of this world the ſoul &c.* Inſtead of, *In ſure and certain hope*, to read, *In a full aſſurance of the reſurrection by our Lord Jeſus Chriſt.* To omit the following words, *We give thee hearty thanks, for that it has pleaſed thee to deliver this our brother out of the miſeries of this ſinful world;* and theſe other, *As our hope is this our brother doth.*

† Baxter's Life, p. 34.

In the communion ſervice to change, *That our ſinful bodies may be made clean by his body*, into, *Our ſinful ſouls and bodies may be cleanſed by his precious body and blood.*

The commination not to be enjoined.

The liturgy to be abbreviated, eſpecially as to the morning ſervice, by omitting all the reſponſal prayers, from, *O Lord, open thou* &c. to the litany; and the litany, and all the prayers, from, *Son of God, we beſeech thee, &c.* to, *We humbly beſeech thee, O Father.*

The Lord's prayer not to be enjoined more than once, viz. after the abſolution, except after the miniſter's prayer before ſermon.

The *gloria patri* to be uſed but once, after reading the pſalms.

The *venite exultemus* to be omitted, unleſs it be thought fit to put any, or all of the firſt ſeven among the ſentences at the beginning.

The communion ſervice to be omitted when there are no communion days, except the ten commandments, which may be read after the creed; and enjoining the prayer, *Lord have mercy upon us, and incline our hearts to keep theſe laws*, only once, at the end.

The *collects*, *epiſtles*, and *goſpels*, to be omitted, except on particular holy days.

The prayers for the parliament to be inſerted immediately after the prayer for the royal family, in this or the like form: *That it may pleaſe thee to direct and proſper all the conſultations of the high court of parliament to the advantage of thy glory, the good of the church, the ſafety, honour, and welfare of our ſovereign and his kingdoms.*

To omit the two hymns in the conſecration of biſhops, and ordination of prieſts.

In the catechiſm, after the firſt queſtion, *What is thy name?* It may follow, *When was this name given thee?* After that, *What was promiſed for you in baptiſm?* anſw. *Three things were promiſed for me.* In the queſtion before the commandments, it may be altered thus, *You ſaid it was promiſed for you.* To the fourteenth queſtion, *How many ſacraments hath Chriſt ordained?* the anſwer may be, *Two only, baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper.*

Mr.

Mr. *Baxter* propoſed further, that the ſubſcription might be only to the doctrinal articles of the church. That the power of biſhops, and their courts, to ſuſpend and ſilence men, might be limited. That the baptiſmal covenant might be explicitly owned by all who come to the ſacrament. But it was replied, that more than what was above-mentioned would not paſs with the parliament.

The propoſals for a *toleration* were communicated by Mr. *Baxter* to the independants by Dr. *Owen*, and were to the following effect:

1. That ſuch proteſtants who could not accept of the propoſals for a *comprehenſion* might have liberty for the exerciſe of their religion in publick, and to build, or to procure places for their publick worſhip at their own charges, either within or near towns, as ſhall be thought moſt expedient.

2. That the names of all ſuch perſons who are to have this liberty be regiſtered, together with the congregations to which they belong; and the names of their teachers.

3. That every one admitted to this liberty be diſabled from bearing any publick office, but ſhall fine for offices of burden.

4. Upon ſhewing a certificate of being liſted among thoſe that are indulged, they ſhall be freed from ſuch legal penalties as are to be inflicted on thoſe who do not frequent their pariſh churches.

5. Such perſons ſo indulged ſhall not for their meeting in conventicles be puniſhed by confiſcation of eſtates.

6. Provided they pay all publick duties to the pariſh where they inhabit, under penalty of ———.

7. This indulgence to continue three years.*

According to theſe heads of agreement a bill was prepared for the parliament by lord chief juſtice *Hales*; but biſhop *Wilkins*, an honeſt and open-hearted man, having diſcloſed the affair to biſhop *Ward*, in hopes of his aſſiſtance, alarmed the biſhops, who, inſtead of promoting the deſign, conſulted meaſures to defeat it; for as ſoon as the parliament met, notice was taken that there were rumours without doors of an act to be offered for *comprehenſion* and *indulgence*, upon which a vote was paſſed, that *no man ſhould bring ſuch an act into*

* Baxter's Life, part iii. p. 25.

the

the houſe. And to cruſh the non-conformiſts more effectually, archbiſhop *Sheldon* wrote a circular letter to the biſhops of his province, dated June 8, to ſend him a particular account of the conventicles in their ſeveral dioceſes, and of the numbers that frequented them; and whether they thought *they might be eaſily ſuppreſſed by the civil magiſtrate.** When he was provided with this information he went to the king, and obtained a proclamation to put the laws in execution againſt the non-conformiſts, and particularly againſt the *preachers*, according to the ſtatute of 17th king *Charles* II. which forbids their inhabiting corporations.

Thus the perſecution was renewed; and the parliament, ſtill bent on ſeverites, appointed a committee to enquire into the behaviour of the non-conformiſts, who reported to the houſe, that divers conventicles, and other ſeditious meetings, were held in their very neighbourhood, in defiance of the laws, and to the danger of the peace of the kingdom.† General *Monk*, who was near his end, and ſunk almoſt into contempt, was employed to diſperſe them, and received the thanks of the houſe for his zeal in that important ſervice, wherein he was ſure to meet with no oppoſition. They alſo returned his majeſty thanks for his proclamation for ſuppreſſing conventicles, deſiring him to take the ſame care for the future. By this means the private meetings of the diſſenters, which had been held by connivance, were broken up again. Mr. *Baxter* was committed to Clerkenwell priſon, for preaching to his neighbours in his own houſe at Acton, and for refuſing the Oxford oath; but upon demanding an *habeas corpus*, his *mittimus* was declared invalid for want of naming the witneſſes.§ The juſtices would have mended their *mittimus* and ſent him to Newgate, but Mr. *Baxter*, being releaſed, wiſely kept out of the way. Mr. *Taverner* of Uxbridge, was ſentenced to Newgate, for teaching a few childrenat Brentford. Mr. *Button*, late univerſity orator, was ſent to priſon for teaching two knights ſons in his own houſe; and multitudes in many counties had the like uſage, ſuffering impriſonment for ſix months.‖

* Burnet, vol. i. p. 382. † Ibid. p. 139.

§ Baxter's Life, part iii. p. 49. ‖ Ibid. p. 36.

But

But this was contrary to the king's inclinations, who was only for playing the diſſenters againſt the parliament for a ſum of money; when the houſe therefore was up, his majeſty ordered ſome of the non-conformiſts to be told, that he was deſirous to make them eaſy, and that if they would petition for relief they ſhould be favourably heard.* Sir *J. Barber* ſecretary of ſtate acquainted Dr. *Manton* with the king's intention, upon which an addreſs was drawn up and preſented to his majeſty at the earl of *Arlington*'s lodgings by Dr. *Jacomb*, *Manton*, and *Bates*; the king received them graciouſly, and promiſed to do his utmoſt to get them comprehended within the eſtabliſhment. He wiſhed there had been no bars at all, but that he was forced to comply for peace ſake, and that he would endeavour to remove them, though it was a work of difficulty. He complained of the umbrage that their numerous aſſemblies gave to clamorous people, and adviſed them to uſe their liberty with more diſcretion hereafter. When the miniſters promiſed obedience, and aſſured his majeſty of their ſteady loyalty, and conſtant prayers for the proſperity of his perſon and government, he diſmiſſed them with a ſmile, and told them, that *he was againſt perſecution, and hoped ere long to be able to ſtand upon his own legs.* But his majeſty's promiſes were always to be bought off by a ſum of money to ſupport his pleaſures.

The controverſy of the *reaſonableneſs of toleration* was now warmly debated without doors; many ill-natured books were written to expoſe the doctrine of the preſbyterians, as leading to *antinomianiſm* and licentiouſneſs of manners.† Others expoſed their characters and manner of preaching. Among theſe, muſt be reckoned *the friendly debate*, which, though written by a good man, (ſays biſhop *Burnet*‡) had an ill effect in ſharpening people's ſpirits too much againſt the diſſenters: The author was Dr. *Simon Patrick*, afterwards biſhop of Ely, but now in the heat of his youth; who, by aggravating ſome weak and unguarded expreſſions, endeavoured to expoſe the whole body of non-conformiſt miniſters to contempt. But I muſt do this prelate ſo much juſtice as to inform the

* Baxter's Life, part iii. p. 37, 87. † Ibid. part iii. p. 39.
‡ Burnet, vol. i. p 382.

reader,

reader, that in his advanced age he expreſſed his diſſatisfaction with this part of his conduct; and, in a debate in the houſe of lords about the *occaſional bill*, declared, "he had been known to write againſt the diſſenters with ſome warmth in his younger years, but that he had lived long enough to ſee reaſon to alter his opinion of that people, and that way of writing." A rare inſtance of ingenuity and candour! We ſhall have occaſion to mention Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange* hereafter.

But one of the moſt virulent writers of his time, under the form of a clergyman, was *Samuel Parker*, afterwards biſhop of Oxford, a man of conſiderable learning and great ſmartneſs, but of no judgement, and as little virtue; and as to religion (ſays biſhop *Burnet**) rather impious than otherwiſe. At length *Andrew Marvel*, the livelieſt wit of the age, attacked him in a burleſque ſtrain, and with ſo peculiar and entertaining an addreſs, that from the king down to the tradeſman, his books were read with the higheſt pleaſure. He had all the men of wit on his ſide, and not only humbled *Parker* more than the ſerious and grave writings of Dr. *Owen*, but ſilenced the whole party; one of whom concludes his letter to Mr. *Marvel* with theſe words: *If thou dareſt to print or publiſh any lye or libel againſt Dr. Parker, by the eternal God I will cut thy throat.* Subſcribed *J. G.*

All ſober men were of opinion, that it was ungenerous and cruel to treat a number of peaceable men, whom the laws had put almoſt out of their protection, in ſo ludicrous a manner.† Religion itſelf ſuffered by it. I remember, ſays lord chief juſtice *Hales*, that when *Ben Johnſon*, in his play of the *Alchymiſt*, introduced *Anartus* in deriſion of the *puritans*, with many of their phraſes taken out of ſcripture, in order to render that people ridiculous, the play was deteſted and abhorred, becauſe it ſeemed to reproach religion itſelf; but now, when the preſbyterians were brought upon the ſtage in their peculiar habits, and with their diſtinguiſhing phraſes of ſcripture expoſed to the laughter of ſpectators, it met with approbation and applauſe.

But ſuch was the complexion of the court, that they bid defiance to virtue, and even to decency, giving countenance to all manner of licentiouſneſs. The play-houſes were be-

* Burnet, p. 381. † Rapin, p. 406.

come

come neſts of proſtitution (ſays *Burnet**,) and the ſtage was defiled beyond example; the king, queen, and courtiers, went about in maſks, and came into citizen's houſes unknown, where they danced with a great deal of wild frolic, and committed indecencies not to be mentioned. They were carried about in hackney chairs, and none could diſtinguiſh them except thoſe who were in the ſecret. Once the queen's chairman, not knowing who ſhe was, left her to come home in a hackney coach, ſome ſay in a cart. *Buckingham*, who gloried in his debaucheries, and *Wilmot* earl of *Rocheſter*, the greateſt wit and libertine of his age, were the principal favourites. To ſupport theſe extravagances the houſe of commons ſupplied the king with what money he wanted, and were themſelves ſo mercenary, that the purchaſe of every man's vote was known; for as a man roſe in credit in the houſe, he advanced his price, and expected to be treated accordingly.

The univerſity was no leſs corrupt, there was a general licentiouſneſs of manners among the ſtudents; the ſermons of the younger divines were filled with encomiums upon the church, and ſatires againſt the non-conformiſts; the evangelical doctrines of repentance, faith, charity, and practical religion, were unfaſhionable. The ſpeeches and panegyricks pronounced by the *orators* and *terræ filius*, on publick occaſions, were ſcurrilous, and little leſs than blaſphemous; as appears by the letter in the margin from Mr. *Wallis*, to the honourable *Robert Boyle*, Eſq.† of the proceedings at the opening

* Burnet, p. 267, 386. Rapin, p. 652.

† *A letter from Mr.* John Wallis *to the Honourable* Robert Boyle, *Eſq*; *SIR, dated from Oxford, July* 17, 1669.

AFTER my humble thanks for the honour of yours of July 3, I thought it not unfit to give you ſome account of our late proceedings here. Friday, July 9, was the dedication of our new theatre. In the morning was held a convocaton in it, for entering upon the poſſeſſion of it; wherein was read, firſt the archbiſhop's inſtrument of donation (ſealed with his archiepiſcopal ſeal) of the theatre, with all its furniture, to the end that St. Mary's church may not be further profaned by holding the act in it. Next a letter of his, declaring his intention to lay out 2000l. for a purchaſe to endow it. Then a letter of thanks to be ſent from the univerſity to him, wherein he is acknowledged to be both our *creator* and *redeemer*, for having not only built a theatre for the act, but, which is more, *delivered the bleſſed Virgin from being ſo profaned for the future:* He doth (as the words of the letter

opening of archbiſhop *Sheldon*'s theatre, which is copied *verbatim* from the original under his own hand.

letter are) *non tantum condere, hoc eſt creare, ſed etiam redimere.* Theſe words (I confeſs) ſtopped my mouth from giving a *placet* to that letter when it was put to the vote. I have ſince deſired Mr. *Vicechancellor* to conſider, whether they were not liable to a juſt exception. He did at firſt excuſe it; but, upon further thoughts, I ſuppoſe he will think fit to alter them, before the letter be ſent and regiſtered. After the voting of this letter, Dr. *South* (as univerſity orator) made a long oration; the firſt part of which conſiſted of ſatyrical invectives againſt *Cromwell*, fanaticks, the royal ſociety, and new philoſophy. The next of encomiaſticks; in praiſe of the archbiſhop, the theatre, the vicechancellor, the architect, and the painter. The laſt of execrations; againſt fanaticks, conventicles, comprehenſion, and new philoſophy; damning them *ad inferos, ad gehennam.* The oration being ended, ſome honorary degrees were conferred, and the convocation diſſolved. The afternoon was ſpent in panegyrick orations, and reciting of poems in ſeveral ſorts of verſe, compoſed in praiſe of the archbiſhop, the theatre, &c. and crying down fanaticks. The whole action began and ended with a noiſe of trumpets; and twice was interpoſed variety of muſic, vocal and inſtrumental; purpoſely compoſed for this occaſion. On *Saturday* and *Monday*, thoſe exerciſes appertaining to the act and veſpers, which were wont to be performed in St. Mary's church, were had in the theatre. In which, beſide the number of proceeding doctors (nine in divinity, four in law, five in phyſick, and one in muſick) there was little extraordinary; but only that the *terræ filius* for both days were abominably ſcurrilous; and ſo ſuffered to proceed without the leaſt check or interruption from vicechancellor, pro-vicechancellors, proctors, curators, or any of thoſe who were to govern the exerciſes; which gave ſo general offence to all honeſt ſpectators, that I believe the univerſity hath thereby loſt more reputation than they have gained by all the reſt; all or moſt of the heads of houſes, and eminent perſons in the univerſity, with their relations, being repreſented as a company of whore-maſters, whores, and dunces. And, among the reſt, the excellent lady, which your letter mentions, was, in the broadeſt language, repreſented as guilty of thoſe crimes, of which (if there were occaſion) you would not ſtick to be her compurgator; and (if it had been ſo) ſhe might (yet) have been called *whore* in much more civil language. During this ſolemnity (and for ſome days before and ſince) have been conſtantly acted (by the vicechancellor's allowance) two ſtage plays in a day (by thoſe of the Duke of York's houſe) at a theatre erected for that purpoſe at the town-hall; which (for ought I hear) was much the more innocent theatre of the two. It hath been here a common fame for divers weeks (before, at, and ſince the act) that the vicechancellor had given 300l. bond (ſome ſay 500l. bond) to the *terræ filius*, to ſave them harmleſs, whatever they ſhould ſay, provided it were neither blaſphemy nor treaſon. But this I take to be a ſlander. A leſs encouragement would ſerve the turn with ſuch perſons. Since the act (to ſatisfy the common clamour) the vicechancellor hath impriſoned both of them; and it is ſaid, he means to expel them. I am, *Sir*,

Your honour's very humble and affectionate Servant,

JOHN WALLIS.

About

About this time died the reverend Mr. *Matthew Newcomen*, M. A. the ejected miniſter of Dedham in Eſſex; he was educated in St. John's college, Cambridge, and ſucceeded the famous Mr. *John Rogers*. He was a moſt accompliſhed ſcholar and chriſtian, a member of the aſſembly of divines, and together with Dr. *Arrowſmith* and *Tuckney*, drew up their catechiſm.* He was one of the commiſſioners of the Savoy, and had many offers of preferment in the late times, but would not deſert his church at Dedham, till he was diſplaced by the act of uniformity; after which he retired to Holland, and became paſtor of the Engliſh church at Leyden, where he died about this time, univerſally lamented by the profeſſors, for his humble and pleaſant converſation, as well as his univerſal learning and piety§.

Mr. *Joſeph Allein*, the ejected miniſter† of Taunton, and author of the *Call to the unconverted*, was born at the Devizes in Wiltſhire, and educated in Lincoln college, Oxon. He was publick preacher in the church of Taunton about ſeven years, and was univerſally beloved for his great piety and devotion. After his ejectment, he preached as he had opportunity ſix or ſeven times a week. May 26, 1663, he was committed to Ilcheſter gaol, for ſinging pſalms in his own houſe, and preaching to his family, others being preſent: here he continued a year, but upon his enlargement he returned again to his work, which he followed with unwearied diligence. July 10, 1665, he was committed a ſecond time to gaol with ſeveral other miniſters, and forty private perſons, where he contracted ſuch diſtempers and weakneſſes as brought him to his grave, before he was thirty-ſix years of age.‡ He was an awakening, lively preacher, zealous and ſucceſsful in his

* I have by me a copy of Mr. *Neal*'s Hiſtory, which was formerly the property of the Rev. *John Waldron*, a diſſenting miniſter in Exeter, who has written in the margin, here, this note. "I have been aſſured by Mr. "*Edward Parr*, an ejected miniſter, who lived with Dr. *Gouge*, that *he* "drew up the catechiſm. J. W." Ed.

§ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 294. Palmer's Non-conformiſts' Memorial, vol. i. p. 503.

† To ſpeak with accuracy, Mr. *Allein* was only aſſiſtant to Mr. *George Newton* the miniſter of Taunton. Dr. Grey. Ed.

‡ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 574. Palmer, vol. ii. p. 377.

maſter's

maſter's work, and withal of a peaceable and quiet ſpirit. He died in the year 1668 or 69.

The tide in the houſe of commons ſtill run very ſtrong on the ſide of perſecution, as appears by two extraordinary clauſes added to the conventicle act, which, having expired ſome time ſince, was now revived by the parliament which met October 19. The court went into it with a view of reducing the preſbyterians to the neceſſity of petitioning for a *general toleration*. "If we would have opened the door to let in "popery (ſays Mr. *Baxter**) that *their toleration* might have "been charged upon us, as done for our ſakes, and by our "procurement, we might in all likelihood have had our part "in it; but I ſhall never be one of them who, by any new "preſſures, ſhall conſent to petition for the papiſt's liberty; "no craft of jeſuits or prelates ſhall make me believe, that "it is neceſſary for the non-conformiſts to take this odium "upon themſelves."§ The court biſhops were for the bill, but the moderate clergy were againſt it. Biſhop *Wilkins* ſpoke againſt it in the houſe; and when the king deſired him in private to be quiet, he replied, that he thought it an ill thing both in conſcience and policy, therefore as he was an Engliſhman, and a biſhop, he was bound to oppoſe it; and ſince by the laws and conſtitution of England, and by his majeſty's favour, he had a right to debate and vote, he was neither afraid nor aſhamed to own his opinion in that matter. However, the bill paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent April 11, 1670.† It was to the following effect; "that if any perſons upwards of ſixteen years ſhall be pre-"ſent at any aſſembly, conventicle or meeting, under colour "or pretence of any exerciſe of religion, in any other manner "than according to the liturgy and practice of the church of "England, where there are five perſons or more preſent, be-"ſides thoſe of the ſaid houſhold, in ſuch caſes the offender "ſhall pay five ſhillings for the firſt offence, and ten ſhil-"lings for the ſecond. And the preachers or teachers in "any ſuch meetings ſhall forfeit twenty pounds for the firſt "and forty for the ſecond offence. And laſtly, thoſe who "knowingly ſuffer any ſuch conventicles in their houſes,

* Part iii. p. 36. § Burnet, vol. i. p. 400. † Rapin, p. 655.

"barns,

" barns, yards, &c, ſhall forfeit twenty pounds. Any juſ-
" tice of peace, on the oath of two witneſſes, or any other
" ſufficient proof, may record the offence under his hand and
" ſeal, which record ſhall be taken in law for a full and per-
" fect conviction, and ſhall be certified at the next quarter
" ſeſſions. The fines above-mentioned may be levied by
" diſtreſs and ſale of the offender's goods and chattels, and
" in caſe of the poverty of ſuch offender, upon the goods
" and chattels of any other perſon or perſons, that ſhall be
" convicted of having been preſent at the ſaid conventicle,
" at the diſcretion of the juſtice of peace, ſo as the ſum to be
" levied on any one perſon, in caſe of the poverty of others,
" do not amount to above ten pounds for any one meeting:
" the conſtables, headboroughs, &c. are to levy the ſame by
" warrant from the juſtice, and to be divided, one third for
" the uſe of the king, another third for the poor, and *the*
" *other third to the informer or his aſſiſtants, regard being had*
" *to their diligence and induſtry in diſcovering, diſperſing, and*
" *puniſhing the ſaid conventicles.* The fines upon miniſters
" for preaching are to be levied alſo by diſtreſs; and in caſe
" of poverty, upon the goods and chattels of any other
" preſent; and the like upon the houſe where the conven-
" ticle is held, and the money to be divided as above.

" And it is further enacted, that the juſtice or juſtices of
" peace, conſtables, headboroughs, &c. may by warrant, with
" what aid, force and aſſiſtance they ſhall think neceſſary,
" break open, and enter into any houſe or place where they
" ſhall be informed of the conventicle, and take the perſons
" ſo aſſembled into cuſtody.—And the lieutenants, or other
" commiſſioned officers of the militia, may get together ſuch
" force and aſſiſtance as they think neceſſary, to diſſolve, diſſi-
" pate, and diſperſe ſuch unlawful meetings, and take the per-
" ſons into cuſtody." Then follow two extraordinary clauſes:
" That if any juſtice of peace refuſe to do his duty in the ex-
" ecution of this act, he ſhall forfeit five pounds.

" And be it further enacted, that all clauſes in this act
" *ſhall be conſtrued moſt largely and beneficially for the ſuppreſ-*
" *ſing conventicles, and for the juſtification and encouragement*
" *of all perſons to be employed in the execution thereof.* No war
" rant or *mittimus* ſhall be made void, or reverſed, for any

" default

" default in the form; and if a perſon fly from one county or " corporation to another, his goods and chattels ſhall be " ſeizeable wherever they are found. If the party offending " be a wife cohabiting with her huſband, the fine ſhall be " levied on the goods and chattels of the huſbnad, provided " the proſecution be within three months."

The wit of man could hardly invent any thing ſhort of capital puniſhment, more cruel and inhuman.* One would have thought a prince of ſo much clemency as *Charles* II. who had often declared againſt perſecution, ſhould not have conſented to it, and that no chriſtian biſhop ſhould have concurred in the paſſing it. Men's houſes are to be plundered, their perſons impriſoned, their goods and chattels carried away, and ſold to thoſe who would bid for them. Encouragement is given to a vile ſet of *informers*, and others, to live upon the labour and induſtry of their conſcientious neighbours.† Multitudes of theſe *infamous wretches* ſpent their profits in ill houſes, and upon lewd women, and then went about the ſtreets again to hunt for further prey. The law is to be conſtrued in their favour, and the power to be lodged in the hand of every individual juſtice of peace, who is to be fined five pounds if he refuſes his warrant. Upon this, many honeſt men, who would not be the inſtruments of ſuch ſeverities, quitted the bench. Mr. *Eachard*, being aſhamed to aſcribe theſe cruelties to the influence of the biſhops, ſays, " that this and all the penal laws made againſt " the diſſenters were the *acts of the parliament*, and not of the " *church*, and were made more on a civil and political, than " upon a moral or religious account; and always upon ſome " freſh provocation in reality or appearance." This is the

* This iniquitous law, by the power with which it inveſted a ſingle juſtice, deſtroyed the bulwark of Engliſh liberty, the *trial by jury*. It puniſhed the innocent for the guilty, by ſubjecting the huſband to a penalty for the conduct of the wife, and the goods of any perſon preſent to fines, which other offenders were incompetent to diſcharge. The mode of conviction was clandeſtine. Its natural tendency was to influence magiſtrates to partiality in judgement, and to reverſe the ſcriptural qualification for magiſtracy to the encouragement of evil doers, and the puniſhment of thoſe who do well; by the fines it impoſed on juſtices and on officers, and by the ſanction it gave to informers. Gough's Hiſtory of the Quakers, vol. ii. p. 298, 99. Ed.

† Burnet, p. 398.

language

language by which the patrons of high-church cruelty endeavour to excuſe themſelves from the guilt of perſecution; but it muſt fall ſomewhere; and that it may not fall too heavy upon the church, it is artfully, and with great good manners, caſt *entirely upon the legiſlature*, and put upon the ſcore of ſedition, whereas it was well known the diſſenters behaved peaceably, and were very far from diſturbing the ſtate. Nor does the preamble to the act charge them with diſloyalty, but only ſays, "that for the providing ſpeedy remedies "againſt the practice of ſeditious ſectaries, and others, who "under pretence of tender conſciences, have or *may* at their "meetings contrive inſurrections,* be it enacted, *&c.*" as if it was poſſible to do this in the company of women and ſervants, who were always preſent in their aſſemblies. It is therefore evident, that the act was levelled purely againſt liberty of conſcience, and was ſo ſeverely executed, that (as Sir *Harry Capel* obſerves) there was hardly a conventicle to be heard of all over England. The two houſes (ſays our church hiſtorian,†) were expreſs for the execution of theſe laws; the biſhops and clergy were ſincerely zealous in it, and the honeſt juſtices and magiſtrates (as he calls them) bore the more hard upon them, becauſe they ſaw them ſo bold in deſpiſing and evading the juſtice of the nation.

Great numbers were proſecuted on this act, and many induſtrious families reduced to poverty. Many miniſters were confined in gaols and cloſe priſons; and warrants were iſſued out againſt them and their hearers, whereby great ſums of money were levied. In the dioceſe of Saliſbury the perſe-

* "Theſe words, *as late experience has ſhewn*, were ſlily omitted," ſays Dr. *Grey*, who adds, "Here he (Mr. *Neal*) injuriouſly lays the blame upon "the biſhops, as if the king and the two houſes were wholly under their "direction and influence; and treats Mr. Archdeacon *Eachard* not over-"civilly for being of a contrary opinion." The firſt cenſure in this paragraph is not very civil in Dr. *Grey*; nor does it appear well grounded, ſince Mr. *Neal* has inſerted ſo much of the paragraph as *charges* the ſectaries with *having* contrived inſurrections. Nor does Mr. *Neal* lay the *whole blame* upon the biſhops, for he ſays, "the two houſes were for the execution of "theſe laws:" though, it is true, indeed, he is not willing that the guilt ſhould be caſt *entirely upon the legiſlature*; for "the biſhops and clergy "were ſincerely zealous in this buſineſs of perſecution." Ed.

† Page 286.

cution

cution was hotteſt, by the inſtigation of biſhop *Ward*; many hundreds being purſued with great induſtry, and driven from their families and trades.‖ The act was executed with ſuch ſeverity in *Starling*'s mayorality, that many of the trading men in the city were removing with their effects to Holland, till the king put a ſtop to it. *Informers* were every where at work, and having crept into religious aſſemblies in diſguiſe, levied great ſums of money upon miniſters and people. Soldiers broke into the houſes of honeſt farmers, under pretence of ſearching for conventicles, and where ready money was wanting, they plundered their goods, drove away their cattle, and ſold them for half price. Many were plundered of their houſhold furniture; the ſick had their beds taken from under them, and themſelves laid on the floor. Should I ſum up all the particulars, and the accounts I have received (ſays Mr. *Sewel*†) it would make a volume of itſelf. Theſe vile creatures were not only encouraged, but puſhed on vehemently by their *ſpiritual guides*; for this purpoſe archbiſhop *Sheldon* ſent another circular letter to all the biſhops in his province, dated May 7, 1670, in which he directs all eccleſiaſtical judges and officers, "to take notice of all non-"conformiſts, holders, frequenters, maintainers, and abettors "of conventicles, eſpecially of the preachers or teachers in "them, and of the places wherein they are held; ever keeping a more watchful eye over the cities and greater towns, "from whence the miſchief is for the moſt part derived unto "the leſſer villages and hamlets. And whereſoever they "find ſuch wilful offenders, that then with an hearty affection to the worſhip of God, the honour of the king and "his laws, and the peace of the church and kingdom, they "do addreſs themſelves to the civil magiſtrate, juſtices, and "others concerned, imploring their help and aſſiſtance for "preventing and ſuppreſſing the ſame, according to the late "act in that behalf made and ſet forth.—And now, my lord, "what the ſucceſs will be we muſt leave to God Almighty; "yet, my lord, I have this confidence under God, that if we "do our parts now at firſt ſeriouſly, *by God's help, and the*

‖ Calamy's Abridgement, vol. i. p. 332. § Burnet, p. 398.

† Sewel, p. 493.

"*aſſiſtance*

" *aſſiſtance of the civil power, conſidering the abundant care and* " *proviſion the act contains for our advantage*, we ſhall in a few " months ſee ſo great an alteration in the diſtractions of theſe " times, as that the ſeduced people returning from their ſe- " ditious and ſelf-ſeeking teachers to the unity of the church, " and uniformity of God's worſhip, it will be to the Glory " of God, the welfare of the church, the praiſe of his ma- " jeſty and government, and the happineſs of the whole " kingdom." Can this be the language of a chriſtian and proteſtant biſhop; or is it not more like a father of the inquiſition, or the dragooning commiſſion of *Lewis* XIV. when he revoked the edict of Nantz?‡

Copies of this letter were ſent by the archdeacons to the officers of the ſeveral pariſhes within their juriſdictions, earneſtly exhorting them to take eſpecial care, to perform whatſoever is therein required, and to give an account at the next viſitation. Many of the biſhops choſe to lie behind the curtain, and throw off the odium from themſelves to the *civil magiſtrate*; but ſome of the more zealous could not forbear appearing in perſon, as biſhop *Ward*, already mentioned, and biſhop *Gunning*,‖ who often diſturbed the *meetings* in perſon; once finding the doors ſhut, he ordered the conſtable to break them open with a ſledge; another time he ſat upon the bench at the quarter-ſeſſions, upon which the chairman deſired his lordſhip to give the *charge*, which he refuſing, received a very handſome rebuke; it being hardly conſiſtent with one that is an ambaſſador of the prince of peace, to ſet in judgement upon the conſciences of his poor countrymen and neighbours, in order to plunder and tear them to pieces.§ The biſhop was ſo zealous in the cauſe, that he ſunk his cha-

‡ Calamy's Abridg. vol. i. p. 328.

‖ *Henſhaw*, the biſhop of Peterborough, declared publickly in the church at Rowel, after he had commanded the officers to put this act in execution, " Againſt all fanaticks it hath done its buſineſs, except the quakers; but " when the parliament ſits again, a ſtronger law will be made, not only to " take away their lands and goods, but alſo to ſell them for bond ſlaves." On this Mr. *Gough* properly aſks, " Who can acquit the church ſo called of " their ſhare in the perſecution, when the rulers thereof were ſo intemper- " ately warm and active in it, and ſtill inſatiate with all theſe ſeverities, in- " humanly planning more and greater." Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 303. ED.

§ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 692.

racter by giving a public challenge to the *preſbyterians*, *independants*, *anabaptiſts*, and *quakers*, and appointed three days for the diſputation; on the firſt of which his lordſhip went into the pulpit in the church, where was a conſiderable congregation, and charged the former with ſedition and rebellion out of their books, but would hear no reply.* When the day came to diſpute with the *quakers*, they ſummoned their friends, and when the biſhop railed, they paid him in his own coin; and followed him to his very houſe with repeated ſhouts, *the hireling flieth.*

The non-conformiſt miniſters did what they could to keep themſelves within the compaſs of the law; they preached frequently twice a day in large families, with only four ſtrangers, and as many under the age of ſixteen as would come; and at other times, in places where people might hear in ſeveral adjoining houſes; but after all, infinite miſchiefs enſued, families were impoveriſhed and divided; friendſhip between neighbours was interrupted; there was a general diſtruſt and jealouſy of each other; and ſometimes upon little quarrels, ſervants would betray their maſters, and throw their affairs into diſtraction. Among others that ſuffered at this time was Dr. *Manton*, who was apprehended on a Lord's day in the afternoon, juſt as he had done ſermon, the door being opened to let a gentleman out, the juſtice and his attendants ruſhed in and went up ſtairs; they ſtayed till the doctor had ended his prayer, and then wrote down the names of the principal perſons preſent, and took the doctor's promiſe to come to them at an houſe in the piazza's of Covent-garden, where they tendered him the Oxford oath, upon his refuſal of which, he was committed priſoner to the Gate-houſe; where he continued till he was releaſed by the *indulgence.* At another time his meeting-houſe in White-Hart Yard was broken up; the *place* was fined forty pounds, and the *miniſter* twenty, which was paid by lord *Wharton*, who was then preſent: They alſo took down the names of the hearers, for the benefit of the juſtices of peace and ſpiritual courts.

The behaviour of the quakers was very extraordinary, and had ſomething in it that looked like the ſpirit of martyrdom.† They met at the ſame place and hour as in times of

* Calamy's Abridg. vol. ii. p. 334. † Burnet, p. 398.

liberty,

liberty, and when the officers came to ſeize them, none of them would ſtir; they went all together to priſon; they ſtayed there till they were diſmiſſed, for they would not petition to be ſet at liberty, nor pay the fines ſet upon them, nor ſo much as the priſon fees. When they were diſcharged, they went to their meeting-houſe again, as before; and when the doors were ſhut up by order, they aſſembled in great numbers in the ſtreet before the doors, ſaying, they would not be aſhamed, nor afraid to diſown their meeting together in a peaceable manner to worſhip God; but in imitation of the prophet *Daniel*, they would do it more publickly, becauſe they were forbid. Some called this obſtinacy, others firmneſs; but by it they carried their point, the government being weary of contending againſt ſo much perverſeneſs.†

On the firſt of September, 1670, two of their principal ſpeakers, *Wm. Penn* and *Wm. Mead*, were tried at the Old-Bailey, for an unlawful and tumultuous aſſembly in the open ſtreet, wherein they ſpake or preached to the people, who were aſſembled in Grace-church-ſtreet, to the number of three or four hundred, in contempt of the king's laws, and to the diſturbance of the peace. The priſoners pleaded *not-guilty*, but met with ſome of the ſevereſt uſage that has been known in an *Engliſh* court of juſtice. They were fined forty marks a-piece for coming into court with their hats on, though it was not done out of contempt, but from a principle of their religion. It appeared by the witneſſes, that there was an aſſembly in Grace-church-ſtreet, but there was neither riot, nor tumult, nor force of arms. Mr. *Penn* confeſſed they were ſo far from recanting, or declining to vindicate the aſſembling themſelves to preach, pray, or worſhip the eternal, holy, juſt

† A reſpectable member of the ſociety of *quakers* has remarked, with propriety and force, on this language of biſhop *Burnet*; "that had he concluded with the word *perſeverance* inſtead of *perverſeneſs*, his deſcription had been *leſs* objectionable, as being nearer the truth. The prejudice diſcovered by that dignified prelate againſt this people tarniſhed his reputation as a *faithful* hiſtorian, and as a man; as a *true ſon of the church*, it is not much to be wondered at, when it is conſidered that they, rejecting its honours and its revenues, ſtruck at the *root* of the hierarchy: whilſt other diſſenters, in general, contending chiefly about rites and ceremonies, manifeſted little or no objection to that *grand ſupport*, pecuniary emolument; as their practice in common, particularly during the interregnum, inconteſtibly proved." A Letter to the Editor. Ed.

God,

God, that they declared to all the world, they believed it to be their duty, and that all the powers on earth ſhould not be able to divert them from it. When it was ſaid, they were not arraigned for worſhipping God, but for breaking the law, *William Penn* affirmed he had broken no law, and challenged the *recorder* to tell him upon what law he was proſecuted. The recorder anſwered, upon the *common law*, but could not tell where that common law was to be found. *Penn* inſiſted upon his producing the law, but the court overruled him, and called him a troubleſome fellow. *Penn* replied, "I deſign no affront to the court, but if you deny "to acquaint me with the law you ſay I have broken, you "deny me the right that is due to every Engliſhman, and "evidence to the whole world that your deſigns are arbi-"trary." Upon which he was haled from the bar into the *bail-dock*. As he was going out, he ſaid to the jury, "If "theſe fundamental laws which relate to liberty and pro-"perty muſt not be indiſpenſably maintained, who can ſay "he has a right to the coat upon his back? Certainly then "our liberties are openly to be invaded, our wives to be ra-"viſhed, our children enſlaved, and our eſtates led away in "triumph, by every ſturdy beggar and malicious informer, "as their trophies."

William Mead, being left alone at the bar, ſaid, "You "men of the jury, I am accuſed of meeting by *force of arms*, "in a tumultuous manner.—Time was when I had freedom "to uſe a carnal weapon, and then I feared no man; but "now I fear the living God, and dare not make uſe thereof, "nor hurt any man. I am a peaceable man, and therefore "demand to know upon what law my indictment is founded; "if the recorder will not tell what makes a riot, *Coke* will "tell him, that it is when three or more are met together "to beat a man, or to enter forcibly into another man's "lands, to cut his graſs or wood, or break down his pales." Upon this the recorder, having loſt all patience, pulled off his hat, and ſaid, I thank you, ſir, for telling me what the law is. *Mead* replied, thou mayeſt put on thy hat, I have no fee for thee now. The mayor *Starling* told him, he deſerved to have his tongue cut out, and ordered him likewiſe to be carried to the *bail-dock*.

When

When the priſoners were gone, the recorder gave the jury their charge, upon which *William Penn* ſtood up, and with a loud voice ſaid, "I appeal to the jury, and this great "aſſembly, whether it be not contrary to the undoubted "right of every Engliſhman, to give the jury their charge "in the abſence of the priſoners?" The recorder anſwered with a ſneer, Ye are preſent, ye do hear, do ye not? *Penn* anſwered, No thanks to the court; I have ten or twelve material points to offer in order to invalidate the indictment, but am not heard. The recorder ſaid, *Pull him down*; *Pull the fellow down*. *Mead* replied, theſe were barbarous and unjuſt proceedings; and then they were both thruſt into the hole.

After the jury had withdrawn an hour and half, the priſoners were brought to the bar to hear their verdict; eight of them came down agreed, but four remained above, to whom they uſed many unworthy threats, and in particular to Mr. *Buſhel*, whom they charged with being the cauſe of the diſagreement. At length, after withdrawing a ſecond time, they agreed to bring them in *guilty of ſpeaking in Grace-Church-ſtreet*; which the court would not accept for a verdict, but after many menaces told them, they ſhould be locked up without meat, drink, fire, or tobacco; nay, they ſhould ſtarve, unleſs they brought in a proper verdict. *William Penn* being at the bar, ſaid, "My jury ought not to be thus "threatened. We were by force of arms kept out of our "meeting-houſe, and met as near it as the ſoldiers would "give us leave. We are a peaceable people, and cannot "offer violence to any man. And looking upon the jury, "he ſaid, *You are Engliſhmen, mind your privilege, give not "away your right.*" To which ſome of them anſwered, *Nor will we ever do it.* Upon this they were ſhut up all night without victuals or fire, or ſo much as a chamber-pot, though deſired. Next morning they brought in the ſame verdict; upon which they were threatened with the utmoſt reſentments. The mayor ſaid, *he would cut* Buſhel's *throat as ſoon as he could.* The recorder ſaid, *he never knew the benefit of an inquiſition till now; and that the next ſeſſions of parliament a law would be made wherein thoſe that would not conform*

conform ſhould not have the benefit of the law.† The court having obliged the jury to withdraw again, they were kept without meat and drink till next morning, when they brought in the priſoners *not guilty*; for which they were fined forty marks a man, and to be impriſoned till paid. The priſoners were alſo remanded to Newgate for their fines in not pulling off their hats.* The jury, after ſome time, were diſcharged by *habeas corpas* returnable in the *common pleas*, where their commitment was judged illegal. This was a noble ſtand for the liberty of the ſubject in very dangerous times, when neither law nor equity availed any thing. The conventicle act was made to encourage proſecutions; and a narrative was publiſhed next year, of the oppreſſions of many honeſt people in Devonſhire, and other parts, by the informers and juſtices; but the courts of juſtice outran the law itſelf.

Hitherto the king and parliament had agreed pretty well, by means of the large ſupplies of money the parliament had given to ſupport his majeſty's pleaſures; but now having aſſurance of large remittances from France, his majeſty re-

† The ſpeech of the recorder, it appears by a quotation from the "State "Trials" in a late publication, was fuller and ſtronger than Mr. *Neal's* abridged form repreſents it. "Till now," ſaid this advocate for arbitrary power, "I never underſtood the reaſon of the policy and prudence of the "Spaniards in ſuffering the inquiſition among them, and certainly it will "*never be well with us* till ſomething like the Spaniſh inquiſition be in "England." Stuart's Peace and Reform againſt War and Corruption, p. 63, note; and Gough's Hiſtory of the Quakers, vol. ii. p. 336. Ed.

* The priſoners excepted to this fine, as being arbitrarily impoſed, in violation of the great charter of England, which ſaith; "No man ought to be "amerced, but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage." The name of the judge, before whom the caſe of the jury was ſolemnly argued in the court of *common pleas*, and by whom it was judged illegal, was Sir *John Vaughan*, then chief juſtice: a name which deſerves to be mentioned in this connection, with peculiar reſpect, and to be perpetuated by Engliſhmen with gratitude. For this adjudication confirmed in the ſtrongeſt manner the rights of juries, and ſecured them from the attack of arbitrary and unprincipled judges. Sir *John Vaughan* was a man of excellent parts, and not only verſed in all the knowledge requiſite to make a figure in his profeſſion, but he was alſo a very conſiderable maſter of the politer kinds of learning. He was the intimate friend of the great *Selden*, and was buried in the Temple church, as near as poſſible to his remains. He died in 1674. His ſon publiſhed his Reports, in which is the above caſe. Gough, vol. ii. p. 336. Britiſh Biography, vol. vii. p. 130, 31; and Granger's Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 369. Ed.

ſolved

ſolved to govern by the prerogative, and ſtand upon his own legs.‖ His prime counſellors were lord *Clifford*, *Anthony Aſhley Cooper*, afterwards lord *Shafteſbury*, the duke of *Buckingham*, earl of *Arlington*, and duke *Lauderdale*, who from the initial letters of their names were called the *CABAL*. Lord *Clifford* was an open papiſt, and the earl of *Arlington* a concealed one. *Buckingham* was a debauchee, and reputed a downright atheiſt; he was a man of great wit and parts, and of ſounder principles in the intereſts of humanity (ſays Mr. *Baxter*) than the reſt of the court. *Shafteſbury* had a vaſt genius, but, according to *Burnet*, at beſt was a deiſt; he had great knowledge of men and things, but would often change ſides as his intereſt directed. *Lauderdale* was a man of learning, and from an almoſt republican was become a perfect tool of the prerogative, and would offer at the moſt deſperate councils. He had ſcarcely any traces of religion remaining, though he called himſelf a preſbyterian, and had an averſion to king *Charles* I. to the laſt. By theſe five miniſters of ſtate the king and duke of *York* drove on their deſigns of introducing popery and arbitrary power; in order to which, a ſecret treaty was concluded with France; the triple alliance was broken, and a new war declared with the Dutch to deſtroy their commonwealth, as will be ſeen preſently. By this means the king had a plauſible pretence to keep up a ſtanding army, which might ſecure him in the exerciſe of an abſolute authority over his ſubjects, to ſet aſide the uſe of parliaments, and ſettle the Roman catholick religion in the three kingdoms. Theſe were the maxims the court purſued throughout the remaining part of this reign.

In the beginning of this year died Dr. *Anthony Tuckney*,‡ born in September 1599, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge. He was afterwards vicar of Boſton in Lincolnſhire,

‖ Eachard, p. 864. Rapin, p. 655.

‡ To what is ſaid concerning Dr. *Tuckney* by Mr. *Neal*, and before in the note to p. 115, vol. iii. it is proper to add two facts which are much to his honour. One is, that in his elections at St. John's, when the preſident, according to the language and ſpirit of the times, would call upon him to have regard to the *godly*, his anſwer was "no one ſhould have a greater "regard to the truely *godly* than himſelf; but he was determined to chooſe "non

ſhire, where he continued till he was called to ſet in the aſſembly of divines at Weſtminſter. In the year 1645, he was made maſter of his college, and in the year 1648, being choſen vice-chancellor, he removed to Cambridge with his family. He was afterwards maſter of St. John's, and *regius profeſſor*, which he held till the reſtoration, when the king ſent him a letter, deſiring him to reſign his profeſſorſhip, which if he did, his majeſty, in conſideration of the great pains and diligence of the ſaid doctor in the diſcharge of his duty, would oblige his ſucceſſor to give him ſufficient ſecurity in law, to pay him one hundred pounds a year during his natural life. Upon this notice the doctor immediately reſigned, and had his annuity paid him by Dr. *Gunning* who ſucceeded him. After the coming out of the *five mile act* he ſhifted about in ſeveral counties, and at laſt died in Spittle-yard, London, February 1669, in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age, leaving behind him the character of an eminently learned and pious man, an indefatigable ſtudent, a candid diſputant, and an earneſt promoter of truth and godlineſs.*

About the ſame time died Mr. *William Bridge*, M. A. the ejected miniſter of Yarmouth; he was ſtudent in Cambridge thirteen years, and fellow of Emanuel college. He afterwards ſettled in Norwich, where he was ſilenced by biſhop *Wren* for non-conformity, 1637. He was afterwards excommunicated; and when the writ *de excommunicato capiendo* came out againſt him he withdrew to Holland, and became paſtor to the Engliſh church at Rotterdam, where Mr. *Jer. Burroughs* was preacher. In 1642, he returned to England,

" none but ſcholars:" adding very wiſely, " they may deceive me in their " godlineſs; they cannot in their ſcholarſhip." The other fact is, that though he is ſaid to have had a great hand in compoſing the Confeſſion and Catechiſms of the aſſembly at Weſtminſter, and in particular drew up the expoſition of the commandments in the larger catechiſm; yet he voted againſt ſubſcribing or ſwearing to the confeſſion, &c. ſet out by authority. This conduct the more deſerves notice and commendation, becauſe the inſtances of a conſiſtent adherence to the principles of religious liberty among thoſe who were ſtruggling for liberty, were ſo few and rare in that age. In the year 1753, Dr. *Samuel Salter*, prebendary of Norwich, publiſhed a correſpondence between Dr. *Tuckney* and Dr. *Benjamin Whichcote*, on ſeveral very intereſting ſubjects. See Whichcote's Moral and Religious Aphoriſms, preface the ſecond, p. 15. ED.

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 77; or Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 205.

and

and was *one of the diſſenting brethren* in the aſſembly of divines. He was choſen after ſome time miniſter of Great Yarmouth, where he continued his labours till the *Bartholomew* act ejected him with his brethren.* He was a good ſcholar, and had a well-furniſhed library, was a hard ſtudent, and roſe every morning winter and ſummer at four of the clock. He was alſo a good preacher, a candid and charitable man, and did much good by his miniſtry.§ He died at Yarmouth, March 12, 1670, *ætat.* ſeventy.

While the proteſtant diſſenters were harraſſed in all parts of the kingdom, the Roman catholicks were at eaſe under the wing of the prerogative; there were few or no proceſſes againſt them, for they had the liberty of reſorting to maſs at the houſes of foreign ambaſſadors, and other chapels, both in town and country; nor did the biſhops complain of them in the houſe of lords, by which means they began in a few years to rival the proteſtants both in ſtrength and numbers. The commons repreſented the cauſes of this misfortune in an addreſs to the king, together with the remedies, which if the reader will carefully conſider, he will eaſily diſcover the different uſage of proteſtant non-conformiſts and popiſh recuſants.‡

The cauſes of the increaſe of popery, were, 1. The great number of jeſuits who were all over the kingdom. 2. The chapels in great towns for ſaying maſs, beſides ambaſſadors houſes, whither great numbers of his majeſty's ſubjects reſorted without controul. 3. The fraternities or convents of prieſts and jeſuits at St. James's, and in ſeveral parts of

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 478. Palmer, vol. ii. p. 208.

§ In *Peck*'s "Deſiderata Curioſa" is a letter of *William Bridge* to *Henry Scobel*, eſq; clerk of the council, about augmenting the income of preachers, with the names of the *independant* miniſters of prime note in the county of Norfolk. This ſhews that he was a leading man among the independants. Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 44. Dr. *Grey* imputes to Mr. *Bridge* a republican ſpirit, becauſe, in a ſermon before the commons, he ſaid, "The king muſt not only command according to God's "law, but man's laws; and if he don't ſo command, reſiſtance is not re-"ſiſtance of *power* but of *will*. To ſay, that ſuch reſiſtanſe muſt only be de-"fenſive, is nonſenſe; for ſo a man may be ever reſiſting, and never reſiſt." Grey, vol. i. p. 187.

‡ Rapin, vol. ii. p. 658

the

the kingdom, beſides their ſchools for the educating youth. 4. The publick ſale of popiſh catechiſms, &c. 5. The general remiſſneſs of magiſtrates, and other officers, in not convicting papiſts according to law. 6. Suſpected recuſants enjoying offices by themſelves or their deputies. 7. Preſentations to livings by popiſh recuſants, or by others as they direct. 8. Sending youth beyond ſea under tutors, to be educated in the popiſh religion. 9. The few *Exchequer proceſſes* that have been iſſued forth, though many have been certified thither. 10. The great inſolence of papiſts in Ireland, where archbiſhops and biſhops of the pope's creation appear publicly, maſs being ſaid openly in Dublin, and other parts of the kingdom.

The remedies which the houſe propoſed againſt theſe growing miſchiefs were,

1. That a proclamation be iſſued out to baniſh all popiſh prieſts and jeſuits out of the realm, except ſuch as attend the queen and foreign ambaſſadors. 2. That the king's ſubjects be forbid going to hear maſs and other exerciſes of the *romiſh* religion. 3. That no office or employment of public authority be put into the hands of popiſh recuſants. 4. That all fraternities, convents, and popiſh ſchools, be aboliſhed, and the jeſuits, prieſts, friars, and ſchool-maſters, puniſhed. 5. That his majeſty require all the officers of the Exchequer, to iſſue out *proceſſes* againſt popiſh recuſants convict, certified thither. 6. That *Plunket* the pretended primate of Ireland, and *Talbot* archbiſhop of Dublin, be ſent for into England, to anſwer ſuch matters as ſhould be objected againſt them.

The king promiſed to conſider the addreſs, but hoped they would allow him to diſtinguiſh between new *converts*, and thoſe who had been bred up in the popiſh religion, and ſerved him and his father in the late wars. After ſome time a proclamation was iſſued, in which his majeſty declares, that *he had always adhered to the true religion eſtabliſhed in this kingdom againſt all temptations whatſoever*; and that he would employ his utmoſt care and zeal in its defence. But the magiſtrates, knowing his majeſty's inclinations, took no care of the execution of it. Nay, the duke of York the king's brother, having lately loſt his ducheſs, lord *Clarendon*'s daughter,

daughter, who died a papiſt,* made a formal abjuration of the proteſtant religion at this time before father *Simon*, an Engliſh jeſuit, publicly declaring himſelf a Roman catholick; the reaſon of which was, that the preſent queen having no children, the papiſts gave the duke to underſtand, that they were capable to effect his majeſty's divorce, and to ſet aſide his ſucceſſion, by providing him with another queen, which they would certainly attempt, unleſs he would make an open profeſſion of the Roman catholick religion, which he did accordingly.

The houſe of commons was very laviſh of the nation's money this ſeſſion, for though there was no danger of an invaſion from abroad, they voted the king two millions and a half, with which his majeſty maintained a ſtanding army, and called the parliament no more together for almoſt two years. After the houſes were up, the *CABAL* began to proſecute their ſcheme of making the king abſolute; in order to which, beſides the two millions and a half granted by parliament, they received from France the ſum of ſeven hundred thouſand pounds in two years, which not being ſufficient to embark in a war with the Dutch, the king declared in council, by the advice of *Clifford*, that he was reſolved to *ſhut up the Exchequer*, wherein the bankers of London, (who had furniſhed the king with money on all occaſions at great intereſt) had lodged vaſt ſums of other people's caſh depoſited in their hands. By this means the bankers were obliged to make a ſtop, which interrupted the courſe of trade, and raiſed a great clamour over the whole kingdom. The king endeavoured to ſoften the *bankers*, by telling them

* This Dr. *Grey* is unwilling to admit, though he owns that Monſieur *Maimbourgh* publiſhed, in French, her declaration for renouncing the Proteſtant religion, and he quotes largely from Dr. *Richard Watſon*, a celebrated Engliſh divine, who publiſhed an anſwer to it. The amount of his defence of the ducheſs, as it appears in this quotation, is, that, when on account of her illneſs the worſhip of her oratory had been deſerted, it was renewed again by her order, and the doors of her chamber, which was adjoining to it, were opened that ſhe might hear the prayers; and that the biſhop of Oxford was ſent for to adminiſter the ſacrament to her. In oppoſition to this, which riſes to preſumptive evidence only, and in ſupport of Mr. *Neal*, it may be added; thar Sir *John Rereſby* ſays, that ſhe died "with her laſt breath declaring herſelf a Papiſt." Memoirs, p. 19. Ed.

it

it ſhould be only for a year, and that he would payt he arrears out of the next ſubſidies of parliament; but he was worſe than his word; ſo that great numbers of families and orphans were reduced to beggary, while the king gained about one million four hundred thouſand pounds.

A ſecond advance of the *CABAL* towards arbitrary power, was *to deſtroy the* Dutch *commonwealth*; for this purpoſe the triple alliance was to be broken, and pretences to be found out for quarrelling with that trading people. The earl of *Shateſbury* uſed this expreſſion in his ſpeech to the parliament for juſtifying the war, *Delenda eſt Carthago*, that is, *the* Dutch *commonwealth muſt be deſtroyed*; but an occaſion was wanting to juſtify it to the world. There had been a few ſcurrilous prints and medals ſtruck in *Holland*, reflecting on the king's amours, below the notice of the Engliſh court, which the Dutch however had cauſed to be deſtroyed. Complaints were alſo revived of the inſolence of the Dutch in the Eaſt-Indies, and of the neglect of ſtriking the flag in the natrow ſeas to the king's yacht, paſſing by the Dutch fleet. The *cabal* managed theſe complaints like men who were afraid of receiving ſatisfaction, or of giving the adverſary any umbrage to prepare for the ſtorm. The Dutch therefore, relying on the faith of treaties, purſued their traffic without fear; but when their rich Smyrna fleet of merchantmen, conſiſting of ſeventy-two ſail, under convoy of ſix men of war, paſſed by the Iſle of Wight, the Engliſh fleet fell upon them and took ſeveral of their ſhips, without any previous declaration of war; a breach of faith (ſays *Burnet*) which Mahometans and pirates would have been aſhamed of.*

Two days after the attempt upon the Smyrna fleet, the *cabal* made the third advance towards popery and abſolute power, by adviſing the king to ſuſpend the penal laws againſt all ſorts of non-conformiſts. It was now reſolved to ſet the diſſenters againſt the church, and to offer them the protection of the crown to make way for a general toleration. Lord *Shafteſbury* firſt propoſed it in council, which the majority readily complied with, provided the Roman catholicks might be included; but when the declaration was prepared, the lord keeper *Bridgman* refuſed to put the ſeal to it, as

* Vol. ii. p. 16. 12mo.

judging

judging it contrary to law, for which he was diſmiſſed, and the ſeals given to the earl of *Shafteſbury*, who maintained, that the indulgence was for the ſervice of the church of England.* "As for the church (ſays his lordſhip), I conceive "the *declaration* is extremely for their intereſt; for the nar- "row bottom they have placed themſelves upon, and the "meaſures they have proceeded by, ſo contrary to the pro- "perties and liberties of the nation, muſt needs in a ſhort "time prove fatal to them; whereas this leads them into "another way, to live peaceably with the diſſenting and dif- "ferent proteſtants, both at home and abroad;" which was true if both had not been undermined by the papiſts.† Archbiſhop *Sheldon*, *Morley*, and the reſt of their party, exclaimed loudly againſt the *indulgence*, and alarmed the whole nation, inſomuch that many ſober and good men, who had long feared the growth of popery, began to think their eyes were open, and that they were in good earneſt; but it appeared afterwards that their chief concern was for the *ſpiritual power;* for though they murmured againſt the *diſpenſing power*, they fell in with all their other proceedings; which, if Providence had not miraculouſly interpoſed, muſt haze been fatal to the proteſtant religion and the liberties of Europe.

At length the *declaration* having been communicated to the French king, and received his approbation, was publiſhed, bearing date March 15, 1671-2, to the following effect:‡

"CHARLES REX,

"OUR care and endeavours for the preſervation of "the rights and intereſts of the church, have been ſufficiently

* Hiſtory of the Stuarts, p. 566. † Des Maiz. Col. p. 677, &c.

‡ The biſhops took the alarm at this declaration: and charged their clergy to preach againſt popery. The pulpits were full of a new ſtrain: it was every where preached againſt, and the authority of the laws were magnified. The king complained to *Sheldon*, that controverſy was preached, as if on purpoſe to inflame the people, and alienate them from him and his government; and *Sheldon*, apprehenſive that the king might again preſs him on this ſubject, convened ſome of the clergy, to conſult with them what anſwer to make to his majeſty. Dr. *Tillotſon* ſuggeſted this reply: "That ſince the king himſelf profeſſed the proteſtant religion, it would be a "thing without a precedent, that he ſhould forbid his clergy to preach in "defence of a religion which they believed, while he himſelf ſaid he was "of it." Burnet's Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 17. 12mo. ed. and Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 41. ED.

"manifeſted

" manifeſted to the world, by the whole courſe of our go-
" vernment ſince our happy reſtoration, and by the many
" and frequent ways of *coercion* that we have uſed for re-
" ducing all erring or diſſenting perſons, and for compoſing
" the unhappy differences in matters of religion, which we
" found among our ſubjects upon our return; but it being
" evident by the ſad experience of twelve years, that there is
" very little fruit of all theſe forcible courſes, *we think our-*
" *ſelves obliged to make uſe of that ſupream power in eccleſiaſtical*
" *matters, which is not only inherent in us, but hath been de-*
" *clared and recogniſed to be ſo, by ſeveral ſtatutes and acts*
" *of parliament;* and therefore we do now accordingly iſſue
" this our declaration, as well for the quieting of our good
" ſubjects in theſe points, as for inviting ſtrangers in this
" conjuncture to come and live under us; and for the better
" encouragement of all to a chearful following of their trades
" and callings, from whence we hope, by the bleſſing of
" God, to have many good and happy advantages to our
" government; as alſo for preventing for the future the dan-
" ger that might otherwiſe ariſe from private meetings and
" ſeditious conventicles.

" And in the firſt place, we declare our expreſs reſolution,
" meaning and intention to be, that the church of England
" be preſerved, and remain entire in its doctrine, diſcipline
" and government, as now it ſtands eſtabliſhed by law; and
" that this be taken to be, as it is, the baſis, rule, and ſtand-
" ard of the general and publick worſhip of God, and that the
" orthodox conformable clergy do receive and enjoy the re-
" venues belonging thereunto, and that no perſon, though
" of a different opinion and perſuaſion, ſhall be exempt from
" paying his tithes, or other dues whatſoever. And farther
" we declare, that no perſon ſhall be capable of holding any
" benefice, living, or eccleſiaſtical dignity or preferment, of
" any kind, in this our kingdom of England, who is not ex-
" actly conformable.

" We do in the next place declare our will and pleaſure to
" be, that *the execution of all, and all manner of penal laws in*
" *matters eccleſiaſtical, againſt whatſoever ſort of non-confor-*
" *miſts or recuſants, be immediately ſuſpended, and they are*
" *hereby ſuſpended;* and all judges, judges of aſſize and gaol
" delivery,

" delivery, ſheriffs, juſtices of peace, mayors, bailiffs, and " other officers whatſoever, whether eccleſiaſtical or civil, " are to take notice of it, and pay due obedience thereto.

" And that there may be no pretence for any of our ſub- " jects to continue their illegal meetings and conventicles, " we do declare, that we ſhall from time to time allow a ſuf- " ficient number of places, as they ſhall be deſired, in all " parts of this our kingdom, for the uſe of ſuch as do not " conform to the church of England, to meet and aſſemble in " order to their publick worſhip and devotion, which places " ſhall be open and free to all perſons.

" But to prevent ſuch diſorders and inconveniencies as " may happen by this our indulgence, if not duly regulated; " and that they may be the better protected by the civil ma- " giſtrate; *our expreſs will and pleaſure is, that none of our " ſubjects do preſume to meet in any place, until ſuch places be " allowed, and the teacher of that congregation be approved " by us.*

" And leſt any ſhould apprehend that this reſtriction ſhould " make our ſaid allowance and approbation difficult to be ob- " tained, we do farther declare, that this our indulgence, as " to the allowance of the publick places of worſhip, and ap- " probation of the preachers, ſhall extend to all ſorts of *non- " conformiſts and recuſants, except the recuſants of the Roman " catholick religion*, to whom we ſhall in no wiſe allow publick " places of worſhip, but only indulge them their ſhare in the " common exemption from the penal laws, and the exerciſe " of their worſhip in their private houſes only.

" And if after this our clemency and indulgence, any of " our ſubjects ſhall pretend to abuſe this liberty, and ſhall " preach ſeditiouſly, or to the derogation of the doctrine, " diſcipline or government, of the eſtabliſhed church, or " ſhall meet in places not allowed by us, we do hereby give " them warning, and declare we will proceed againſt them " with all imaginable ſeverity. And we will let them ſee, " we can be as ſevere to puniſh ſuch offenders when ſo juſtly " provoked, as we are indulgent to truly tender conſciences."

Given at our court at Whitehall *this 15th day of* March, *in the four and twentieth year of our reign.*

The

The proteſtant non-conformiſts had no opinion of *the diſpenſing power*, and were not forward to accept of liberty in this way; they were ſenſible the indulgence was not granted out of love to them, nor would continue any longer, than it would ſerve the intereſt of popery. "The beginning of "the Dutch war (ſays one of their writers) made the court "think it neceſſary to grant them an indulgence, that there "might be peace at home while there was war abroad, "though much to the diſſatisfaction of thoſe who had a "hand in framing all the ſevere laws againſt them."* Many pamphlets were written for and againſt the diſſenters accepting it, becauſe it was grafted on the *diſpenſing power*. Some maintained, that it was ſetting up altar againſt altar, and that they ſhould accept of nothing but a *comprehenſion*. Others endeavoured to prove, that it was the duty of the preſbyterians to make uſe of the liberty granted them by the king, becauſe it was their natural right, which no legiſlative power upon earth had a right to deprive them of, as long as they remained dutiful ſubjects; that meeting in ſeparate congregations diſtinct from the parochial aſſemblies, in the preſent circumſtances, was neither ſchiſmatical nor ſinful.† Accordingly moſt of the miniſters, both in London and in the country, took out licences, a copy of which I have tranſcribed from under the king's own hand and ſeal in the margin.‡ Great numbers of people attended the meetings, and

* Baxter, part iii. p. 99. Welwood's Mem. p. 190.

† Welwood's Memoirs, p. 102.*

‡ CHARLES REX.

CHARLES by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c. To all mayors, bailiffs, conſtables, and others our officers and miniſters civil and military, whom it may concern, greeting. In purſuance of our declaration of the 15th of March 1671-2. We do hereby permit and licenſe *G. S.* —— of the congregational perſuaſion, to be a teacher of the congregation allowed by us, in a room or rooms of his houſe in —— for the uſe of ſuch as do not conform to the church of England, who are of that perſuaſion commonly called *congregational*, with further licence and permiſſion to him the ſaid *G. S.* —— to teach in any place licenſed aud allowed by us, according to our ſaid declaration.

Given at our court at Whitehall the ſecond day of May, in the 24th year of our reign 1672. By his majeſty's command,

Arlington.

* The editor cannot meet with theſe paſſages in *Welwood*'s Memoirs, 6th edition.

a cau-

a cautious and moderate addreſs of thanks was preſented to the king for their liberty, but all were afraid of the conſequences.

It was reported further, that the court encouraged the non-conformiſts, by ſome ſmall penſions of fifty and one hundred pounds to the chief of their party; that Mr. *Baxter* returned the money, but that Mr. *Pool* acknowledged he had received fifty pounds for two years, and that the reſt accepted it.* This was reported to the diſadvantage of the diſſenters by Dr. *Stillingfleet* and others, with an inſinuation that it was *to bribe them to be ſilent, and join intereſt with the papiſts;* but Dr. *Owen*, in anſwer to this part of the charge, in his preface to a book entitled *An Enquiry*, &c. againſt Dr. *Stillingfleet*, declares, that "it is ſuch a frontleſs malicious lye, as impudence itſelf would bluſh at; that, "however the diſſenters may be traduced, they are ready to "give the higheſt ſecurity that can be of their ſtability in the "proteſtant cauſe; and for myſelf (ſays he) never any perſon "in authority, dignity, or power in the nation, nor any "from them, papiſt or proteſtant, did ever ſpeak or adviſe "with me about any indulgence or toleration to be granted "to papiſts, and I challenge the whole world to prove the "contrary." From this indulgence Dr. *Stillingfleet* dates the beginning of the preſbyterian ſeparation.

This year died Dr. *Edmund Staunton*, the ejected miniſter of Kingſton-upon-Thames, one of the aſſembly of divines, and ſome time preſident of Corpus-Chriſti College in Oxford. He was ſon of Sir *Francis Staunton*, born at Wooburne in Bedfordſhire 1601, and educated in Wadham college, of which he was a fellow.† Upon his taking orders, he became miniſter of Buſhy in Hertfordſhire, but changed it afterwards for Kingſton-upon-Thames. In 1634 he took the degrees in divinity, and in 1648 was made preſident of Corpus-Chriſti college, which he kept till he was ſilenced for non-conformity. He then retired to Rickmanſworth in Hertfordſhire, and afterwards to a village in that county called

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 16, 17.

† Dr. *Staunton*, in 1615, became a commoner of Wadham college; on the 4th of October, in the ſame year, was admitted ſcholar of Corpus Chriſti college: and afterwards Fellow, and M. A. Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 352, and Dr. Grey. Ed.

Bovingden, where he preached as often as he had opportunity. He was a learned, pious, and peaceable divine. In his laſt ſickneſs he ſaid he neither feared death nor deſired life, but was willing to be at God's diſpoſal. He died July 14, 1671, and was buried in the church belonging to the pariſh.*

Mr. *Vavaſor Powel* was born in Radnorſhire, and educated in Jeſus college, Oxon. When he left the univerſity he preached up and down in Wales, till being driven from thence for want of preſbyterial ordination, which he ſcrupled, he came to London, and ſoon after ſettled at Dartford in Kent. In the year 1646 he obtained a teſtimonial of his religious and blameleſs converſation, and of his abilities for the work of the miniſtry, ſigned by Mr. *Herle* and ſeventeen of the aſſembly of divines. Furniſhed with theſe teſtimonials he returned to Wales, and became a moſt indefatigable and active inſtrument of propagating the goſpel in thoſe parts. There were few, if any, of the churches or chapels in Wales, in which he did not preach; yea, very often he preached to the *poor Welch* in the mountains, at fairs, and in market-places; for which he had no more than a ſtipend of one hundred pounds *per annum*, beſides the advantage of ſome ſequeſtered livings in North Wales, (ſays my author) which, in thoſe times of confuſion, turned but to a very poor account. Mr. *Powel* was a bold man, and of republican principles, preaching againſt the *protectorſhip of Cromwell*, and wrote letters to him, for which he was impriſoned, to prevent his ſpreading diſaffection in the ſtate. At the dawn of the reſtoration, being known to be a fifth monarchy man, he was ſecured firſt at Shrewſbury, afterwards in Wales, and at laſt in the Fleet. In the year 1662 he was ſhut up in South-Sea caſtle near Portſmouth, where he continued five years. In 1667 he was releaſed, but venturing to preach again in his own country, he was impriſoned at Cardiff, and in the year 1669 ſent up to London, and confined a priſoner in the Fleet, where he died, and was buried in Bunhill-fields, in the preſence of an innumerable croud of diſſenters, who attended him to his grave. He was of an unconquerable reſolution, and of a mind unſhaken under all his troubles. The inſcription on his tomb calls him, "A ſucceſsful teacher of the paſt,

* Calamy's Abridg. vol. ii. p. 63. Palmer's Non-con. Mem. vol. i. p. 173.

"a ſincere witneſs of the preſent, and an uſeful example to "the future age; who, in the defection of many, found mercy "to be faithful, for which being called to many priſons, he "was there tried, and would not accept deliverance, ex-"pecting a better reſurrection." He died October 27, 1671, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the eleventh year of his impriſonment.*

* To Mr. *Neal*'s account of Mr. *Vavaſor Powell* it may be added, that he was born in 1617, and deſcended from an antient and honourable ſtock: on his father's ſide, from the *Powells* of Knocklas in Radnorſhire; and on his mother's, from the *Vavaſors*, a family of great antiquity, that came out of Yorkſhire into Wales, and was related to the principal gentry in North Wales. So active and laborious was he in the duties of the miniſtry, that he frequently preached in two or three places in a day, and was ſeldom two days in the week, throughout the year, out of the pulpit. He would ſometimes ride an hundred miles in the week, and preach in every place where he could gain admittance, either by night or day. He would often alight from his horſe, and ſet on it any aged perſon whom he met with on the road on foot, and walk by the ſide for miles together. He was exceedingly hoſpitable and generous, and would not only entertain and lodge, but clothe the poor and aged. He was a man of great humility, very conſcientious and exemplary in all relative duties, and very punctual to his word. He was a ſcholar, and his general deportment was that of a gentleman. His ſentiments were thoſe of a *Sabbatarian Baptiſt*. In 1642, when he left Wales, there was not then above one or two gathered churches; but before the reſtoration, there were above twenty diſtinct ſocieties, conſiſting of from two to five hundred members, chiefly planted and formed by his care and induſtry, in the principles of the *Baptiſts*. They were alſo for the ordination of elders, ſinging of pſalms and hymns in publick worſhip; laying on of hands on the newly baptiſed, and anointing the ſick with oil, and did not limit their communion to an agreement with them in their ſentiments on baptiſm. He bore his laſt illneſs with great patience, and under the acuteſt pains would bleſs God, and ſay, "he would not entertain one hard thought "of God for all the world," and could ſcarcely be reſtrained from acts of devotion, and from expreſſing his ſentiments of zeal and piety.—Dr. *Grey*, after *Wood*, has vilified Mr. *Powell* by retailing the falſehoods of a piece entitled "Strena Vavaſorienſis." Croſby's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 373, &c. Life and Death of Vavaſor Powel. ED.

A

SUPPLEMENT

TO

CHAPTERS V. VI. VII. *and* VIII.

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory *of the* Baptiſts.

AT this period it is proper to reſume the Hiſtory of the Baptiſts, which we only ſlightly touched in our ſupplemental pages, at the end of the fourth chapter. This people, from the Reſtoration to the Declaration of indulgence in 1672, were expoſed to ſevere ſufferings: though they had no influence in the preceding viciſſitudes of government. It was not known that during the conteſt between *Charles* I. and the parliament, any one of this ſect was in the king's army; ſome of them in that of the parliament; and it was ſuppoſed, that a ſpecial reaſon of diſbanding one entire regiment in the earl of *Eſſex*'s army was, the colonel having entertained and given countenance to *Separatiſts* and ſome *Anabaptiſts*. Although in and after 1649, their numbers did increaſe, inſomuch that the principal officers in divers regiments of horſe and foot became *baptiſts*, particularly in *Cromwell*'s own regiment of horſe, and the duke of *Albemarle*'s of foot; yet it is ſaid, on good information, that before that year there were not, at any time, twenty of this denomination in any ſort of command in the whole army. Until the year 1648, two only of this profeſſion, Mr. *Lawrence* and Mr. *John Fiennes*, a ſon of lord *Say*, were members of the houſe of commons; and, in that year, before the death of the king, they withdrew

drew from the parliament, not approving their proceedings, and lived private for about ſix years, when Mr. *Lawrence* was called again into publick employment. In 1650, ſome of this perſuaſion, viz. Capt. *Mildmay*, Capt. *Pack*, and Sir *John Harman*, were preferred to commands at ſea.* Major-general *Harriſon*, "a man of excellent natural parts," ſays Mr. *Baxter*, "for affection and *oratory*, but not well ſeen in the principles of his religion,"† was the only *baptiſt* among the king's judges.‡

Whatever concern, however, they may be ſuppoſed to have had in national affairs, it ſoon ceaſed after *Cromwell* aſſumed the reins of government, who, when he thought himſelf well ſettled, and perceived that it would pleaſe the dominant party, began to undermine the *ſectarians*, and in particular to ſuppreſs the *baptiſts*. Mr. *Baxter* charges them with growing inſolent both in England and Ireland, after *Cromwell's* death, and the ſucceſſion of his ſon *Richard* was ſet aſide: and that, joining their brethren in the army, they were every where put in power. He complains of ſome perſonal inſults and ungenerous treatment, which he received from ſome who reſided near to him, irritated by their remembrance of the oppoſition he had made to their ſentiments, and who, though not many more than twenty, "talked," as he expreſſes it, "as if they had been lords of the world."§ This ſpirit of reſentment and triumph was ſoon humbled by the diſappointment of hope, and a ſubſequent ſeries of ſufferings.

This appears, in the firſt inſtance, from a petition preſented to king *Charles* II. ſigned by thirty-five, on behalf of many others in Lincolnſhire. It ſtated, that not only their meetings for religious worſhip were interrupted by the magiſtrates; and bonds for good behaviour were impoſed upon them, for the violation of which, on account of renewing their aſſemblies, they were proſecuted as peace-breakers; but that they were abuſed in the ſtreets, and their own houſes could not afford them protection; for, if they were heard praying to God in their families, they were inſulted by ſounding of horns, beating againſt their doors, and threats

* Croſby's Hiſtory of the Baptiſts, vol. ii. p. 2—5. † Baxter's Life, part i. p. 57. ‡ Croſby, vol ii. p. 9. § His own Life, part ii. p. 206.

that

that they ſhould be hanged. If they appealed to the magiſtrates, the rage of their adverſaries received a ſanction from the odious terms with which thoſe who ſat on the bench of juſtice reviled them. Many of them were indicted at the ſeſſions for not attending on the preaching of the epiſcopal clergy, and alarmed with a deſign of levying from every one a penalty of 20*l.* per month.

The petition was graciouſly received by the king, who promiſed that he would take particular care that none ſhould trouble them on account of their conſcience, in things pertaining to religion; and immediately directed a member of parliament to go to the lord chancellor and ſecretary, that the proper meaſures for this end might be taken.

In the ſame year, another petition and repreſentation of their ſufferings was preſented by ſome *baptiſts*, inhabitants of Kent, and priſoners in the gaol at Maidſtone. In this paper they appealed to their "Confeſſion of Faith," as truly repreſenting their principles concerning magiſtracy and government; and deplored the danger which threatened their lives, and the ruin which hung over their wives and little ones, by the violence exerciſed againſt them. For, beſides being made priſoners, the houſes of ſome had, without any authority from the executive power, been broken open in he dead of night; and from others their goods and cattle had been taken away and detained.

Great alſo were the ſufferings of thoſe who reſided in Glouceſterſhire. The moſt eminent Cavaliers rode about armed with ſwords and piſtols, ranſacking their houſes, and abuſing their families in a violent manner. At the houſe of Mr. *Helme*, at Winchcombe, the bed whereon his children laid was not ſpared; and their outrageous conduct ſo frightened his wife as to throw her into an illneſs which threatened her life. Mr. *Warren*, who poſſeſſed the parſonage of Rencome, was with his wife and family penned up into an upper room of his houſe, and ſo harraſſed night and day by the violence of the aſſailants and the noiſe of hautboys, that he died in the place. Mr. *Fletcher*, who had been put into a vacant place by authority, was ſo beat and inhumanly treated by a cavalier of his pariſh, that he and his family fled for their lives. One pious miniſter was aſſaulted as he was entering

tering his pulpit. Another was violently pulled out of his houſe; his wife, children, and goods, were thrown into the ſtreet, none of the pariſh were allowed to give them entertainment and he himſelf was haled to gaol.*

It is leſs ſurpriſing, that theſe people were inſulted by the ignorant populace, and were abuſed by the petty officers of power, when even the legiſlature marked them as the objects of ſuſpicion, hatred, and ſeverity. For the parliament aſſembled upon the reſtoration, when it paſſed an act for confirming all miniſters in the poſſeſſion of their benefices, how *heterodox* ſoever they had been, provided they would conform for the future, excepting ſuch as had been of the *baptiſt* perſuaſion.†

So far from being encouraged to conform, or being permitted in peace and ſecurity to diſſent, they were purſued with cruelty. Divers of them were caſt into Reading priſon, for conſcientiouſly ſcrupling to take ſome oaths adminiſtered to them. At Newport in Wales, at the end of ſermon, two were ſet upon by ſoldiers with ſwords and ſtaves.‡ At London, Dr. *John Griffith* was committed to Newgate, where he lay ſeventeen months, for no other crime but preaching to a congregation of proteſtants. In Lincolnſhire, Mr. *Thomas Grantham* and ſome others were taken from their meeting at Boſton by ſome ſoldiers, and after having been lodged all night in a publick inn, had their reſt diſturbed, and their minds grieved, by the inceſſant curſes and oaths of their guards; they were, on the next morning, conveyed to the common gaol, and detained there, without ſo much as the leaſt pretence of any crime laid to their charge, till the aſſizes, when they were diſmiſſed. At Dover, the magiſtrates were ſevere againſt them, taking them from their meeting-houſes, and committing them to priſon. After four-and-twenty days they were admitted to bail, and appearing at the aſſizes were forbidden to aſſemble any more in their own place of worſhip, but were allowed the uſe of one of the churches. This privilege, which they enjoyed about the ſpace of five months, was afterwards denied to them. Upon meeting again in their own place, their worſhip was diſturbed, and twenty-four of them, under different commitments, ſent

* Croſby, vol. ii. p. 1—30. † Wall's Hiſtory of Infant Baptiſm, vol. ii. p. 215. ‡ Croſby, vol. ii. p. 94, 97.

to

to priſon; at the quarter-ſeſſions, a bill of indictment was found againſt them; ſome traverſed it, others ſubmitted to the court, and the reſt were remitted to the priſon again.*

A circumſtance which much aggravated the proceedings againſt theſe people was, that they were not apprehended by the peace-officers only, but by rude, youthful, and mercenary ſoldiers; who ſeized them, to the terror of women and children, with muſquets and drawn ſwords, did violence to their perſons, and broke their goods.†

In June 1661, one of theſe military banditties went to a meeting-houſe in Whitechapel, and laid hands on more than twenty; one of whom refuſing to go with them, unleſs they produced their warrant, they not only pulled him along by force, and beat him about the head with their hangers, but lifting him up between three or four ſeveral times, let him fall with violence, and drove his breaſt and ſtomach againſt the rails with ſuch force, that his health was greatly injured by the blows and falls. When a ſuit was commenced againſt the actors of this tragedy, the perſons, at whoſe complaint the ſoldiers were arreſted, were themſelves arreſted, and were ſent to Newgate, where they lay about ten or twelve days before they could be bailed, and were held bound from ſeſſions to ſeſſions, for a long time, before they could be diſcharged.

The perſons aſſembling in the ſame meeting-houſe were aſſaulted by a like body of ſoldiers, October the 20th, 1661, and one of them, the miniſter objecting to the authority under which they pretended to act, was by a mittimus, pretending and inſerting great matters, caſt into Newgate, where he lay *thirty weeks*, without any thing laid to his charge, and then they releaſed him.

On the 3d of November, in the ſame year, a ſimilar outrage was committed, in the ſame place, with as little ſhew or face of law. The preacher and three more were ſeized, and thrown into New Priſon, from which, in time of *ſeſſions*, one was removed to Newgate, under pretence of being brought to his trial; which, however, he could never procure, though he called for it in the face of the *court*, nor was his name returned in the calendar. Yet he was kept in gaol *twelve weeks*, till fetched out by a perſon in authority.

* Croſby, vol. ii. p. 149, 150, 154, 5. † Croſby, vol. ii. p. 161.

He

He ſuffered in all eighteen, and the other perſons twenty-eight weeks impriſonment.*

In the following year, their religious aſſemblies, in different parts of the town, met with the like violent interruptions from the ſoldiery, breaking in with their ſwords and muſkets, and acting under the authority of *John Robinſon* the lieutenant of the Tower, as in the former caſes. In one inſtance a child in the cradle was awaked out of its ſleep by their violence, and ſo terrified, that it fell ſick, and died in three days. In other inſtances, the forms and furniture of their places of worſhip were broken and deſtroyed. *Robinſon*, being told by them that they had broken the pulpit in Brick-lane, replied, "it was well done;" and gave them a piece of gold, as a reward for their good ſervice. In all theſe, the perſons of thoſe aſſembled were expoſed to their indiſcriminating rage; neither ſex, nor childhood, nor old age, nor women with child, were ſpared. At one place the mob was let in to act with ſoldiers, at the direction of *Robinſon*. Many of the conſcientious ſufferers, by illegal commitments, were caſt into priſon.

Even the walls of the priſon did not afford them a ſecure retreat. In the priſon itſelf they were expoſed to outrage and fury. When they have been engaged together in religious converſation and acts of devotion, the felons of the gaol, the thieves and houſebreakers, the pickpockets and highwaymen, have been let into their room, have threatened them, violently aſſaulted, and beaten them.†

But in the country, were uſually the greateſt injuſtice and cruelty practiſed. The gentlemen in the commiſſion of the peace, near Ayleſbury in Buckinghamſhire, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their virulence in proſecuting the *non-conformiſts*, and particularly the *baptiſts*. They filled not the *county gaol* only with priſoners of this deſcription, but hired large houſes in Ayleſbury, and converted them into priſons; and not contented with the ſeverities in daily exerciſe, ſuch as confiſcation of goods and impriſonment, they attempted to revive the old practice of puniſhing *heretics* with baniſhment and death. They grounded their proceedings on the oppreſſive act of

* Croſby, vol. ii. p. 162—5. † Croſby, vol. ii. p. 172—179.

the

the 35th of *Elizabeth*, *for the puniſhment of perſons obſtinately refuſing to come to church*;* which went to baniſh them, if, after three months impriſonment, they refuſed conformity; and if they did not leave the kingdom within a limited time, or ſhould return, to inflict DEATH without benefit of clergy. In 1664, ſome of theſe juſtices proceeded on this act againſt ten men and two women, all *baptiſts*, who had been apprehended at their meeting in or near Ayleſbury: on theſe perſons, becauſe they refuſed to conform, and to abjure the realm, ſentence of death was paſſed, and immediately their goods alſo were ſeized. The other diſſenters, who conſtituted the majority of inhabitants in the town, alarmed at theſe proceedings, and anticipating their own doom, ſhut up their ſhops: this ſtop to commerce ſtruck the whole town with horror and ſurprize. A ſon of one of the condemned perſons immediately took horſe for London, and was introduced, by Mr. *William Kiffin*, a gentleman of note amongſt the *baptiſts*, and of intereſt at court, to chancellor *Hyde*, who was eaſily engaged to lay the caſe before the king. His Majeſty expreſſed great ſurprize, that any of his ſubjects ſhould be put to death for their religion, and enquired whether any law in force juſtified ſuch proceedings? Being ſatisfied on this point, he promiſed his pardon. But leſt any precipitancy in executing the ſentence ſhould ſuperſede the benefit of his grace, while the pardon was paſſing through the uſual forms, the king, on a renewed application, granted an immediate reprieve. The condemned perſons, however, were continued cloſe priſoners till the next aſſizes, and then the judge brought down his majeſty's pardon, and they were all ſet at liberty.† This would, undoubtedly, check the diſpoſition of the juſtices to a ſimilar proceſs. But the virtuous ſufferers, beſides their other calamities, owed their ſafety to favour inſtead of law; and appeared under the ignominious character of *pardoned criminals*, when they ought to have enjoyed the ſecurity and reputation of peaceable and innocent ſubjects.

The rage of the people, ſanctioned by the conduct of the magiſtrates and the clergy towards the *baptiſts*, roſe to ſuch a height as to deny them the benefit of the common burying

* See Neal, vol. i. p. 465, of this edition. † Croſby, vol. ii, p. 180-185.

places.

places. Nay, there wanted not inſtances of their being taken out of their graves. The inhabitants of Croft in Lincolnſhire treated in this manner the corpſe of Mr. *Robert Shalder*, in the year 1666. He had ſuffered much by impriſonment, and died ſoon after his releaſe. He was buried amongſt his anceſtors; and on the ſame day his grave was opened, and his body taken out, dragged on a ſledge to his own gate, and left there.

In the year 1670, the *baptiſts* of Lewes, and other places in the county of Suſſex, ſuffered in their property by the proceedings of Sir *Thomas Nutt* and other juſtices, on the conventicle act. They were convicted without being admitted to plead in their own defence. They were fined in an arbitrary manner; and thoſe fines were recovered in a way exceedingly oppreſſive and injurious, by diſtreſs and ſale of goods. Where the fines amounted, as levied on various perſons, to 5l. there were enacted, by diſtraints, 29l. 17s. In ſome inſtances, four cheeſes were ſeized to recover 10s. five pair of ſhoes for 5s. a cow for 2l. 15s. and a horſe for 5s. Cattle worth 27l. was ſold for 14l. 5s. as a diſtreſs for 11l. 10s. One perſon, for a meeting held in his houſe, was fined 20l. for which were taken from him ſix cows, two young bullocks, and a horſe, his whole ſtock. On entering an appeal, they were returned to him; but, being caſt at the ſeſſions, he was fined 60l. which was at laſt remitted to 23l. For non-payment of this ſum he was committed to the jailor's hands, though the vicar of the pariſh, touched with remorſe for his ſhare in the proſecution, offered his bond to pay the whole fine within a quarter of a year.*

It was remarked by one who had been bound over to ſeveral aſſizes and ſeſſions, for having religious aſſemblies held at his houſe, that the juſtices, who in *criminal* matters were often ſilent, and generally cool and diſpoſed to lenity; when any perſon or accuſation came before them concerning *diſſenters*, were very forward ſpeakers, and zealouſly aggravated the charge.

But nothing more ſtrongly marked the malignant temper of the times againſt the *baptiſts*, than the publication of a pamphlet, in the year 1673, avowedly deſigned to raiſe an

* Croſby, vol. ii. p. 244—258.

abhorrence

abhorrence of the ſect, and to ſtand "as an eternal memo-"rial of their cruelty aud hatred to all orthodox miniſters." It was entitled, "Mr. *Baxter* baptized in blood." The ſtory it exhibited was, that Mr. *Joſiah Baxter*, a godly miniſter of New-England, for no other reaſon than becauſe he had worſted the *baptiſts* in a diſputation, had been murdered in his own houſe, amidſt "the howlings, groans, and ſcreech-"ings of his dear relations, lying bound by him;" and it repreſented this murder as committed with circumſtances of peculiar atrocity and cruelty: he being firſt ſtripped and ſeverely whipt, and then unbowelled and flead alive. To give it the air of authenticity, the pamphlet was pretended to be publiſhed by the mournful brother of the ſaid miniſter, an inhabitant of Fenchurch-ſtreet, London; and it was actually licenſed by Dr. *Samuel Parker*. This vile tale had its origin in invention and malice only. For the king's privy council examined the caſe, and detected the forgery. It appeared on the oaths of the officers in Fenchurch-ſtreet, that no ſuch perſonas *Benjamin Baxter*, the pretended publiſher, had, ine their memory, lived there: and on the affidavits of a maſtr of a veſſel, and of a merchant who ſailed from Boſton about twenty days after this murder was ſaid to be committed, it alſo appeared, that no ſuch fact had taken place, nor had there been ſuch a perſon as Mr. *Joſiah Baxter*. The whole ſtory was pronounced by an order of council "altogether falſe and fictitious;" and Dr. *Parker* confeſſed his miſtake and credulity in licenſing the pamphlet, and acknowledged, by a teſtimonial under his hand, his conviction that the whole was "both falſe and groundleſs. Mr. *Andrew Marvel* not without intimating a ſuſpicion that Dr. *Parker* was concerned in the fabrication, ſays, that 'from beginning to 'end there never was a completer falſhood invented."* It grieves and ſhocks a good mind to think that, in any age or party, men can be found to invent and countenance ſuch groundleſs and malevolent forgeries.

Beſides this general ſurvey of the perſecutions to which the *baptiſts* were expoſed throughout the kingdom, it may beproper, briefly, to notice two or three particular caſes.—One is that of Mr. *John James*, the miniſter of a congre-

* Croſby, vol. ii, p. 278—294.

gation

gation of *baptiſts*, who obſerved the *ſeventh* day as a *ſabbath*, and aſſembled in Bulſtake-alley. Towards the end of the year 1661, they were interrupted in their worſhip by a juſtice and headborough, as Mr. *James* was preaching, whom they commanded in the king's name to be ſilent and come down, having ſpoken treaſon againſt the king. As Mr. *James* proceeded in his diſcourſe, without noticing this ſummons, it was repeated, with a threat of pulling him down. On this the diſturbance grew ſo great, that Mr. *James* was obliged to ſtop; but ſtill refuſing to leave the pulpit, he was pulled down, and halled away; and the hearers were carried, by ſevens, before the juſtices ſitting at the Half-moon tavern, and thoſe who refuſed the oath of allegiance were committed to priſon. Mr. *James* was examined in the meeting-houſe; inſult and threats accompanied the interrogatories, and he was committed on the charge of ſpeaking *treaſonable words* againſt his majeſty. On this charge he was tried, condemned, and executed. Previouſly to the execution, his wife delivered to the king a petition, ſtating his innocence, and the character of the witneſſes againſt him, ſignifying who ſhe was, which the king received with a taunt: "Oh! Mr. *James!* he is a ſweet "gentleman;" and when ſhe attempted to follow for ſome further anſwer, the door was ſhut againſt her. On the next morning, ſhe renewed her attendance and ſuit: and his majeſty replied, "that he was a rogue, and ſhould be hanged." A lord in waiting, aſking who was meant, the king anſwered, "Oh, *John James*, that rogue; he ſhall be hanged; "yea, he ſhall be hanged."*

The celebrated Mr. *Benjamin Keach* had, alſo, no ſmall ſhare in the ſufferings of the times. He was ſeized, when preaching, and committed to gaol; ſometimes bound, ſometimes releaſed upon bail, and ſometimes his life was threatened. Troopers, who were ſent down into Buckinghamſhire to ſuppreſs the meetings of *diſſenters*, entered into an aſſembly where he was conducting the worſhip, with great violence, and ſwearing that they would kill the *preacher*. He was accordingly ſeized, and four of them declared their reſolution to trample him to death with their horſes. They

* Croſby, vol. ii. p. 165—171.

bound

bound him, laid him on the ground, and were going to ſpur all their horſes at once upon him, when their officer, ſeeing their deſign, rode up towards them and prevented its execution. Mr. *Keach* was taken up, tied behind one of the troopers, acroſs his horſe, and carried to gaol; where he ſuffered, ſome time, great hardſhips, before he was releaſed.

In the year 1644, Mr. *Keach* printed, at the requeſt of friends, without his name, and with a recommendatory preface by another hand, a little piece entitled "The Child's Inſtructor; or, a new and eaſy Primmer." In this book were advanced ſeveral principles contrary to the doctrines and ceremonies of the church of England; viz. That *infants* ought not to be baptized: that *laymen* having abilities may preach the goſpel: that *Chriſt* ſhould reign perſonally upon the earth in the latter day, &c. Soon after this tract was printed, and Mr. *Keach* had received ſome copies of it, his houſe was ſearched for it, all the copies of it they found, were ſeized, and he was bound over to the *aſſizes* in a recognizance of one hundred pounds, and two ſureties with him in fifty pounds each. On Oct. 8, Mr. *Keach* was brought to the bar at Ayleſbury, where the aſſizes were held, before lord chief juſtice *Hide*. The judge not only interrogated him, whether he were the author of the *Primmer*, but, by unjuſt reflections and angry inſults, endeavoured to incenſe the jury againſt him, and to render him odious. Mr. *Keach* was refuſed a copy of his indictment till he had pleaded to it. In the courſe of the trial, abuſe and contempt were caſt upon him from the bench. The jury were intimidated, when they heſitated on their verdict. Mr. *Keach* was convicted: and the ſentence paſſed was, that he ſhould be committed to gaol for a fortnight, ſtand in the pillory for two hours on the following Saturday at Ayleſbury, with a paper on his head with this inſcription: "for writing, printing, and publiſhing a ſchiſmatical "book, intitled *The Child's Inſtructor*; *or, a new and eaſie* "*Primmer:*" that the ſame puniſhment, under like circumſtances, ſhould be inflicted on him on the next Thurſday at Winſlow: that there his book ſhould be openly burnt before his face, in diſgrace of him and his doctrine: that he ſhould be fined twenty pounds; and that he ſhould remain in *gaol* until he found ſureties for his good behaviour

viour and appearance at the next *aſſizes*; then to renounce his doctrines, and make ſuch publick ſubmiſſion as ſhould be enjoined him. No pardon could be obtained, nor the leaſt relaxation of the ſentence, which the ſheriff took care ſhould be punctually executed.*

Mr. *Vavaſor Powell* might be added to the liſt of thoſe whoſe zeal and labours particularly expoſed them to perſecution. But his ſufferings have been already noticed.†

The ſpirit of perſecution thus raged againſt this people: but not without a mixture of events, which were adapted ſeriouſly to affect the minds of their perſecutors, and to alarm them to reflection. On the day of the king's proclamation, at Waltham, near Theobalds, there was a man, who at the bonfire, in the evening, expreſſed a rage againſt the *diſſenters*, and the *baptiſts* in particular, by violence of language and oaths; and as he threw faggots into the fire, cried, "here is a round-head; here is an anabaptiſt!" he was ſtruck with death that night, and never ſaw the morning. A miniſter at one place, inveighing, in his ſermon againſt this ſect, fell into a ſwoon, and was ſpeechleſs for two hours, ſo that it was apprehended that he would never recover out of the fit. At Brockington in Glouceſterſhire, a young woman, who had bitterly reviled them, giving a ſudden ſhriek, as the preacher was diſcourſing on *Jude* 14, 15, dropt down in the religious aſſembly, and never recovered. The ſufferings and character of the *diſſenters* were made a jeſt upon the ſtage at Oxford. In a play acted there, by the *ſcholars*, one perſonated the *Old Puritan*; who broke a vein and vomited ſo much blood, that his immediate death was apprehended, and he lay ſometime dangerouſly ill. Two of the actors, and a woman that joined them in this dramatick exhibition, were cut off by death.‡ Some remarkable calamities befel thoſe who were inſtruments in the proſecution of Mr. *John James*.§ One of the actors in the rude and unnatural treatment of Mr. *Shalder*'s corpſe, after it was interred, died ſuddenly; and another languiſhed for ſome time, terrified with the remembrance of the inſults he had offered to the dead.‖ A woman named *Anne Clemens*,

* Croſby, vol. ii. p. 185—209. † At the end of chap. viii.
‡ Croſby, vol. ii. p. 30—34. § Ibid. p. 172. ‖ Ibid. p. 241.

at

at Chipping-Norton, diſtinguiſhed by her rage and malice againſt the *diſſenters*, fell into ſuch circumſtances of poverty, as to be obliged to ſell her land, and mortgage her houſe for near it's worth. Not one of her children, who reſided in the neighbourhood, was in a comfortable condition; and ſhe herſelf was ſo reduced as to beg alms of thoſe ſhe had hated and perſecuted. Her affliction was heightened by a diſeaſed appetite, which called for as much as would ſatisfy two or three perſons; and by a diſpoſition to breed vermin, ſo that though her clothes were not only waſhed, but ovened, ſhe could not be kept clean. *Richard Allein*, an active informer, and violent in his conduct towards the *diſſenters*, fell into afflictions that ſhortened his days. His eldeſt ſon was killed at London; and about the ſame time, another was accuſed and convicted for robbing on the highway, and by great friends and fees eſcaped with his life. An officer in the county troops of Oxford, with an income of ſeventy pounds per annum, before he could accompliſh his deſign of ſuppreſſing the *diſſenters*, ſunk in his own eſtate, died greatly in debt, and his ſon's children became common beggars. One *Werg*, a forward and active conſtable, did not long ſurvive the expiration of his office, and imputed his death to watching one cold night to take the diſſenters at their meeting. Five perſons, who received penſions as ſpies and informers, were obſerved not to proſper afterwards, and every one of them ſhortly died. An *Iriſh peer*, and three Iriſh juſtices of title and rank, bitter perſecutors, it was remarked, while they were directing their whole power to the ruin of the *diſſenters*, were themſelves ruined, their eſtates were ſold, and their families became extinct. Whereas Sir *Littleton Obaldiſton*, a juſtice of peace, who had been heard to rail at the *diſſenters*, and acted with others in committing them to priſon, afterwards laid aſide his enmity, was inſtrumental in releaſing ſeveral, and conducted himſelf in a friendly manner; and it was noticed, that his eſtate continued to his poſterity. And it was remarked, that —— *Howard*, eſq; a juſtice and officer in the county troops in Oxfordſhire, who had from an enemy become a friend to the *diſſenters*, though he adhered to the eſtabliſhed worſhip, was the only one of thoſe who had moleſted and harraſſed them that was living on the 30th of Decem-

ber, 1707, being then an old man, full of days, wealth, and honour.*

It becomes us, I am ſenſible, to be very cautious, how we conſtrue the events, which are common to all men. "There is uſually" (ſays an excellent writer) "much raſh-"neſs and preſumption in pronouncing, that the calamities "of ſinners are particular judgments of God; yet if, from "ſacred and prophane, from antient and modern hiſtorians, "a collection were made of all the perſecuting tyrants, who "delighted in tormentiug their fellow-creatures, and who "died not the common death of all men, nor were viſited "after the viſitation of all men, but whoſe plagues were "horrible and ſtrange, even a ſceptic would be moved at "the evidence, and would be apt to ſuſpect that it was "Θειον τι, that the hand of God was in it."†

But the hiſtory, which we are detailing, preſents objects to our conſideration more pleaſing than the ſufferings of the perſecuted, or calamities that befel perſecutors. It records the virtues which the perſecuted diſplayed, and the conſolations in which, under their heavy trials, they rejoiced. We ſee the power of faith and piety, when we hear the *Baptiſts* confined in Reading gaol declaring, "Our Lord and King, "whom we ſerve, hath brought us under his own pavilion: "and *his banner over* us hath been and ſtill is *love*, and hath "been teaching of us theſe leſſons following. 1ſt. In the "loſs of all outward things, having Chriſt, we enjoy all "things, and are ſatisfied in the Lord: we ſhall take the "ſpoiling of our goods with far more comfort, than the "enemy will do in the ſpending of them, for that word [Job "xx. 22, 23] is very much on our hearts concerning him. "2dly. We hope we have learned, in whatſoever condition "we are, to be therewith contented; and are perſuaded in "our hearts, this is given us in an anſwer of many prayers "breathed forth unto the Lord on our behalfs. 3dly. That "whereas formerly we could hardly part with any thing for "the Lord, we are now made willing by him, to part with all "things for him, and to ſay with good old *Ely*, "*It is the* "*Lord, let him do what he pleaſeth;*" and that in *Job*, is ſet

* Croſby, vol. ii. p. 259—263.

† Jortin's Remarks on Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 247. 1754.

"before

" before us for our example, upon whom the ends of the " world are come: *The Lord giveth, and the Lord taketh* " *away; bleſſed be the name of the Lord. In all this Job* " *ſinned not*, &c. 4thly. We have ſince our confinement " taſted a greater ſweetneſs in the promiſes of the Lord than " formerly; and particularly theſe places following, we have " ſweet experience of, and we can truly ſay by experience, " *That faithful is he that hath thus promiſed, for he hath* " *alſo done it: it is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in* " *our eyes*. Phil. iv. 19. 1 Pet. v. 7. Deut. xxxiii. 25. We " are alſo brought by the power of his grace to a more " watchful frame over our hearts, thoughts and actions, " by theſe trials than formerly. One thing had almoſt " ſlipped our memory, the knowledge of which will, we " hope, rejoice our hearts; that our relations, that are pre- " cious to the Lord and to us, bear this our ſuffering with " incomparable patience, rather ſinging for joy, than weep- " ing for grief. Alſo our *Societies*, from whence we were " taken, are exceeding cheerful, and a very lively ſpirit of " faith and prayer is amongſt them; and their meetings ra- " ther increaſe than otherwiſe. Sure, *That the Lord is* " *near, his wondrous works declare; for the ſinging of birds* " *is come, and the turtle is heard in our land.* And now, " brethren, foraſmuch as the mercies expected and prayed " for by us, are to be enjoyed in the way of righteouſneſs, " it greatly concerns us, that we cry mightily to the Lord, " as did his ſervant of old. Iſai. lxii. 1. Then ſhall we have " that new name which God will give us, which is expreſſed " in the laſt verſe of that chapter. Now the God of all " peace fill you with peace and joy in believing; ſo pray " your brethren through grace."*

In the ſpirit of theſe pious ſufferers, one whoſe property was ſeized, told thoſe who took diſtreſs, " he never ſold " any thing to ſo great advantage, for this would bring him " an hundred-fold." And another on goods from his ſhop to the value of 50s. being ſeized for a fine of 30s. aſſured them, " that he parted as willingly with them as with any " goods he ever ſold."†

* Croſby, vol. ii. p. 93, 4, 5. † Ibid. p. 249.

When Mr. *John James* was brought to the bar to receive ſentence, he was aſked what he had to ſay for himſelf, why ſentence of death ſhould not be paſſed upon him. In a manner very expreſſive of pious ſubmiſſion and fortitude, he anſwered: "That he had not much to ſay, only two or three "ſcriptures he would leave with them." The firſt ſcripture was Jer. xxvi. 14, 15. *As for me, do as ſeemeth good unto you. But know ye for certain, that if ye put me to death, ye ſhall ſurely bring innocent blood upon yourſelves, and upon this city, and upon the inhabitants thereof.* The ſecond ſcripture was, Pſalm cxvi. 15. *Precious in the ſight of the Lord, is the death of his ſaints.* He alſo reminded them of that good word of the Lord: *He that toucheth the Lord's people, toucheth the apple of his eye.*

The deportment of Mr. *Keach*, when he ſtood in the pillory, at Ayleſbury, was ſingularly ſerious, devout, and undaunted. To his friends, who accompanied him, expreſſing their ſenſe of his ſufferings, he ſaid, with a cheerful countenance, "the croſs is the way to the crown." When his head and hands were fixed, he addreſſed the ſpectators to this effect: "Good people, I am not aſhamed to ſtand here "this day, with this paper on my head. My Lord *Jeſus* was "not aſhamed to ſuffer on the croſs for me, and it is for his "cauſe that I am made a gazing-ſtock. Take notice, it is "not for any wickedneſs that I ſtand here; but for writing "and publiſhing his truths, which the Spirit of the Lord "hath revealed in the holy ſcriptures. It is no new thing "for the ſervants of the Lord to ſuffer and to be made a "gazing-ſtock; and you that are acquainted with the ſcriptures know, that the way to the crown is by the croſs. "The apoſtle ſaith, *That through many tribulations, we "muſt enter into the kingdom of heaven*: and Chriſt ſaith, "*He that is aſhamed of me and my words, in an adulterous "and ſinful generation, of him ſhall the Son of man be aſhamed, "before the Father, and before the holy angels.*" After frequent interruptions from the jailor, and ſtanding ſometime ſilent, diſengaging one of his hands, he pulled his *bible* out of his pocket, and held it up to the people, ſaying: "Take "notice, that the things which I have written and publiſhed, "and for which I ſtand here this day a ſpectacle to men "and angels, are all contained in this book, as I could prove

"out

" out of the ſame, if I had opportunity." The jailor took it from him, and faſtened up his hand again: but it was almoſt impoſſible to keep him from ſpeaking; ſaying, " It " ſeems I cannot be ſuffered to ſpeak to the cauſe for which " I ſtand here; neither could I be ſuffered the other day, " (viz. on his trial:) but it will plead its own innocency, " when the ſtrongeſt of its oppoſers ſhall be aſhamed. " I do not ſpeak this out of prejudice to any perſon, but do " ſincerely deſire, that the Lord would convert them, and " convince them of their errors, that their ſouls may be " ſaved in the day of the lord *Jeſus*. *Good people*, the con- " cernment of ſouls is very great; ſo great, that *Chriſt* died " for them. And, truly, a concernment for ſouls was that " which moved me to write and publiſh thoſe things for " which I now ſuffer, and for which I could ſuffer far greater " things than theſe. It concerns you, therefore, to be very " careful, otherwiſe it will be very ſad with you, at the re- " velation of the Lord *Jeſus* from heaven, for we muſt all " appear before his tribunal." Here he was interrupted, but, after ſome time he again ventured to break ſilence. " I hope, " (ſaid he) the Lord's people will not be diſcouraged at my " ſufferings. Oh! did you but experience the great love of " God, and the excellencies that are in him, it would make " you willing to go through any ſufferings for his ſake. And " I do account this the greateſt honour that ever the Lord " was pleaſed to confer upon me." He was not ſuffered to ſpeak much more after this, and the officers were commanded to keep the ſpectators at a greater diſtance from him. He found an opportunity, however, to ſay at one time, " This " is one *yoke of Chriſt*, which I can experience *is eaſy* to me, " and a *burthen* which he doth make *light:*" and to utter, alſo, this ſentence, " *Bleſſed are they that are perſecuted* " *for righteouſneſs ſake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven.*" When the time for his ſtanding was expired, and his head and hands were at liberty, he bleſſed God, with a loud voice, for his great goodneſs unto him.*

Such ſentiments, ſuch a ſpirit expreſſed in the moment of ſuffering, it may be ſuppoſed, would diſarm the rage of ſome, and poſſeſs the minds of many in favour of the pious ſufferer. But the *baptiſts* did not leave their principles to the recom-

* Croſby, vol. ii. p. 204—208.

recommendation and ſupport, which the conduct and temper of thoſe who, in the profeſſion of them endured cruel trials, might afford. They adopted every method of ſoftening prejudice and conciliating regard, by addreſſes from the preſs, and applications to the throne. With this view they publiſhed, in 1660, A brief Confeſſion or Declaration, to inform all men of their innocent belief and practice. It was owned and approved by more than twenty thouſand. This was preſented to his majeſty, and met with his approbation. It was reprinted at London, in 1691.* Petitions alſo, as we have noticed, were, in this year, delivered to the king, repreſenting their pacifick principles, and imploring his protection.† Three perſons, of this denomination, about this time, publiſhed a declaration of their ſentiments concerning oppoſing magiſtracy, in which they advanced principles to which the moſt zealous advocates for paſſive obedience and non-reſiſtance could not object: profeſſing that in ſuch inſtances wherein they could not in conſcience obey, they ought "not to reſiſt "them, but patiently ſuffer whatever they ſhould inflict for "non-obedience to their requirements."‡ The perſons who ſigned this declaration apologize for their paucity, and ſeemed not pleaſed with their brethren, becauſe they were not of their judgment on this point. But their difference in opinion from other *baptiſts* ſhews, that an uniformity of ſentiment concerning the extent of the magiſtrate's authority and the right of reſiſtance had no neceſſary and direct connection with an agreement on the queſtions concerning baptiſm. In the year 1661 the hardſhips, under which many of this profeſſion groaned, again excited to ſeek mercy from the higher powers. A petition was preſented to the king on behalf of themſelves and others, from ſome confined in the priſon at Dover, and another to the duke of *York*; deſcribing their great ſufferings, proteſting that innocence was found in them, and that againſt the king and his government they had done no harm, ſoliciting, with much importunity, to be ſet at liberty, and that they might not be interrupted in their worſhip of the God of heaven, as they were taught it in his word, which they prized above all the world; and urging,

* Croſby, vol. ii. p. 18; and Appendix, No. iv. † Ibid. p. 19-26.
‡ Croſby, vol. ii. p. 19. Appendix, No. v. p. 93.

that

that it might be conſidered, "how diſagreeable it is with "chriſtianity, to bring tribulation upon any for conſcience "ſake, ſeeing all things in worſhip muſt be done in faith "and love."*

But the application for redreſs of their grievances, which particularly deſerves notice, was an addreſs to the king, parliament and people, in a treatiſe entitled, "Sion's groans "for her diſtreſſed; or, Sober endeavours to prevent inno-"cent blood, &c." This was not a petition only for *toleration* for themſelves, but an able and ſpirited defence of the rights of conſcience. Its deſign was to prove how contrary to the goſpel "of the Lord *Jeſus*, and to good reaſon, it is for "any magiſtrate, by outward force, to impoſe any thing in the "worſhip of God on the conſciences of thoſe whom they go-"vern; but that liberty ought to be given to all ſuch as diſturb "not the civil peace, though of different perſuaſions in religi-"ous matters." The queſtion is handled on liberal principles, ſo with copiouſneſs and ſtrength. The ſpirit and the reaſoning do honour to the people from whom it came; eſpecially, when it is recollected that the aſſembly at Weſtminſter, and the miniſters of London and other parts, had from the pulpit and the preſs oppoſed the principles of toleration.

It is argued, that the power of directing conſcience by outward force doth not attach itſelf to the office of magiſtracy itſelf, becauſe then all magiſtrates in all nations have the ſame power; the *Mahometan* to enforce the reception of the koran, the *Spaniard* to enjoin popery, and every ſucceeding magiſtrate to ſanction his own religion, to the overthrow of what his predeceſſor eſtabliſhed: becauſe the apoſtles who command obedience to magiſtrates, in matters of religion, refuſed obedience: becauſe all the ſcriptures of the New Teſtament, enjoining obedience to magiſtrates, being written when the emperors were idolators; ſuch injunctions cannot be underſtood as applying to religion: becauſe, if the commands of the magiſtrate in religious matters were obligatory, there could be no perſecutions, and the way to heaven ſo far from being ſtraight and narrow, any might be a diſciple of *Chriſt* without *taking up the croſs*. And the conduct of *Gallio*, who declined interfering in a matter re-

* Croſby, vol. ii. p. 165—160.

lative

lative to God's law, and reſtrained the exerciſe of his authority to civil injuries only, is with great propriety appealed to, as a worthy example for the imitation of magiſtrates.

That the *chriſtian* magiſtrate, as ſuch, hath no power over conſcience, nor authority to impoſe any thing in religion by outward force, is argued from the conduct of *Chriſt Jeſus*, who never compelled men by force to receive his doctrine; from the conduct of the apoſtles, and the elders of the primitive church, who diſclaimed any ſuch power, 1 Cor. i. 24. Matt. xx. 25. 1 Pet. v. 2, 3. "Why, therefore," (ſay the authors of this piece) "the chriſtian religion ſhould be "built and ſupported by violence, when the foundation was "laid, and the work carried on during all the apoſtles' days, "and ſome hundred years after, by a quite contrary means, "is a queſtion would be reſolved by thoſe whoſe ſtrongeſt "arguments for the ſupport of their religion is, TAKE HIM, "JAILOR. For ſuch is the difference between the way "which the apoſtles and primitive ſaints took, in carrying "on the work of the goſpel, and approving themſelves to be "the miniſters of God, and the way now uſed by the *national clergy*, than which nothing is more unlike." In the proſecution of their argument, they reaſon forcibly from the parable of the *tares* and *wheat*, as forbidding any outward force or violence to be uſed upon falſe worſhippers and hereticks as ſuch. "Hath the magiſtrate" (it is aſked) "power "to remove thoſe out of the world, that God would have "permitted to live?" The fallibility of the magiſtrate furniſhes another argument againſt the exerciſe of his power in religion; a fallibility, which woeful experience hath taught the world in all ages; the magiſtrate of one country eſtabliſhing the principles and practices which that of another country condemns and perſecutes; nay, the ſame magiſtrate, at different periods, reverſing his own decrees; and now rejecting what he had juſt before defended by his pen, or ſupported by his laws: as was the caſe of *Henry* VIII. To this fallibility he is equally liable, whether he confide in his own wiſdom, or rely on the authority of popes, ſynods, or general councils. This point is illuſtrated by various examples. As to national conventions and ſynods, ſo far are they from any ſhew of infallibility, it is juſtly obſerved, "that the ſame "com-

" complexion and temper the nation is of, wherein they are " called, you ſhall be ſure to find them of; becauſe they " have their dependency on the authority that calls them to- " gether." Among other arguments, it is ſtated, that for the magiſtrate to inflict temporal puniſhments upon any for not conforming to thoſe decrees which enjoin any ſpiritual worſhip or ſervice, is a breach of the royal law, *Whatſoever ye would that men ſhould do to you, do ye even ſo to them.* This is a rule, which all ſorts of men, whilſt under perſecution, are ready to receive and plead. Nor would they who are forward to perſecute, be very zealous in their proceedings, if they were ſure that thoſe whom they perſecute ſhould have power on their ſides, to " mete " the ſame meaſure unto them." It is well obſerved, that ſuch proceedings may ſometimes prove inconſiſtent with the very being of nations. " For, ſuppoſe any nation " were wholly heathen idolaters, and the word of God " coming in amongſt them, ſhould convert the chief ma- " giſtrate, and one-twentieth part of the nation more; muſt " he then with that twentieth part deſtroy all the other nine- " teen, if they will not be converted, but continue in their " heatheniſh idolatry. It cannot poſſibly be ſuppoſed to " be warrantable. And the reaſon holds good, likewiſe, " againſt the rooting up and deſtroying *hereticks* out of the " world."

Theſe juſt ſentiments are followed by a full anſwer to the argument in favour of the magiſtrate's power in religious matters, drawn from the example of the kings of *Iſrael* and *Judah*. In reply to this, it is obſerved, that the power of thoſe kings to puniſh idolaters and blaſphemers was given them by God, and written in plain precepts in the *Moſaical* law; but hath the Lord *Jeſus* inveſted magiſtrates with ſuch power; if he have, where is it written? The *Jews*, all the time they kept to the law of God, had a ſtanding oracle amongſt them, the *urim and thummim*, and the councils of extraordinary prophets to aſſiſt them to judge righteous judgments. Beſides, the goſpel is a diſpenſation far different from the law in all its ordinances and adminiſtrations, under which the lord *Jeſus* is the only lawgiver.

Such

Such is the ſtrain of this piece: the importance of the ſubject, the force of the argument, and the liberality of the ſpirit, entitle it to particular notice; and will, it is preſumed, make this review of it acceptable.* The authors of it, whoſe names are ſubſcribed to the prefatory epiſtle, were *Thomas Monck*, *Joſeph Wright*, *George Hammon*, *William Jeffery*, *Francis Stanley*, *William Reynolds*, and *Francis Smith*. While they earneſtly recommend their treatiſe to deliberate and ſerious peruſal, our deſign, they ſay, "in what we beg "may be peruſed, is *general good*, in ſetting at liberty that "which God made free, even the conſcience."

The only particulars I can find concerning theſe able advocates for liberty are, that Mr. *Wright*, born in 1623, was a phyſician: he was educated at the univerſity, and was a man of great learning and piety; a ſerious and diligent preacher, and greatly promoted the cauſe of the *baptiſts*. He was confined twenty years in the gaol at Maidſtone; in this town he died, aged eighty, in 1703.† Mr. *George Hammon*, eminent for the ardour and freedom with which he vindicated what he judged to be truth, on all occaſions, and very much perſecuted on that account, was paſtor of a congregation at Biddendon in Kent; and died at Haſeldens-wood, in the pariſh of Cranbrook.‡ Mr. *William Jeffery*, born in 1616, of pious parents, in the pariſh of Penſhurſt, lived at Bradbourn, in Sevenoaks, Kent; where he and his brother were the great ſupporters, if not the founders of a meeting. By his diligence, and that of ſeveral others, more than twenty congregations were formed in that county, on the principles laid down in Heb. vi. 1, 2, without entering on ſpeculative and controverted points. As he was vigorous, unwearied, and ſucceſsful in his labours, ſo with great patience and pleaſure he ſuffered much for his principles; theſe he alſo often defended in publick diſputations. He was much valued for his ſteady piety and univerſal virtue, and died in a good old age.§ His ſon ſucceeded him in his church. Mr. *Francis Stanley* was a man noted for his zeal and piety, and was impriſoned for preaching in the gaol of Northampton. He bore his ſuf-

* Mr. Croſby has preſerved it entire in his Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 100—144.

† Croſby, vol. iii. p. 116. ‡ Ibid. p. 103. § Ibid. p. 97, 8.

ferings

ferings like a chriſtian, and died about the year 1696. He was a native of Northamptonſhire, and was buried at East-Haddon, in that county.* Of the other perſons Mr. *Croſby* gives no particular account.

In the ſame year, in which appeared the piece on Toleration, there were publiſhed a ſmall piece, entitled "A "Complaint of the Oppreſſed againſt Oppreſſors; or, the un-"juſt and arbitrary proceedings of ſome ſoldiers and juſtices, "againſt ſome ſober, godly perſons, in and near London, "who now lie in ſtinking gaols, for the teſtimony of a good "conſcience; with ſome reaſons why they cannot ſwear al-"legiance to obtain their liberty:" and a tract, entitled "A "Plea for Toleration of Opinions and Perſuaſions in matters "of Religion, differing from the Church of England: hum-"bly preſented to the King's moſt excellent majeſty. By "Mr. JOHN STURGEON, a *baptiſt*." The former was written by Dr. *John Griffith*, a worthy man, who ſuffered a long impriſonment in Newgate for non-conformity. Each piece was an affecting remonſtrance on the unjuſt proceedings, by which many pious and innocent perſons, of unblemiſhed characters, in London, and in almoſt all the counties of England, were ſuffering; being taken out of their beds at midnight by ſoldiers, acting without warrant, and with drawn ſwords, to the great terror of their wives and children; and being thruſt into priſons, in ſuch crouds that the jailors complained they had too many gueſts; and detained there to the ruin of their families.†

Mr. *James Atkins*, one of thoſe who were harraſſed by the magiſtrates of Dover, on his own behalf, and in the cauſe of his fellow-ſufferers, addreſſed a letter to the mayor and juſtices of that town, under the name of 'a poor ſubject;' acknowledging a ſubmiſſion to the civil magiſtrate, except in what concerned the worſhip of God, and intreating in the bowels of love a conſideration of the evil of reſtraining their liberty.‡

In the year 1662, there came from the preſs a ſmall pamphlet, entitled "Behold a Cry; or, a true relation of the

* Croſby, p. 127. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 144—148. and vol. iii. p. 120.
‡ Croſby, vol. ii. p. 151, 152.

"in-

" inhuman and violent outrages of divers ſoldiers, conſtables " and others, practiſed upon many of the Lord's people, " commonly, though falſely, called *Anabaptiſts*, at their ſe- " veral meetings in and about London."

An incident, which took place in Lincolnſhire in 1670, called forth a vindication of their principles from this denomination in a different form from the preceding publications. Mr. *Robert Wright*, who had been a preacher amongſt them, but was on account of his irregular life and converſation excluded their ſociety, having ſpent his eſtate, applied to Dr. *William Fuller*, the biſhop of that dioceſe, for orders and a benefice; promiſing to renounce his ſentiments concerning baptiſm, and to preach againſt the *Baptiſts*. The biſhop accepted his offer, he was admitted in the miniſtry of the church of England, and preached in ſupport of the baptiſm of infants, in oppoſition to that of believers, with great ardour and confidence. This excited great attention, the minds of many were much impreſſed by it, and it was ſuppoſed that moſt, if not all the miniſters of the *baptiſt* churches would be eaſily confuted. They, in their own vindication, at the aſſizes, poſted up, in different parts of the city of Lincoln, four papers, addreſſed to the citizens and inhabitants, inviting Mr. *Wright* to a friendly conference, and offering to maintain the doctrine and baptiſm of repentance to be from heaven, and the ſprinkling and croſſing of infants to be man's tradition. They were dated the 11th day of the firſt month, (vulg.) *March*, 1670. Two of them were taken down in the morning, and were, it was ſuppoſed, carried to the biſhop and the judge. The other two were permitted to remain till the afternoon, and were read by many, till they were removed by the clergy, who threatened the writers of them ſhould anſwer for it before the council-table. But though the biſhop, it was well known, was not a little moved by theſe proceedings of the *baptiſts*, no other ſtep was taken on the occaſion, than ſending to them an angry paper, drawn up by Mr. *William Silverton*, the biſhop's chaplain, who called them *erroneous antick baptiſts*. To this paper Mr. *Grantham* replied, promiſing Mr. *Silverton* either to hear and diſcuſs his arguments in a free audience, if he would fix a convenient time and place for the

the purpoſe; or to reply to him, if he would defend his ſentiments from the preſs. Here the matter ended, as Mr. *Silverton* ſaw fit to be ſilent.*

The only publication, which remains to be noticed in this period, was, "A narrative of the late proceedings of ſome "juſtices and others, pretending to put in execution the late "act againſt conventicles; againſt ſeveral peaceable people in "and about the town of Lewes in Suſſex, only for their being "quietly met to worſhip God: together with a brief account "of the like proceedings againſt ſome at Brighthelmſtone, "and others at Chillington, in the ſame county." This profeſſed to be a *faithful Narrative*, publiſhed with a view to encourage others to ſuffer the ſpoiling of their goods by the example of many, who endured it with patience and joyfulneſs; and with the hope, that by it the harſh proceedings againſt a *peaceable people*, might come to the knowledge of ſome in authority, who, out of pity to the diſtreſſed, and juſtice to their righteous cauſe, would redreſs their grievances.† Such narratives were, indeed, well adapted to each purpoſe, and were an affecting appeal to the ſenſe of humanity and equity.

* Croſby, vol. ii. p. 241—244. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 245, 6.

SECT. II.

The Hiſtory *of the* Quakers.

THE ſociety of thoſe called QUAKERS conſidered the reſtoration of *Charles* II. as a ſignal inſtance of the interpoſition of Providence, to reſtore peace and order to a diſtracted nation: and ſoon after he was placed on the throne, Mr. *Richard Huberthorne* obtained acceſs to the king, and ſtated the exceſſive ſufferings which his friends had ſuſtained, and under which they were ſtill ſmarting. The king entered into free converſation with him on the principles of the Quakers, and promiſed them his protection: ſaying, "Of this you may be aſſured, that you ſhall none of you "ſuffer for your opinions or religion, ſo long as you live "peaceably, and you have the word of a king for it; and I "have alſo given forth a declaration to the ſame purpoſe, "that none ſhall wrong you or abuſe you."*

This aſſurance raiſed in their minds the encouraging expectation of not being moleſted in their religious worſhip and profeſſion. Better times than they had hitherto experienced appeared to be opening upon them. Their meetings were large and quiet. Numbers, drawn by curioſity, or better motives, flocked to them, and embraced their ſentiments: but this calm was of no long duration: and they ſoon found, that *the word of a king* could be a deluſive ground of dependence. *Venner*'s inſurrection brought on them new and ſevere perſecution; though they were, by the dying teſtimony of the ſufferers at their execution, exculpated from all knowledge of the deſign. Their meetings were broken up by ſoldiers. Their perſons were abuſed by the populace. Their houſes were ranſacked. They were forced from their employments, and caſt into gaols among felons, who rifled

* Gough's Hiſtory of the Quakers, vol. i. p. 440.

them

them of their money and clothes. And even the ſick were dragged out of their beds to priſons; one of whom, Mr. *Patchen*, a man of conſiderable eſtate, being in a fever, died there.*

This perſecution was not confined to the city of London, but ſpread with ſimilar violence over all or moſt parts of the nation. They were, without conviction, without crimination, without any legal cauſe, violently haled to priſon, and crouded together in cloſe, damp, or unwholeſome rooms, by ſuch numbers, as almoſt to the danger of ſuffocation. In Briſtol, near one hundred and ninety were impriſoned. In Lancaſter were two hundred and ſeventy priſoners: in Weſtmoreland, one hundred and ſixteen: in the Weſt-riding of Yorkſhire were not fewer than two hundred and twenty-nine; and the number in the North-riding amounted to an hundred and twenty-ſix. And the treatment which they received in priſon was generally as cruel as the commitment was unjuſt.†

When the members of this ſociety had cleared themſelves from the imputation of being parties in *Venner*'s inſurrection, they were proceeded againſt on new grounds; and old laws, made in the reigns of *Henry* VIII. and queen *Elizabeth*, were revived and made rules for proceeding againſt them; namely, the laws againſt the ſubtraction of tythes, and neglecting to reſort to the pariſh church, or ſome other, on every Sunday or holyday. They were alſo proſecuted on an act made in the beginning of queen *Elizabeth*'s reign, for adminiſtering the oath of ſupremacy, and on one of the third of *James*, enjoining the oath of allegance. When there remained no ſhadow of reaſon to detain thoſe whom they had impriſoned on account of the riſing of the fifth-monarchy men, it was an uſual method with the magiſtrates to tender them the oath of allegiance, which they knew they would not take, that their refuſal might be a pretext for ſtill holding them in confinement: though their demeanour was peaceable and unreſiſting, and by the moſt explicit declarations they ſolemnly expreſſed and pledged their allegiance.‡ By

* Gough's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 441, 445. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 446—451.

‡ Ibid. p. 457—466.

the

the miſapplication of the law of *James*, many of them ſuffered the loſs of perſonal liberty, and of all their ſubſtance, and were expoſed to very hard and illicit treatment. The caſe of *Thomas Goodyear* and *Benjamin Staples*, at the quarter-ſeſſions at Oxford, is a ſtriking inſtance of this. *Thomas Goodyear*, after receiving the ſentence of præmunire, was brought into court, like a common malefactor, with bolts on his legs, and on aſking, "whether the jailor had orders "to fetter him?" he was anſwered, "The jailor may do as "he will with you, for you are out of the king's protec-"tion." This man, encouraged by the example of his ſuperior, when he brought them back to the priſon, told the other priſoners, "that if they wanted clothes, they might "take theirs off their backs, for they can have no law againſt "you." But one of the priſoners humanely anſwered, *he would rather go naked, than ſtrip honeſt men of their clothes, who were ſtripped of all they had beſide.**

It is but candid, however, to remark that, though the juſtices and inferior magiſtrates, from their bitterneſs againſt the non-conformiſts, were diſpoſed, in ſome caſes, to put the 35th of *Elizabeth* in full force, yet the inſtances of enforcing this law, through the intervention of higher authority, were not many, nor equally encouraged with other modes of proſecution; as the full enforcing thereof muſt have terminated in publick executions.†

But notwithſtanding this inſtance of moderation, violent prejudices againſt the *Quakers* were ſo univerſal, that they were left unmoleſted in few, or no parts of the kingdom. In 1662, Mr. *George Fox* repreſented to the king, that ſince his reſtoration three thouſand and ſixty-eight of their friends had been impriſoned. A narrative ſigned by twelve witneſſes, atteſted that four thouſand two hundred of thoſe called Quakers, both men and women, were in priſon. No age or ſex found commiſeration. Men of ſeventy, or more years old, were ſubjected to all the rigours of a goal. In London and its ſuburbs, five hundred were, at this time, confined; ſuffering every ſeverity, their trades ruined, and their families expoſed to ruin. The treatment of this people, even in this city, reſembled the French dragoonings of the

* Gough's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 531, 32. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 537.

Hugonots,

Hugonots, rather than the condition of thoſe who were entitled to the privileges of a conſtitution limited to legal rule. They were beaten with cudgels, cut with ſwords, and dragged into the ſtreets; there they lay in the kennels, ſenſeleſs and helpleſs, beſmeared with their blood: and the paſſengers and ſpectators, moved by the ſight of their condition, would ſometimes cry out ſhame upon the perpetrators, that ſuch a reſemblance of maſſacre ſhould be committed in the ſtreets of London. Some, for theſe expreſſions of compaſſion, had their ſhare of the like treatment. The ſoldiers being aſked, why they could be ſo cruel to their neighbours? one of them anſwered, "Nay, we are more merci-"ful than we ought to be, for we have orders to kill; and "that his muſquet was double charged, as moſt of thoſe of "the party were to his knowledge." Through this treatment, ſome who were haled out of the meeting at Bull-and-Mouth, 31ſt Auguſt, 1662, were ſo diſabled as to keep their beds for ſome time: one was ſo wounded in the head that his brains were viſible, and one died of the bruiſes and wounds he received. The coroner's jury, which was impanelled to view the body, broke up without giving a verdict; alledging as their reaſon, that if they pronounced it wilful murder, and the perpetrator could not be found, the city would be liable to a fine. The king, when an account of theſe barbarous tranſactions was preſented to him by one of the ſociety, ſaid, "I aſſure you, it was not by my advice, "that any of your friends ſhould be ſlain; you muſt tell "the magiſtrates of the city of it, and proſecute the law "againſt them." The mayor was, by letter, duly apprized of theſe proceedings, but afforded no redreſs. The letter, accompanied by a narrative, was printed and publiſhed; for which the author was committed to Newgate by Sir *Richard Brown*, the mayor, on the charge of diſperſing ſcandalous papers.*

After the murder, we have mentioned, the meetings in the city were generally undiſturbed for ſix weeks; then ſimilar practices of injuſtice and cruelty were renewed, under the ſanction of the magiſtrates, and continued nearly to the end of the year 1662. By this time no leſs than twenty perſons had

* Gough, vol. 1. p. 538—546.

died priſoners in Newgate, and ſeven more by ſickneſs contracted there ſoon after their diſcharge.*

The king's declaration of indulgence retarded, in 1663, the furious career of the perſecuting magiſtrates; and few inſtances of ſufferings in the metropolis occur in this year, compared with the preceding. Yet the quakers did not remain quite unmoleſted; for Sir *John Robinſon*, who preceded Sir *R. Brown* in the mayoralty, ordered a guard to be placed at the entrance of the Bull-and-Mouth meeting-houſe, to prevent any perſons from entering into it. The meetings on this were held in the ſtreets; but thoſe who preached or prayed were generally haled away to priſon, and blows were unmercifully dealt on the heads both of men and women, who did not diſperſe at the command of the mayor and his officers. In this year there was alſo a ſevere perſecution of this people at Colcheſter in Eſſex. Their meetings were interrupted by acts of violence: and many were diſabled and bruiſed, and the lives of others were brought into great danger by blows with clubs, carbines and ſwords. One of them, when a trooper was beating him with a ſword, and the blade fell out of the hilt, took it and gave it to him, ſaying, "I will give it thee up again; I deſire the Lord "may not lay this day's work to thy charge."†

The operation of the conventicle act, paſſed in 1664, though levelled at every body of diſſenters, fell with peculiar weight on the *quakers*; numbers of them, and of them only, were condemned to tranſportation upon this act; and the proceedings againſt them were conducted with peculiar and hoſtile precipitancy. For, "as the penalty for the firſt "offence was impriſonment for a term not exceeding three "months, and for the ſecond not exceeding ſix, at the ar-"bitrary diſcretion of two juſtices;" it was uſual for theſe juſtices to commit them for a few days for the firſt and ſecond offences, not out of tenderneſs, but in order to ſubject them more ſpeedily to the penalty of tranſportation for the third offence. For, from their long approved conſtancy, they promiſed themſelves an aſſurance of finding them again at their religious aſſemblies, as ſoon as at liberty.‡ The privileges

* Gough's Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 1, 2. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 21—24.
‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 112, 116.

of

of the ſubject were held, at this time, by ſo precarious a tenure, that the hiſtory of this ſociety furniſhes inſtances of the judges refuſing to accept the verdict of the grand jury, when they have returned the bill *ignoramus*; and of his ſending them out again with menaces and freſh inſtructions.* The evidence produced againſt them, on their trial, was ſometimes ſo inſufficient, that the jury remonſtrated againſt it, and intreated not to be troubled any more with ſuch evidence. When neither perſuaſions nor menaces could induce a jury to alter their verdict to the dictates of the court, ſome of them were bound in 100l. each to appear at the king's-bench-bar the firſt day of the following term.†

The awful viſitation of Providence, by a deſtructive peſtilence, in 1665, had no effect in ſoftening the enmity of their perſecutors. Perſecution continued, and the meetings were diſturbed as before. Many who were caſt into the filthy holes of Newgate were releaſed by this diſeaſe, which had infected the jails, from a life worſe than death. "But," ſays my author, "what muſt fix an indelible ſtamp "of utter inſenſibility to every motive of humanity, of ci-"vility, or common decency, on the characters of the ma-"giſtrates, to the diſgrace of the government, and of that "church with which they were ſo zealous to enforce con-"formity, was, that during the very height of the conta-"gion, they continued to croud the infected priſons with "freſh priſoners."‡

In 1668 the *quakers* were not, in compariſon with former years, much diſturbed by the civil power; their ſufferings were moſtly by excommunications, impriſonments, and diſtraints, for their conſcientious ſcruples againſt paying eccleſiaſtical demands, ſeveral of which, however, were unreaſonably ſevere.

The third act againſt conventicles, which was carried into a law in 1670, opened new ſcenes of perſecution, in which the *quakers* had their peculiar ſhare. Many were cruelly ſpoiled of their property; people of conſiderable ſubſtance were reduced to extreme poverty; and the ſick had their beds taken from under them, and were reduced to lie on the floor. When the ſufferers, according to the privilege al-

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 117, 118. † Ibid. p. 128, 129. ‡ Ibid. p. 139, 140.

lowed by the act, appealed againſt the heavy fines and the exorbitant diſtraints, they generally obtained little by the appeal but additional loſs. The influence of the convicting juſtice, the partiality of the bench, corrupt juries, or a neglect in putting into due execution the decrees of the quarter-ſeſſions, to which they appealed, left them unredreſſed. A miſconſtruction of the word *conventicles*, which the act limited to meetings for religious worſhip, contrary to the liturgy of the church of England, often expoſed them to illegal fines; for, if they met merely to provide for their poor, or viſited a ſick friend, or attended the funerals of the deceaſed, there were not wanting informers hardy enough to ſwear ſuch meetings conventicles, nor juſtices prejudiced againſt them to iſſue their warrants to levy the fines accordingly; of which Mr. *Gough* gives various inſtances.* The penalty on the preacher being 20l. for the firſt offence, and 40l. for the ſecond, the deſire of gain often tempted the unprincipled informer to ſwear againſt a preacher, when there was not a word ſpoken in the meeting. At other times, a word ſpoken, though not on ſubjects of religion, was termed preaching; and an anſwer to an impertinent queſtion, extorted from ſome one or other preſent, bore the ſame conſtruction. The magiſtrates were as ready to fine as the informer to ſwear; and, by this iniquitous combination, the innocent were robbed under the cover of an act of parliament.† It is a pleaſure to find, and truth requires one to add, that ſome juſtices, apprized of the villainy of the informers, had too much honour to encourage their vicious diſpoſition to plunder without mercy, and to ſwear without ſcruple. The lord-mayor of London, in particular, ſiting in a court of aldermen, in the year 1670, when an informer made his appearance with ſuch a number of informations as would have wronged the accuſed of 1500l. with abhorrence broke up the court.‡ This year affords another peculiar inſtance of the illegal proceedings, by which this ſociety were harraſſed; which, notwithſtanding the king's repeated profeſſions of favour towards them, originated with the court. On the 29th of July an order was iſſued, by the king and council, for demoliſhing the meeting-houſe at Horſly-down, Southwark.

* Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 305—316. † Ibid. p. 316—318. ‡ Ibid.

It

It was grounded on a pretence that the perſons who aſſembled in it behaved in a riotous and tumultuous manner, than which charge nothing could be more repugnant to their avowed principles and uniform manners. The pulling down of the building was, by expreſs command, committed to *Chriſtopher Wren*, eſq; the ſurveyor-general of his majeſty's works. After this order was affixed to the meeting-houſe, the members of the ſociety continued their aſſemblies in it, till it was demoliſhed; they then met upon the rubbiſh. By this they expoſed themſelves to repeated outrages and cruel abuſes from the military, into whoſe hands was put the deſpotick treatment of this aſſembly, and who, at one aſſault, ſorely bruiſed and wounded twenty, at a ſecond thirty, and at a third more than fifty perſons. When the ſoldiers were reprehended for their cruelty; ſome of them anſwered, "If "you knew what orders we have, you would ſay we dealt "mercifully with you." Others, being aſked how can you deal thus with a people that have love and good-will to all men, and make no reſiſtance or oppoſition, replied; "We "had rather, and it would be better for us, if they did reſiſt "and oppoſe." This was looked upon by the ſufferers, as if they ſought occaſion to embrue their hands more deeply in blood, and take the lives and eſtates of honeſt people for their prey. At length theſe military violations of the peace of the city rouſed the civil officers to interpoſe their authority; but it was too weak to protect this unarmed body againſt the number of armed men let looſe upon them. Theſe proceedings of the ſoldiers having been repreſented to the king and council, a temporary ceſſation of theſe cruelties was procured, but they were not wholly diſcontinued. A building at Ratcliffe, belonging to this ſociety, was ſubjected to the like violence with that at Horſly-down, and on the 2d of September, without any legal proceſs, was demoliſhed. On that day and the night following, twelve cart-loads of doors, windows, and floors, with other materials, were carried away. Some of the materials were ſold on the ſpot for money and ſtrong drink. Thus grievous ſufferings, exorbitant ſpoil, and illegal depredation, were the lot of an inoffenſive and peaceable claſs of ſubjects. Theſe evils were

were inflicted by thoſe whoſe duty it was to protect the rights and property of the ſubject, even by officers under government.*

While theſe calamities awaited the general body of this people, on account of their conſcientious profeſſion, it is to be ſuppoſed, that the more active and diſtinguiſhed members of the ſociety were peculiar marks for prejudice and malignity. Of this the hiſtory of the *quakers* furniſhes many examples, which we muſt not paſs over unnoticed, though our limits will not allow us to go into a minute detail of each caſe.

George Fox, eminent for his activity and zeal in diſſeminating his principles, was among the firſt, who, after the reſtoration of *Charles* II. and for ſome years, felt the rage of bigotry. In 1660 he was apprehended by a warrant from Mr. *Henry Porter*, the mayor of Lancaſter, at the houſe of *Margaret Fell*, at Swaithmore, and carried to Ulverſton, where he was guarded for the night by fifteen or ſixteen men, ſome of whom kept ſentry at the chimney, for fear he ſhould eſcape by that paſſage; "ſo darkened," obſerves the hiſtorian, "were they by ſuperſtitious imaginations." Next morning he was eſcorted, with abuſive and contumelious treatment, to Lancaſter, and brought before the mayor, who committed him to priſon; refuſed bail; and denied him a copy of the mittimus. Two friends having, however, been permitted to read it, he publiſhed an immediate reply to the charges, which they reported to him it contained. Application was made to the king for an habeas corpus to remove him to London, and was obtained. In conſequence of this writ, though his perſecutors, for two months, obſtructed the operation of it, he preſented himſelf in the court of king's-bench; the juſtices, being diſpaſſionate and favourable, cauſed the ſheriff's return of the *habeas corpus* to be laid before the king, who, when *Fox* had ſuffered for more than twenty weeks an unjuſt and ſevere impriſonment, gave directions for his releaſe. His enemies, on his obtaining his liberty, were filled with vexation and fear, as they were conſcious of the illegality of their proceedings; and he was adviſed, by ſome in authority, to make the mayor and the reſt examples: but he meekly replied, "I ſhall leave them to the

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 341—352.

"Lord;

"Lord; if he forgive them, I ſhall trouble myſelf no farther "about them."*

On occaſion of rumours of a conſpiracy ſet on foot in the North among the Republicans and Separatiſts, warrants were again iſſued out, in 1663, to apprehend *George Fox*; as he was on his tour through the Northern counties, he was not met with; but at length, finding that they continued their purſuit, he reſolved to ſtand his ground, and was apprehended; when no evidence could be produced to juſtify committing him on the pretended plot, the juſtices contented themſelves with his engaging to appear at the ſeſſions: he appeared at it, but finding no grounds to effect their purpoſe, either upon the plot, or the act againſt meetings, they committed him (for refuſing the oath of allegiance) to a very incommodious room in Lancaſter caſtle, where he was kept cloſe priſoner till after the ſpring aſſizes 1665; after that he was removed to Scarborough caſtle, where he was detained upwards of a year longer; when finding means to have his caſe laid before the king, he ſoon after obtained his releaſe, having ſuffered an arbitrary and very rigorous impriſonment of more than three years.† At Lancaſter, he was locked up in a ſmoaky tower, ſometimes ſo filled with ſmoak that a burning candle was ſcarcely viſible,† and ſo open as to admit the rain in upon his bed. The room allotted to him in Scarborough Caſtle was little better, if not worſe; and when, at his own expence, he had made it tolerable, he was removed into another room, without chimney or fire-place, and ſo open to the ſea-ſide, that the rain, violently driven by the the wind, poured into the room. A ſentinel was placed at his door; few or none of his friends were permitted to viſit him, or even to bring him food; but numbers of others were admitted in to gaze upon him, or diſpute with him.§ His removal from one priſon to another, when he was in a very weak condition, was attended with a treatment in many reſpects uncivil and rude. To the rigour and hardſhips of his impriſonment were added, to terrify him, the frequent menaces of his keepers. The deputy governor once told

* Gough's Hiſtory, vol. i. p. 432—439.

† Gough, vol. ii. p. 25—29. ‡ Ibid. p. 29. § Ibid. p. 152, 3.

him,

him, "That the king, knowing he had a great intereſt in "the people, had ſent him thither, that if there ſhould be "any ſtirring in the nation, they ſhould hang him over the "wall." He replied to this menace, "If that was what "they deſired, and it was permitted them, he was ready, "for he never feared death or ſufferings in his life; but was "known to be an innocent, peaceable man, free from ſtir-"rings and plottings, and one that ſought the good of all "men." His patience ſurmounted the hardſhips to which he was expoſed; and his innocence pleading in his favour, his keepers at length relaxed their ſeverity, and treated him with favour and reſpect. When, on obtaining his releaſe, Mr. *Fox* offered an acknowledgment for his late civility and kindneſs to the governor of Scarborough caſtle, he refuſed it; adding, "whatever good he could do him or his friends, "he would do it, and never do them any hurt." His conſequent conduct made good this promiſe, for it was ever favourable to the quakers.*

Mrs. *Margaret Fell*, who had been a widow about two years, in 1660 was, in a degree, involved in the ſevere proceedings againſt *Fox;* for, that they might lay hold of him, they forcibly entered and ſearched her houſe; of this ſhe complained in an appeal to the public, as an injury offered to herſelf, and a violation of the liberty of the ſubject.† In the year 1663 this lady, the widow of a judge and a woman of eſtate, was cited before the juſtices, and queſtioned about keeping meetings at her houſe, and the oath of allegiance was tendered to her; on which ſhe expoſtulated with them, that as "they knew ſhe could not ſwear, why ſhould they "ſend for her from her own houſe and her lawful affairs to "enſnare her?" Adding, "what have I done?" This remonſtrance, for the inſtant, impreſſed their minds, and they declared they would not urge the oath, if ſhe would not keep meetings at her houſe.‡ To this propoſal ſhe magnanimouſly replied, "ſhe would not deny her faith and prin-"ciples for any thing they could do againſt her, and while

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 150—156. † Ibid. vol. i. p. 435, 6.

‡ Mr. Gough properly remarks on this propoſal, that it was a plain confeſſion, that the tender of the oath was a mere pretext to be vexatious to the ſubject, an arbitrary meaſure aſſumed for the mere purpoſe of perſecution.

"it

"it ſhould pleaſe the Lord to let her have a houſe, ſhe "would endeavour to worſhip him in it." On this the oath was tendered, and on her refuſal, ſhe was committed to Lancaſter caſtle, a priſon then crowded with numbers of the ſame profeſſion, and the ſtate of which heightened the evil of confinement. Here ſhe was detained till next year.*

When, in the month of Auguſt, ſhe was, at the aſſizes, brought to her trial on the ſame account, ſhe perſevered in refuſing the oath, and anſwered the judge with good ſenſe and pious intrepidity. Her counſel was admitted to plead an arreſt of judgment, after the jury gave a verdict againſt her, and found ſeveral errors in the indictment, but they were not admitted by the judge, and ſentence of præmunire was paſſed upon her. She remained in priſon twenty months, before ſhe could obtain liberty to go to her own houſe, which ſhe procured for a little time, and returned to priſon again, where ſhe continued about four years, till releaſed by an order of the king and council.†

Another of the ſociety of quakers, whoſe ſufferings are recorded in a diſtinct narrative, was their noted preacher, Mr. *Francis Howgill*. This reſpectable man, as he was in the market-place at Kendal, on his lawful buſineſs, was ſummoned before the magiſtrates then ſitting in a tavern; who tendered him the oath of allegiance, and, on his conſcientious refuſal of it, committed him to priſon till the next month. At the ſpring aſſizes of 1663, the oath was again adminiſtered unto him, and on his refuſal, an indictment was drawn up againſt him, which he traverſed. A bond for his good behaviour till his trial came on, being required of him, he ſuffered himſelf to be recommitted to priſon, rather than give it, as he apprehended it would be a tacit acknowledgement of paſt ill-behaviour, and his attendance at meetings in the mean time, which a ſenſe of duty would not ſuffer him to neglect, would be interpreted as a breach of his engagement.‡ As he was going to the priſon he turned to the people, and uttered this devout wiſh, "the fear of God be "among you all." And the people generally appeared very affectionate to him, and pitied his hard circumſtance;§ while

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 29. &c. † Ibid. p. 92—96. ‡ Ibid. p. 31, 32.
§ Ibid. p. 100.

the

the juſtices of Weſtmoreland endeavoured to prepoſſeſs the judge and court againſt him by invidious reflections on him and the ſociety, and by the weight of their united influence and enmity.

At the ſummer aſſizes he was again brought to the bar. Modeſty, equanimity, good ſenſe, ſober reaſoning, and deep impreſſions of religion, marked his conduct at both aſſizes, and appear to have ſoftened the ſternneſs of his judges. The ſentence which confiſcated his lands to the king during his life, and his goods and chattels for ever, and conſigned him to priſon for the reſt of his days, was, however, paſſed upon him; the judge, it was obſerved, pronounced it with a faint and low voice, as if he was ſenſible that this man was greatly wronged, and that himſelf did not entirely approve of the ſentence he was paſſing.* "In miſtaken zeal for religion," our hiſtorian remarks, "the plaineſt rules of morality are violated, and in forcing uniformity in eſſential points, the ſubſtantial parts, mercy, juſtice, and truth, are obliterated."

The caſe of *Hannah Trigg*, on account of the ſingular ſeverity of it, deſerves particular mention. She was one of twelve quakers who received ſentence of tranſportation, being tried and convicted on a bill of indictment preferred againſt them for the third offence. The circumſtance, which particularly marked the tyranny and illegality of the treatment of this young woman, was, that ſhe was not ſixteen years of age, and the certificate of her birth was arbitrarily rejected by the juſtices. After ſentence ſhe ſickened in Newgate, and died there. The unfeeling inhumanity, which was inſatiate with her life, was extended to her corps. Her relations were deprived of the conſolation of interring her as they deſired, but ſhe was carried to the burying-place of the felons; and when the bearers came to the ground, finding no grave made, they left the corps unburied, ſaying they would make a grave next morning. The girl's mother attending the funeral, had the grief and anguiſh to behold this treatment of her daughter's remains in ſilent ſorrow, without the power of remedy.†

* Gough, p. 108. † Ibid. p. 127.

The

The ſufferings alſo of *Joſeph Fuce*, a man of patient and meek ſpirit, and very laborious as a preacher, who died in the White-Lyon priſon in Southwark in 1665, ſhould not paſs unnoticed. In 1660, being at a meeting at Deal, he, with twenty-three others, was ſeized by ſeveral armed men, and being committed to Sandown Caſtle, they were kept there ſeveral nights and days, their friends not being allowed to bring them either food to eat or ſtraw to lie on. He and another were afterwards removed to Dover caſtle, and with five others of their friends were locked up in one room, from which they were permitted no egreſs, not even for the neceſſities of nature, nor were their friends allowed any acceſs to them; and the ſervant of the marſhal, for ſhewing them ſome little favour, was diſmiſſed from his place. *Joſeph Fuce* remonſtrating, when an opportunity offered, on the cruel uſage they received, was anſwered with a volley of oaths and execrations. His pious ears being wounded with this profaneneſs, he bore his teſtimony againſt it by a ſerious reproof. The marſhal at this, exaſperated to rage, cauſed him to be dragged headlong down ſeveral ſtone-ſteps into a dungeon, overrun with filth and with vermin, into which no light or air could enter, but by ſome holes cut in the door. He was kept there two days and two nights, without fire, candle, ſtraw, or any thing to lie on but an old blanket. When he had obtained ſome ſtraw, for want of air, through the damp and ſtench of his diſmal lodging, he fell ſick; and after nine days confinement, as he ſeemed at the point of death, the fear of being queſtioned for murdering him, moved the marſhal to remove him, and to permit him to return to his fellow-priſoners, with whom he continued ſeveral months till releaſed by the king's proclamation.*

Neither the calamities to which the ſociety of quakers were expoſed, nor the ſufferings which with peculiar ſeverity were felt by ſome of its moſt eminent and worthy members, could damp the ardour of their zeal in defending their cauſe and diſſeminating their principles, but ſerved to call forth their vigorous exertions. *Margaret Fell*, on the apprehenſion of *George Fox*, publiſhed a brief narrative of that

* Gough, p. 143—145.

violent

violent proceeding, and took a journey to London to lay the caſe before the king, requeſting his favourable interpoſition, "to cauſe him to be removed to London, and hear "his cauſe himſelf:" in which ſuit ſhe was heard.* When, in conſequence of the inſurrection of the fifth-monarchy men, many of the QUAKERS, without crimination, without conviction, were violently haled to priſon, in addition to the endeavours uſed for their relief, by publiſhing and preſenting to the king, a declaration from that people againſt all ſedition, plotters, fighters, &c. the ſame lady ſeveral times waited perſonally upon the king to ſolicit his indulgence and protection for them: at her firſt admiſſion ſhe ſignified to him, "they were an innocent, peaceable people, who did "no injury, and adminiſtered no occaſion of offence, except "in keeping up their religious meetings, for no other pur-"poſe than worſhipping God in that way, they were per-"ſuaded was moſt acceptable to him, and edifying one "another in his fear; which being to them a conſcientious "matter of duty to God, they could not violate it, in com-"pliance with the ordinances or laws of man, whatever they "ſuffered." In conſequence of her applications and the declaration above-mentioned, the king ſent out a proclamation, "forbidding ſoldiers to ſearch any houſe without a con-"ſtable." At length he was prevailed upon to iſſue out a declaration, ordering "the quakers to be ſet at liberty with-"out paying the fees."† *Burrough*, *Hubberthorn*, and *Whitehead*, among others, were active advocates for their ſuffering brethren. They attended parliament to ſolicit againſt the bill, brought in in 1661, paſſing into an act. *Burrough* preſented to the king and council in the ſame year a paper, entitled, "A juſt and righteous Plea," repreſenting their ſentiments reſpecting oaths, and their eſtabliſhed religious principle, "to enter into no plots, combinations or re-"bellion, againſt government; nor to ſeek deliverance from "injuſtice or oppreſſion by any ſuch means." In this he was ſeconded by *Hubberthorn* and *Whitehead*, who with ability and ſpirit entered into a vindication of the religious meetings of their ſociety.‡ Two letters, about this time, were addreſſed to the king, remonſtrating on the counte-

* Gough, vol. i. p. 435—37. † Ibid. p. 455, 56. ‡ Ibid. p. 500—505.

nance

nance given to profane ſhows and ſports, and the encouragement afforded to perſecutors, and boldly reproving his majeſty for his perſonal conduct. The one was written by *George Fox* the elder, ſo called for diſtinction, as the elder brother of the ſociety, the other was drawn up by *George Fox* the younger. They afford a ſpecimen, as the hiſtorian obſerves, "of the honeſt plain-dealing of men, who, with "*Elihu*, knew not to flatter, leſt in ſo doing their Maker "ſhould take them away." When the laſt of the two letters was delivered to the king, he ſeemed conſiderably affected with the contents. His brother, the duke of *York*, whoſe temper was more gloomy, reſerved, and vindictive, being greatly exaſperated with the writer, adviſed the king to puniſh him; but, with much propriety, he replied, "It "were better for us to *mend our lives*."* Theſe epiſtles of the *Fox's*, however, left no permanent impreſſion on the royal mind. In the year 1662, the univerſal rage againſt the peaceable ſociety of the *Quakers* left them unmoleſted in few or no parts of the nation. On this *George Fox* again addreſſed the king on behalf of the ſuffering friends, and ſtated, that ſince his reſtoration three thouſand and ſixty-eight had been impriſoned, and a narrative ſigned by twelve witneſſes was printed, which repreſented that the number of men and women then in priſon amounted to upwards of four thouſand and two hundred. Humanity revolts at the circumſtances of cruelty with which the members of this ſociety were treated at this time; when their meetings were broken up by men with clubs, they themſelves were thrown into the water, and trampled under foot till the blood guſhed out.† Among other endeavours that *George Fox* uſed to remove ſuſpicion and ſoften enmity, was a paper, which he wrote in 1663, as a teſtimony againſt all plots and conſpiracies whatever; to admoniſh his friends to circumſpection in their words and actions, and not to meddle in any civil commotions: copies of which he diſperſed through the Northern counties, and ſent one to the king and council.‡

Others of this ſociety, beſides *George Fox*, took up their pens in the cauſe of their innocent and oppreſſed brethren. When the conventicle act was paſſed in 1664, *George*

* Gough, p. 510, 313. † Ibid. p. 538. ‡ Ibid. vol. ii. p. 25.

Whitehead

Whitehead publiſhed a piece to expoſe the ſeverity of the perſecutors, to exculpate his friends ſtom the charge of obſtinacy, to ſtrengthen their ſtedfaſtneſs, and to remonſtrate on the unequal and arbitrary manner in which the judges enforced the act. Another remonſtrance was alſo publiſhed about the ſame time, by *Joſiah Coale*, againſt perſecution, addreſſed to the king and both houſes of parliament.*

In the year 1666 the cauſe of the *quakers* began to derive great ſupport and credit from the abilities and virtues of the celebrated *William Penn*, who in that year joined their ſociety, and became one of its moſt eminent advocates and ornaments. His pen was ſoon employed in its defence. His firſt piece was entitled "The Sandy Foundation ſhaken." This gave great offence to ſome powerful eccleſiaſticks, and it was anſwered by an accuſtomed mode of reply, namely, an order for impriſoning him. He was cloſely confined ſeven months in the Tower, and denied the viſits of his friends. This precluded him from his miniſterial labours: but ſeveral treatiſes were the fruits of his ſolitude, particularly one of great note, entitled "No Croſs, no Crown;" in which, Dr. *Henry More* obſerved, "Mr. *Penn* has treated the ſubject of a fu-"ture life and the immortality of the ſoul, with a force and "ſpirit equal to moſt writers."†

The firſt of the above pieces was occaſioned by a particular circumſtance which called on the *quakers* to vindicate themſelves in a publick diſputation. Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, a preſbyterian miniſter of eminent piety, and who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his miniſterial labours in the time of the plague, but whoſe zeal in this inſtance miſled him, had, on two of his hearers going to the *quaker*'s meetings, indulged himſelf in invectives from the pulpit againſt that people, and in a licence of expreſſion beyond the bounds of chriſtian moderation and common decency. This reaching the ears of ſome of thoſe at whom they were caſt, they demanded of him a publick meeting to vindicate themſelves from his ſevere reflections, or to give him an opportunity to ſupport them by proof, to which, after ſome demur, Mr. *Vincent* agreed. Before the hour appointed the houſe was filled with his own hearers and partiſans; and he was accompanied by three other

* Gough, p. 115. † Britiſh Biography, vol. vii. p. 138.

preſby-

preſbyterian miniſters, as his aſſiſtants; Mr. *Thomas Dawſon*, Mr. *Tho. Doolittle*, and Mr. *William Maddocks*. *George Whitehead* and *William Penn*, on the ſide of their friends, attended to his charges againſt the *quakers*. Inſtead of bringing them forward, Mr. *Vincent* opened the conference with this queſtion, "*Whether they owned one Godhead in three diſtinct and ſeparate perſons?* He framed on this, according to the mode of argumentation then in uſe, a ſyllogiſm. *George Whitehead* rejected his terms as unſcriptural, and not deducible from the text he quoted, and deſired him to explain them ſo that they might be underſtood; obſerving, "that God "did not uſe to wrap his truths in heatheniſh metaphyſicks, but deliver them in plain language.' But Mr. *Vincent* and his co-adjutors would neither keep to ſcriptute terms, nor allow them in their antagoniſts. After many inſults offered to the *quakers*, and opprobrious names caſt upon them, the meeting was broken up by a prayer from Mr. *Vincent*, in which theſe people were accuſed as blaſphemers. Some people ſtaying, after he and his brethren withdrew, the *quakers* found an opportunity of exculpating themſelves from the invectives of their adverſaries. Another debate was deſired, but evaded. On this *Penn* appealed to the publick.*

It falls within the period of which we are writing, to notice the remarks on the third conventicle act, which *George Fox*, being in London at the time, publiſhed in 1670, in order, if poſſible, to move the government to moderation. Apprehending an impending ſtorm, he wrote alſo, at the ſame time, an epiſtle to his friends, to exhort them to faithfulneſs and ſtedfaſtneſs in their teſtimony to the truth, and to chriſtian patience, in bearing the ſufferings which might be permitted to try their faith.†

Under a ſucceſſive train of ſevere trials, this people maintained patience, reſignation, and a blameleſs demeanour: and, with the powers of the world againſt them, their numbers were continually increaſing. In the year 1666 they were become a large body. This gave them courage and reſolution to erect in that year a new meeting-houſe in White-hart court, Grace-church-ſtreet, which, from its

* Gough, p. 226—228. † Ibid. p. 318.

central

central ſituation, became afterwards the place for their yearly meetings.*

The affairs of this ſociety began now to range into a regular and ſyſtematick form. *George Fox*, as ſoon as he was releaſed from his long confinement, proceeded as uſual in his labours; and when he was ſo weak and ſtiff, and benumbed in his joints, by a cruel impriſonment for the greateſt part of three years, that it was with difficulty he could mount his horſe or alight, he went from Yorkſhire to London. He ſaw it neceſſary to increaſe the number of meetings of diſcipline, as the exigencies and the numbers of the ſociety were increaſed. In 1660, a general meeting for church affairs had been held at Skipton in Yorkſhire. The buſineſs of it was confined to the taking an account of their ſufferings, and to collections for the relief of the poor. *Quarterly* meetings were afterwards eſtabliſhed in London, which, in addition to the former ſubjects of attention, had the charge of the reputation of the ſociety, to watch over the members, and admoniſh and exhort ſuch as might appear diſorderly and uncircumſpect in their converſation, not agreeable to the ſtrictneſs of their religious profeſſion; beſides the women's meetings, which had chiefly the care of poor widows and orphans. During *George Fox*'s ſtay in London there were eſtabliſhed, at his recommendation, five *monthly* meetings of men and women in that city, to tranſact the buſineſs which had before employed the *quarterly* meetings, and a general meeting once in three months, as hitherto, for mutual counſel, advice and deliberation, in relation to the common affairs and care of the whole body in the city. He afterwards procured his plan of *monthly* meetings to be adopted through all the counties, in Scotland, Ireland, Holland, and the continent of America. The buſineſs of the *monthly* meetings was, at his advice and admonition, after this, extended to the taking cognizance of the orderly proceedings towards marriage, to ſee "that the parties, who propoſed "marriage, were clear from other engagements, that their "relations were ſatisfied, that widows had made proviſion "for their firſt huſband's children before they married again, "and to inſtitute whatever other enquiries were neceſſary

* Gough, p. 157.

"for

" for keeping all things clean and pure, in good order and " righteouſneſs, to the glory of God."

Some time after *monthly* and *quarterly* meetings were eſtabliſhed, (viz. in the year 1669) it was found expedient, and agreed upon, to hold a *general* meeting in London, repreſentative of the whole body in England, and all other parts where any of the ſociety were ſettled; which has, from that time, been held annually, and is called " The Yearly " Meeting in London." It is formed of deputies from each *quarterly* meeting in England, and from the *half year*'s meetings in Ireland, without reſtraining from an attendance any member in unity with the ſociety. Such places in Europe and America, as are too remote conveniently to ſend repreſentatives, keep up a correſpondence with this meeting by epiſtles. A committee of correſpondence in London and ſeveral counties and other places, to be conſulted in the intervals between the yearly meetings, upon any emergency, was alſo eſtabliſhed. The members appointed correſpondents in London, to meet the ſixth day in every week, to conſult upon ſuch matters as may be laid before them, particularly any ſuffering caſes of friends, from whence it is called " *The Meeting for Sufferings*," and is a meeting of record.

From the meetings of diſcipline no members of the ſociety are excluded. A regular record of all their proceedings is kept by a clerk, who, at the deſire of the meeting, voluntarily undertakes the office. The buſineſs of theſe meetings is preceded by a ſolemn meeting of worſhip. An enquiry, whether meetings for diſcipline and worſhip are duly attended, the preſervation of love and unity, the religious education of youth, are ſome of the leading objects of theſe aſſociations. Enquiries are alſo made, Whether a faithful and chriſtian teſtimony is borne againſt the receiving or paying tithes, prieſts' demands, or thoſe called church-rates? Whether friends are careful to avoid all vain ſports, places of diverſion, gaming, and all unneceſſary frequenting of alehouſes or taverns, exceſs in drinking, and intemperance of every kind? Whether friends are juſt in their dealings, and punctual in fulfilling their engagements, and are adviſed carefully to inſpect the ſtate of their affairs once in the year? Whether early care be taken to adviſe and deal with ſuch as

appear inclinable to marry contrary to the rules of the ſociety; and whether any remove from or into monthly or two-weekly meetings without certificates? And whether two or more faithful friends are deputed in each particular meeting to have the overſight thereof; and care be taken, when any thing appears amiſs, that the rules of their diſcipline be put in practice?

This ſketch of the diſcipline and eccleſiaſtical government of this ſociety cannot fail to give us a favourable idea of the ſpirit and principles which actuate it. It is recommended by the method and regularity which mark it: and it is a great excellence of it, that it is directed to the encouragement and promotion of good morals, of a peaceable, upright, and blameleſs conduct in ſocial life. For a more full and accurate view of its nature and deſign, the reader may be referred to a long and judicious diſquiſition on it in Mr. *Gough*'s History:* which, when he has peruſed, he will determine for himſelf, whether it may not be juſtly extolled, as "bearing "marks of a peculiar wiſdom in the contrivance, and good-"neſs of heart in the ends in view, realized in the beneficial "effects it then had, and hath ſince continued to produce."

The *quakers*, beſides ſupporting a ſeries of ſufferings with patience and fortitude, diſſeminating their principles, through England, Wales, and Scotland, with unabating zeal, and forming their ſociety upon a regular plan of government, traverſed the Atlantick ocean, carried their ſentiments into America, and eſtabliſhed themſelves in the Weſtern continent. The undertaking was arduous; new calamities and perſecutions awaited them in new countries.† Their pious efforts, however, were eventually ſucceſsful in the *tranſatlantick* regions. The brevity we muſt obſerve, does not allow us to go here into particulars. But two inſtances of their zeal, at this period, to propagate their doctrine in the foreign parts of Europe, were of ſo ſingular a nature as to call for particular notice.

About the year 1661 two women, *Catharine Eva s* and *Sarah Cheevers*, moved with a religious concern to diffuſe their principles, took their paſſage in a ſhip bound from London to Leghorn; after various trials and ſtorms they ar-

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 161—198. † Ibid. chap. ix.

rived

rived at that city; and, during their ſtay in it, they diſperſed books, explaining the doctrines of the ſociety, and diſcourſed with people of all ranks, numbers of whom curioſity daily drew after them: and here they met with no moleſtation. They ſailed from hence in a Dutch ſhip bound to Alexandria, the maſter of which put into Malta. Going on ſhore, the day after their arrival, they were met by the Engliſh conſul, who invited them to his houſe, where they continued about three months. They were viſited by many, whom they found it their concern to call to repentance, and were repeatedly ſummoned before the inquiſitors, whoſe interrogatories they anſwered in ſuch a manner, as not to give them the advantage they ſought, nor to reſign their own principles by the leaſt compliance with the ſuperſtitious and ſhowy religion of the country. The conſul, at laſt, overcome by flattery, menaces and bribery, gave up his gueſts to the inquiſitors, who would not venture to take them without his conſent or acquieſcence. Having undergone an examination, which they ſupported with ſimplicity and firmneſs, they were impriſoned in a cloſe, dark room, with only two little holes for light and air, and ſo extremely hot in that warm climate, that it ſeemed as if the intention of the inquiſitors was to ſtifle them to death. This impriſonment laſted three or four years. They were continually beſet and perplexed with the impertinences of monks and friars, to cajole or terrify them into their ſuperſtitions. But neither flattery nor menaces could pervert theſe innocent women from their profeſſion. Upon this they were put into a room ſo exceedingly hot, cloſe, and ſuffocating, that they were often forced to riſe out of their bed, to lie down at the chink of the door for air to draw breath; their faces were exceſſively ſtung by gnats; and, ſuch was the effect of the heat of the room and the climate, their ſkin was parched, their hair fell off, and they frequently fainted away. They were tempted, at times, to wiſh for death; to end their ſorrows. *Catharine Evans* fell into a fit of ſickneſs, and the phyſician ſaid "they "muſt have air, or elſe they would die." On this the door was ordered to be ſet open ſix hours in the day. Soon after they were ſeparated, in hope that an impreſſion might be made on their minds, if they were ſeparately attacked; but

each was immoveable. They not only reſiſted every attempt to draw them off from their religious profeſſion to the ſuperſtitions of popery; but, as the houſe of inquiſition was rebuilding, or repairing in ſome parts, for the ſpace of a year and half, they embraced the opportunities which offered to incite the people to repentance, both the workmen who were obliging to them, and the citizens of better quality who came to view the building. The apartment of *Catharine* being near the ſtreet, ſhe frequently accoſted with admonitions thoſe that paſſed by, many of whom would ſtay to hear as long as they durſt, and were much affected. After enduring the ſeverities of an impriſonment in the inquiſition upwards of three years, and ſeveral unſucceſsful attempts to procure their releaſe, *George Fox* engaged the friendly and humane interpoſition of lord *D'Aubigny* with the magiſtrates, whoſe mediation was effectual: and being liberated they returned to England. On their paſſage home, a paſſenger, who was a knight of Malta and the inquiſitor's brother, intereſted himſelf with the captain, to ſecure them every accommodation the ſhip could afford. The merchants at Leghorn, where the veſſel ſtopt, treated them with great kindneſs, and ſupplied them with wine and other articles for their refreſhment. At Tangier, the governor courteouſly received them, and would have given them money, which they declined accepting, though they gratefully acknowledged his kindneſs. They freely addreſſed their admonitions to him, and exhortations to amendment of life to the people who flocked to the houſe where they lodged. Previouſly to their diſcharge from Alexandria, their tried integrity and blameleſs manners had made impreſſions in their favour both on the magiſtrates and the inquiſitor, the latter of whom relaxed in his ſeverity, and granted them the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, to write to their friends.*

The ſufferings of theſe women, in the ſingular enterprize to which their apprehenſions of duty animated them, fell ſhort of thoſe which befel two men in a ſimilar undertaking: namely, *John Philly* and *William Moore*. Theſe perſons, being in Germany with other friends, in the beginning of 1662, felt a concern to proceed into Hungary, and to viſit the

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 51—63.

Hortesche

Hortesche brethren, who were a kind of *baptiſts*, that lived in a community, hundreds of them together in a family, having their goods and poſſeſſions in common; they alſo refuſed to ſwear or fight. This was a deſign attended with peculiar difficulties and perils: as it would lead them, on a long journey, through a tract of country unknown to them, and amongſt people differing from them in language, in ſentiments, and in manners. But, ſuch were their views of the obligations lying upon them, they were not intimidated by the proſpect of difficulties, and actually made a proſperous journey to the neareſt body of that people, reſiding at Cuſhart, near Preſburg, where they were pretty hoſpitably entertained, and diſperſed ſome religious books, which they had taken for that purpoſe. From hence they ſet off for Pattock, a city three hundred miles farther on in Upper Hungary, and accompanied each other to Comora in Schut, an iſland in the Danube: encompaſſed with dangers on all hands; on the one ſide of being killed by the Turks, or of being put to death at Newhauſel, according to the practice of that garriſon towards thoſe who were found there, it being tributary to the Turks, without permiſſion. At Comora, firſt, *Moore* was apprehended, ſearched and ſtripped, and carried to the guard with his hands and feet ſhackled; and an inſinuation was thrown out, that he ſhould be roaſted on a ſpit. *Philly* was, afterwards, apprehended at his lodgings. They were committed to ſeparate priſons; *Moore* to the ſtockhouſe, and *Philly* to a room appropriated to the inhuman purpoſe of putting priſoners to the rack. On the next day they were brought before the inquiſitor to be examined; by whom, among other queſtions, they were aſked, if they did not know that *Catholicks* had laws to burn and torment hereticks, and ſuch as carried ſuch books as they had with them? To which *Moore* warily replied, "I ſhould not "have expected ſuch dealings among good chriſtians." They were for eight days, repeatedly, brought to examination, and enſnaring queſtions put to them, as, what they thought of the ſacrament; to which *Moore* replied, *the fleſh profiteth little, it is the ſpirit that quickeneth.* This inquiſitor was ſo ſtrangely unacquainted with the ſcriptures, that in a ſurprize he applied to a prieſt preſent, "Sir, father, how is that?"

Who,

Who, recollecting himſelf, ſaid, "he did remember ſuch an "expreſſion." The inquiſitor next aſked him if he would turn catholick? To which he made this rational reply; "If "I ſhould do ſo for fear or favour of you, the Lord not re- "quiring it of me, I ſhould not have peace in my conſcience, "and the diſpleaſure of the Lord would be more intolerable "than yours;" adding, "that compulſion might make hy- "pocrites, but not chriſtians, as it did not change the "heart."

After this they were put to the torture: firſt, their thumbs were ſcrewed to extort the confeſſion of ſome crime, and then they were racked, with ſuch violence in the caſe of *Moore*, that his chin was cloſe to his breaſt, and his mouth ſo cloſed, that he was almoſt choaked. They were then threatened with death. *Philly*, by calling out to the governor, as he was paſſing in his coach, obtained ſome redreſs of their calamities; and they were allowed to earn a trifle, to buy bread, by working at the wheel-barrow, though often their wages were kept back. After ſixteen weeks they were conveyed in chains, by a waggon, under a guard, to general *Nadaſh*, the Emperor's lord chamberlain. They were examined before him and ſeveral lords of the kingdom, ſome of whom ſeemed affected with their anſwers, and none objected thereto. They were ſentenced, however, to be burned, if they would not embrace the popiſh religion; but the ſentence was not executed; and a prieſt was ſent to convert them. Theſe endeavours proving ineffectual, they were removed to a place within about five German miles of Vienna, where falling into the hands of prieſts, their perils became aggravated: they were again ſearched, their books and papers taken away, enſnaring queſtions were put to them, and they were threatened with the execution of various tortures and of the ſentence of death. But the frauds and menaces of their perſecutors were fruſtrated by the ſtedfaſtneſs of theſe confeſſors. Manacles were then put on their wriſts, ſo ſmall, as when locked by main force, put them to extreme pain. They were thruſt into a narrow hole with ſome Turks, that were priſoners, where they had ſcarcely room to ſit down. At length they found a friend in the perſon who was inveſted with the chief civil autho-

rity

rity in the place, whoſe diſpoſitions to protect them and afford them relief, were much ſtrengthened by the influence of one *Adam Bien*, his barber, a religious man who had been educated among the *Horteſche* brethren. The prieſts were reſtrained from keeping them any longer in their hole of a priſon, and uſing them with the cruelty they had done before. Thoſe who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by promoting malicious inſults, endeavoured to ingratiate themſelves; and after the proſpects of obtaining their liberty, had been repeatedly clouded over by the ſickneſs of the governor, or by the attention he had been induced to give to inſinuations againſt them, and by ſome renewed ſufferings from the prieſts and ſoldiers, by *Adam Bien*'s ſtedfaſt friendſhip, and perſevering ſolicitations in their favour, they were releaſed, September 1663.*

Whatever opinion may be entertained of the prudence of theſe and other pious perſons belonging to the ſociety of *quakers*, in expoſing themſelves to ſuch perils, without poſſeſſing ordinary or ſupernatural means of ſucceeding in their well-meant efforts; the patience, firmneſs, and fortitude, which they diſplayed under the moſt trying circumſtances, muſt be allowed ſingular merit and praiſe. Patience and meekneſs, indeed, were general characteriſticks of this people. They met and ſupported the exertions of malicious violence and wanton deſpotiſm with reſigned acquieſcence, and in humble dependance upon divine protection and ſupport, without fainting in their minds.

They were alſo diſtinguiſhed, from the beginning, by their charitable regard towards each other. There were ſome among them, who were not only examples of ſtedfaſtneſs, but by their exhortations, in word and writing, encouraged their brethren to perſeverance. In the time of the plague they were exemplary for the care and tenderneſs, with which they relieved the affliction of the widows and orphans of their friends, whom that calamity carried off. They held occaſional meetings in the city to provide for the neceſſities of the poor; and when the number of objects proved too many for the men to aſſiſt by theſe meetings, they called upon the moſt grave and tender-hearted of their

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 63—83.

female

female friends, to aid them in the offices of humanity, who for this purpoſe met once a week. Not the reſident inhabitants only were exerciſed in this care; but ſeveral, as *George Whitehead*, *Alexander Parker*, *Joſiah Coale*, and others, came out of the country to London, as with their lives in their hands, ſupported by the ſentiments of faith and reſignation, to ſuffer with their friends there, whatever might be permitted to befal them, to ſtrengthen and encourage them to keep up their meetings, to edify them with their gifts, and to viſit and comfort the ſick and impriſoned. And through all they were mercifully preſerved from the infection, and from impriſonment in this ſeaſon of danger.*

The benevolence of their minds was not confined to the acts of fraternal regards to one another, in the ſeaſon of calamity and perſecution, but took a wider ſcope. Their attention to their poor, that there ſhould be no beggar amongſt them, nor any ſent to the pariſh for relief; and to afford their children inſtruction, and put them out apprentices to ſuitable trades, hath deſervedly attracted notice, and commanded general approbation. They have, moreover, chearfully paid their quota to the poor of their reſpective pariſhes, and proper objects of any denomination have been relieved by their private donations.† It frequently happened that juſtices and military officers, on coming to break up their general meeting at Skipton, when they ſaw their accounts of their collections and diſburſements, and the care taken that one county ſhould help another, as circumſtances might require, have been obliged to commend their care, and have left them undiſturbed in the exerciſe of the laudable object of their meeting. The poor of other ſocieties frequently gathering in crouds, upon theſe occaſions, partook of their liberality; for it was their cuſtom, after the meeting was over, to ſend to the bakers for bread, and diſtribute a loaf to each, how many ſoever they were.‡

Our ſketch of the hiſtory of this ſociety will not be complete, if we do not notice ſome who were eminent miniſters in it, and died at this period.

The firſt to be mentioned is *Richard Hubberthorn*, the ſon of a reputable yeoman, in the north of Lancaſhire, who,

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 149, 150. † Ibid. p. 189. ‡ Ibid. vol. i. p. 432.

after

after two months impriſonment, through the effect of the throng of priſoners, and the vitiated air on his tender conſtitution, died in Newgate on the 17th June, 1662. He was from his youth inclined to piety, ſobriety, and virtue. When he arrived to years of maturity, he obtained a poſt in the parliament's army; and preached occaſionally to the ſoldiers. When he joined the ſociety of the *quakers*, he quitted, agreeably to their principle of peace, his military employment. He was one of the firſt miniſters of this ſociety. His ſtature was low, his conſtitution infirm, and his voice weak; but he was powerful, able, and ſucceſsful as a miniſter. In the exerciſe of this office he travelled, in different parts of the nation, for the ſpace of nine years. He knew his ſeaſon, when to ſpeak and when to be ſilent; when he ſpoke, he delivered himſelf with plainneſs and pertinency to the ſubject before him. He was a man of much meekneſs, humility, patience, and brotherly kindneſs; and of diſtinguiſhed equanimity, neither eaſily depreſſed in adverſity, nor elated in proſperity. His life was ſpent in acts of righteouſneſs and the purſuit of peace, of which his latter end exhibited the happy effects, the peaceful tenour of his conſcience ſtripping death of all its terrors, and in the full aſſurance of faith, he looked forward to the near approach of future happineſs.

About the ſame time, and in the ſame priſon, died, in the 28th year of his age, having been ten years a zealous and powerful preacher, Mr. *Edward Burrough*. He was born in or near Underbarrow, a village in the barony of Kendal in Weſtmoreland, of parents in repute for their honeſt and virtuous conduct, and of competent ſubſtance. His puerile years exhibited proofs of manly ſenſe and religious thoughtfulneſs. He was fond of the converſation of ſuch as were in eſteem for piety, and placed his ſatisfaction in peruſing the ſcriptures, in which he was well verſed. He was educated in the epiſcopal way of worſhip; but, about the age of twelve years, began to frequent the meetings of the preſbyterians, till he was ſeventeen. He then became poſſeſſed with ſerious apprehenſions of great deficiency in the knowledge of God and internal purity of heart, and felt conſiderable uneaſineſs and fear; and, diſſatisfied with the doc-

trine

trine he heard, as reſulting, in his view, from mere ſpeculation and the experience of others, and not the fruit of their own experience, he withdrew from the teachers of it. On *George Fox*'s coming into the parts where he reſided, he went to hear him preach, and afterwards entered into reaſoning with him upon religious ſubjects. The conſequence was, that he joined the ſociety of the *quakers*, in which he became a moſt ſerviceable member and eminent miniſter. On forming this connection, his relations diſcarded him, his father expelled him from his houſe, and he felt himſelf expoſed to many hardſhips, all which evils he bore with exemplary patience. His laborious exertions, both by word and writing, were indefatigable, and his religious exerciſes as a preacher were the whole buſineſs of his life; he allowed himſelf few hours of repoſe, and did not appropriate one week at a time, for many years, to himſelf or his private concerns. He travelled through England, Scotland, Ireland, and Flanders; but the principal field of his miniſterial labours was London. As he was preaching at the meeting at Bull-and-Mouth, he was violently taken down by the ſoldiers, and carried before alderman *Brown*, who committed him to Newgate. Some weeks after he was brought to trial at the Old-Bailey, fined by the court twenty marks, and condemned to lie in priſon till he paid the fine, which amounted to perpetual impriſonment, as the principles of the *quakers* led them to conſider a voluntary and active compliance with the penalty as a tacit confeſſion of guilt. A ſpecial order from the king was ſent to the ſheriffs for his releaſe, and that of ſome other priſoners, but the magiſtrates of the city found means to prevent the execution of it. He met his diſſolution, brought on by diſeaſe and impriſonment, with the conſolatory review of a life ſpent in the ſervice of his Creator. "I have had the teſtimony of the Lord's love "unto me," ſaid he, "from my youth; and my heart, O "Lord, hath been given up to do thy will. I have preached "the goſpel freely in this city, and have often given up my "life for the goſpel ſake; and now, O Lord, rip open my "heart, and ſee if it be not right before thee." As his diſſolution drew nigh, he ſaid, "Though this body of clay "muſt turn to duſt, yet I have a teſtimony that I have ſerved "God

"God faithfully in my generation; and that ſpirit that hath "lived, and acted, and ruled in me, ſhall yet break forth "in thouſands."

Another zealous preacher among this people was *William Ames*, who travelled in the work of the miniſtry not in England only, but much in Holland and Germany, where ſeveral were convinced by him, eſpecially in the Palatinate. Theſe Palatines, removing ſoon after to Pennſylvania, eſcaped the general devaſtation of their country by the French, which happened ſoon after. *Ames* was, at firſt, after his mind took a ſerious turn, a teacher among the *baptiſts*; he was alſo a military officer in *Cromwell*'s army in Ireland, in which poſt, being ſtrict and regular in his own conduct, he exerted himſelf to introduce and preſerve the like regularity among the ſoldiers under his command by a ſtrict diſcipline. *Francis Howgill* and *Edward Burrough*, coming into Ireland, he went to hear them and embraced their doctrine. He and ſeveral others were afterwards taken, by two muſqueteers, out of a private houſe in London, forced to Paul's Churchyard, where they were derided and abuſed by the ſoldiers, and afterwards taken before alderman *Brown*, who committed them to hard labour in Bridewell. Here they were ſo ſeverely treated, that *Ames* grew dangerouſly ill; and being an inhabitant of Amſterdam, he was diſcharged for fear of his dying in priſon. He returned, upon his releaſe, to this city, and ſupported himſelf by wool-combing, but ſo injured in his health, that he never recovered, but died within the current year 1662.*

Near the cloſe of the year 1663, *John Audland*, a native of Camſgill in Weſtmoreland, was taken off by a conſumption, in an early ſtage of life. When a child, he diſcovered a quick underſtanding and retentive memory. As he approached a ſtate of maturity, he applied the attention of his mind to religious thought and to reading the ſcriptures, and became an eminent teacher amongſt the *Independents*, of whom he had a very numerous auditory. He was one of the principal preachers at Firbank chapel, at the time when *George Fox* had a memorable meeting there, and became a convert to his doctrine, which he afterwards zealouſly and

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 2—15.

ably

ably exerted himſelf to diſſeminate, travelling through ſundry parts of the nation with this view; foregoing the comforts of domeſtick life, and ſeparating himſelf, with her conſent, from his wife, who entered into his views, a virtuous and well-accompliſhed young woman, of a good family, to whom he was married about the twentieth year of his age. He was one of the earlieſt preachers of this perſuaſion, who viſited the city of Briſtol and the Weſtern counties. The number of his hearers increaſed to ſuch a degree in that place, that, for want of a houſe large enough, the meetings were frequently held in an orchard. He was a partaker with his brethren in repeated impriſonments and abuſes of his perſon. His ſufferings and exertions were beyond his ſtrength, and brought on a cough, which appeared conſumptive, and finally terminated in a ſlow fever, that put a period to his life at the age of thirty-four years. He was not only preſerved in peaceful ſerenity of mind at this ſolemn ſeaſon, but at times filled even with joy at the proſpect of his approaching felicity; under the impreſſion whereof his ſoul, under extreme bodily weakneſs, was raiſed up in praiſe to the Almighty, and in prayer for the proſperity of his friends in righteouſneſs.*

In 1667, after about fifteen years ſpent in acting and ſuffering for thoſe doctrines he had received for truth, died *Richard Farnſworth*, exhorting his friends were affecting energy and ſtrength of ſpirit, as if he were in full health, and giving evidence of his full aſſurance of faith. He was one of the firſt who embraced the principles of *George Fox*, ſoon after his releaſe from his impriſonment at Derby, while the name *quaker* was but juſt known. He joined him in ſociety and miniſterial labours, and many were converted by him. For not pulling off his hat to a juſtice of peace in the ſtreets of Banbury, in 1656, he was, after the juſtice had ſtruck it off in paſſion, ſent for and committed to priſon. Next day, when paſſion ſubſided, his releaſe was offered him on paying the jailor's fees, and promiſing to leave the town that night. He would promiſe nothing, knowing that he had been illegally committed. The oath of abjuration was then tendered to him, and on his refuſing it, he was recommitted to priſon, where he lay about ſix months.†

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 83—88. † Ibid. p. 222, 23.

In

In the latter part of the year 1668 and the beginning of the next, this ſociety was deprived of three eminent and ſerviceable members; *Thomas Loe*, *Joſiah Coale*, and *Francis Howgill*.

Thomas Loe was a man of fine natural temper, eaſy, affable and pleaſing in converſation, benevolent and ſympathiſing in his diſpoſition. He travelled on foot through the greateſt part of the nation, and viſited Ireland ſeveral times. His gifts were attractive, and he had generally crowded audiences. He was ſeveral times impriſoned for his teſtimony, and his natural ſtrength was impaired by his travels and labours. His convert, *William Penn*, viſited him in his laſt ſickneſs, whom he addreſſed thus: "Bear thy croſs and ſtand faithful to "God, then he will give thee an everlaſting crown of glory "that ſhall not be taken from thee. There is no other way "which ſhall proſper than that which the holy men of old "walked in. God hath brought immortality to light, "and life immortal is felt. His love overcomes my heart. "Glory be to his name for evermore." He accoſted others with ſimilar ſentiments; and his parting breath expreſſed a ſong of praiſe to that Almighty Being, whoſe goodneſs preſerved him through life, and deſerted him not in his end.†

Joſiah Coale was born at Winterborne, Glouceſterſhire, near Briſtol, and received his impreſſions in favour of the *quakers'* doctrine under the preaching of *John Audland*, about the year 1655. He proved an able and zealous miniſter: his teſtimony was ſharp and piercing againſt the workers of iniquity, while it flowed in a ſtream of life and encouraging conſolation to the pious and virtuous. In 1656, after having been firſt grievouſly abuſed by the populace, and dragged bare-headed under the ſpouts in a time of rain, he was impriſoned in Newgate, at Briſtol. In the ſame year, he was, with three other friends, ſeverely abuſed and beaten by the mob, and then committed to priſon by the mayor, at Melcomb-Regis. In 1658, a ſenſe of duty determined him to pay a religious viſit to the Engliſh colonies in America. As no maſter of a ſhip would take him to New-England, for fear of the penalties enacted in that ſtate againſt ſuch as ſhould bring in any *quakers*, he got a paſſage, in company

† Gough, p. 229—231. and vol. i. p. 318, 19.

with

with *Thomas Thirſton*, to Virginia; from whence they made their way on foot through a wilderneſs of ſeveral hundred miles, till then deemed impaſſable for any but the Indians. By theſe people, of the Suſquehannah tribe, they were treated with remarkable attention and hoſpitality, entertained with lodging and proviſions, and furniſhed with guides to the Dutch plantations. Their journey was, however, attended with great hardſhips and dangers. They met with very different treatment from the lofty profeſſors of New-England, whoſe tempers were embittered, whoſe natural tenderneſs and compaſſion were eradicated by falſe principles of religion. Here *Coale* was violently haled out and ſent to priſon, and ſometime after baniſhed to Maryland. He travelled through this ſtate and Barbadoes; and, in Europe, through moſt parts of England, in Holland, and the Low Countries; going through many perils, impriſonments, and perſecutions, valiant in what he regarded as the cauſe of truth, undaunted in danger, and borne above the fear of man by the ſupports of a peaceful conſcience. He not only in his travels bore his own charges abroad, but was an exemplary pattern of liberality at home, and freely ſpent his eſtate in the ſervice to which he devoted himſelf. His natural temper was chearful, religion tempered it with ſeriouſneſs; his unaffected affability was mixed with a circumſpect and exemplary deportment; his whole converſation illuſtrated the purity of his religion, and was an ornament to his profeſſion. After miniſterial ſervices of twelve years, he fell into a decline, and departed in the arms of his friends, as one falling into a deep ſleep, full of conſolation, exhorting others to "be faithful to God, and have a ſingle eye to "his glory," expreſſing his own confidence that "the ma-"jeſty of God was with him, and his crown of life upon "him," at the age of thirty-five years and two months.*

The laſt perſon to be noticed is *Francis Howgill*, a principal as well as early promulgator of the doctrine of the *quakers*, and a valuable member of their community. He was a native of Weſtmoreland, and received his education, for the prieſts' office in the church, at the univerſity; but, being ſcrupulous of complying with the ceremonies, he withdrew from the national church, and joined the *Independents*,

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 231—236.

and

and was an eminent preacher amongſt them, laborious and zealous as a miniſter, and eſteemed for his virtue and exemplary converſation. In 1652, he became a proſelyte to the doctrines of *George Fox*, on hearing him at Firbank chapel. He was, ſoon after this, ſent, with *James Naylor*, to the gaol at Appleby. In 1654, he and *Edward Burrough*, in company with *Anthony Pearſon*, travelled to London, and were the firſt of this ſociety who held meetings in that city, and by whoſe preaching many there were brought over to the ſame profeſſion. While he was there, he went to court to intercede with *Oliver Cromwell*, that a ſtop might be put to the perſecution of the members of his ſociety, and he wrote alſo to the protector, on the ſame ſubject, in a plain and bold ſtrain, but without any good effects. It does not appear, that they met with any perſonal moleſtations in the metropolis; and when they had gathered and ſettled meetings there, they went to Briſtol. Multitudes flocked to hear them, and many embraced their doctrine. The clergy were alarmed, and they were ſummoned before the magiſtrates, and were commanded to leave the city immediately. To this order they anſwered: "We came not in the will of man, "nor ſtand in the will of man, but when he ſhall move us "to depart who moved us to come hither, we ſhall obey; "we are free-born Engliſhmen, and have ſerved the com-"monwealth faithfully, being free in the ſight of God from "the tranſgreſſion of any law: to your commandments we "cannot be obedient; but if by violence you put us out of "the city, and have power to do it, we cannot reſiſt." Having ſaid this, they went out of the court, but tarried in the city, preaching as before, for ſome time.* In 1663, *Francis Howgill* was ſummoned before the juſtices, as he was in the market-place at Kendal on his buſineſs; and, for refuſing the oath of allegiance, was committed to priſon till the ſummer aſſizes, at which the oath was again tendered to him, and upon refuſal an indictment was drawn up againſt him, which he traverſed. But as he would not enter into bond for his good behaviour, which he conſidered as a tacit acquieſcence in the charge of ill-behaviour, and a bar to attendance on meetings, he was recommitted to priſon. At the ſpring aſſizes he was brought to his trial; when, under a

* Gough, vol. i. p. 112, 126, 144, &c.

rigorous

rigorous ſentence of præmunire, he was ſent back to the priſon, where he remained, till releaſed by death, for nearly five years, deprived of every comfort and convenience his perſecutors could take from him. He died, after a ſickneſs of nine days, the 20th of January, 1688-9. During his confinement he evidenced the peaceful and even tenour of his ſoul by his patience; and preſerved to the laſt an amiable equanimity, which had characterized him through life, the ſerenity of his conſcience bearing him ſuperior to his ſufferings and to the fear of death. He wrote a copious treatiſe againſt oaths, wherein he maintained the unlawfulneſs of ſwearing under the goſpel. His virtues, innocence, and integrity of life, were conſpicuous. He was generally reſpected by thoſe who knew him; his ſufferings were commiſerated; and the unmerited enmity and cruelty of his perſecutors condemned. Several of the principal inhabitants of Appleby, and particularly the mayor, viſited him in his ſickneſs; and ſome of them praying that God might ſpeak peace to his ſoul, he anſwered, "He hath done it." He alſo expreſſed himſelf thus: "That he was content, and ready to die; praiſing the "Almighty for the many ſweet enjoyments and refreſhing "ſeaſons he had been favoured with on that his priſon bed, "whereon he lay, freely forgiving all who had an hand in "his reſtraint." A few hours before he departed, he ſaid, "I have ſought the way of the Lord from a child, and lived "innocently as among men; and if any enquire concerning "my latter end, let them know, that I die in the faith in "which I lived and ſuffered for." After theſe words, he uttered ſome others in prayer to God, and ſo finiſhed his life in perfect peace, in the 50th year of his age.

Mr. *Gough* has preſerved a letter of uſeful inſtructions, addreſſed to his daughter, which he left behind him. His will, made ſome time before his deceaſe, bequeathed out of his real eſtate, his perſonal having been forfeited to the king, a legacy to his poor friends in thoſe parts where he lived, and a token of his affectionate remembrance to ſeveral of his brethren and fellow-labourers in the miniſtry.*

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 31, 96—108, and 236—241.

CHAP.

CHAP. IX.

From the King's Declaration of Indulgence *to the* Popiſh Plot *in the Year* 1678.

—1672.—

THE French king having prevailed with the Engliſh court to break the triple alliance, and make war with the Dutch, publiſhed a declaration at Paris, ſignifying that he could not, without diminution of his glory, any longer diſſemble the indignation raiſed in him, by the unhandſome carriage of the ſtates-general of the United Provinces, and therefore proclaimed war againſt them both by ſea and land. In the beginning of May, he drew together an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand men, with which he took the principal places in Flanders, and with a rapid fury overran the greateſt part of the Netherlands. In the beginning of July he took poſſeſſion of Utrecht, a city in the heart of the United Provinces, where he held his court, and threatened to beſiege Amſterdam itſelf. In this extremity the Dutch opened their ſluices, and laid a great part of their country under water; the populace roſe, and having obliged the States to elect the young prince of *Orange* ſtadtholder, they fell upon the two brothers *Cornelius* and *John de Wit*, their late penſionary, and tore them to pieces in a barbarous manner. The young prince, who was then but twenty-two years old, uſed all imaginable vigilance and activity to ſave the remainder of his country; and like a true patriot declared, he would die in the laſt dyke, rather than become tributary to any foreign power. At length their allies came to their aſſiſtance, when the young *prince*, like another *Scipio*, abandoning his own country, beſieged, and took the important town of Bonne, which opened a paſſage for the Germans into Flanders, and ſtruck ſuch a ſurprize into the French, whoſe enemies were now behind them, that they abandoned all their

conqueſts in Holland, except Maeſtricht and Grave, with as much precipitance as they had made them.

Theſe rapid conqueſts of the French opened people's mouths againſt the court, and raiſed ſuch diſcontents in England, that his majeſty was obliged to iſſue out his proclamation, to ſuppreſs all unlawful and undutiful converſation, threatening a ſevere proſecution of ſuch who ſhould ſpread falſe news, or intermeddle with affairs of ſtate, or promote ſcandal againſt his majeſty's counſellors, by their common diſcourſe in coffee-houſes, or places of publick reſort. He was obliged alſo to continue the Exchequer ſhut up, contrary to his royal promiſe, and to prorogue his parliament till next year, which he foreſaw would be in a flame at their meeting.

During this interval of parliament, the *declaration of indulgence* continued in force, and the diſſenters had reſt; when the preſbyterians and independents, to ſhew their agreement among themſelves, as well as to ſupport the doctrines of the reformation againſt the prevailing errors of popery, ſocinianiſm, and infidelity, ſet up a weekly lecture at Pinner's-hall, in Broad-ſtreet, on Tueſday mornings, under the encouragement of the principal merchants and tradeſmen of their perſuaſion in the city. Four preſbyterians were joined by two independents to preach by turns, and, to give it the greater reputation, the principal miniſters for learning and popularity were choſen as lecturers; as Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Manton*, Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Collins*, *Jenkins*, *Mead*, and afterwards Mr. *Alſop*, *Howe*, *Cole*, and others; and though there were ſome little miſunderſtandings at their firſt ſetting out, about ſome high points of *Calviniſm*, occaſioned by one of Mr. *Baxter*'s firſt ſermons, yet the lecture continued in this form till the year 1695, when it ſplit upon the ſame rock, occaſioned by the reprinting Dr. *Criſp*'s works. The four preſbyterians removed to Salter's-hall, and ſet up a lecture on the ſame day and hour. The two independents remained at Pinner's-hall, and when there was no proſpect of an accommodation, each party filled up their numbers out of their reſpective denominations, and they are both ſubſiſting to this day.

Among the puritan divines who died this year, biſhop *Wilkins* deſerves the firſt place; he was born at Fawſly in Northamp-

Northamptonſhire, in the houſe of his mother's father, Mr. *J. Dod* the decalogiſt, in the year 1614, and educated in Magdalen-hall under Mr. *Tombes*.* He was ſome time warden of Wadham college, Oxford, and afterwards maſter of Trinity college, Cambridge, of which he was deprived at the reſtoration, though he conformed. He married a ſiſter of the protector's *Oliver Cromwell*, and complied with all the changes of the late times, being, as *Wood* obſerves, always puritanically affected; but for his admirable abilities, and extraordinary genius, he had ſcarce his equal. He was made biſhop of Cheſter 1668; and ſurely, ſays Mr. *Eachard*, the court could not have found out a man of greater ingenuity and capacity, or of more univerſal knowledge and underſtanding in all parts of polite learning. Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, and biſhop *Burnet*, who were his intimates, give him the higheſt encomium; as, that he was a pious chriſtian, an admirable preacher, a rare mathematician, and mechanical philoſopher; and a man of as great a mind, as true judgment, as eminent virtues, and of as great a ſoul, as any they ever knew. He was a perſon of univerſal charity, and moderation of ſpirit; and was concerned in all attempts for a comprehenſion with thedi ſſenters. He died of the ſtone in Dr. *Tillotſon*'s houſe in Chancery-lane, Nov. 19, 1672, in the 59th year of his age.

Mr. *Joſeph Caryl*, M. A. the ejected miniſter of St. Magnus, London-bridge, was born of genteel parents in London, 1602, educated in Exeter college, and afterwards preacher of Lincoln's-inn; he was a member of the aſſembly of divines, and afterwards one of the *tryers* for approbation of miniſters; in all which ſtations he appeared a man of great learning, piety and modeſty. He was ſent by the parliament to attend the king at Holmby-houſe, and was one of their commiſſioners in the treaty of the Iſle of Wight. After his ejectment in 1662, he lived privately in London, and preached to his congregation as the times would permit; he was a moderate independent, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his learned expoſition upon the book of *Job*.† He died univerſally lamented

* Athen. Oxon. p. 505.

† This work was printed in two volumes folio, conſiſting of upwards of 600 ſheets: and there was alſo an edition in twelve volumes 4to. "One

mented by all his acquaintance February 7, 1672-3, and in the ſeventy-firſt year of his age.*

Mr. *Philip Nye*, M. A. was a divine of a warmer ſpirit: he was born of a genteel family 1596, and was educated in Magdalen college,† Oxford, where he took the degrees. In 1630 he was curate of St. Michael's Cornhill, and three years after fled from biſhop *Laud*'s perſecution into Holland, but returned about the beginning of the long parliament, and became miniſter of Kimbolton in Huntingdonſhire. He was one of the diſſenting brethren in the aſſembly, one of the *tryers* in the protector's time, and a principal manager of the meeting of the congregational meſſengers at the Savoy. He was a great politician, inſomuch that it was debated in council, after the reſtoration, whether he ſhould not be excepted for life; and it was concluded, that if he ſhould accept or exerciſe any office eccleſiaſtical or civil, he ſhould, to all intents and purpoſes in law, ſtand as if he had been totally excepted. He was ejected from St. Bartholomew behind the Exchange, and preached privately, as opportunity offered, to a congregation of diſſenters till the preſent year, when he died in the month of September, about ſeventy-ſix years old, and lies buried in the church of St. Michael's Cornhill, leaving behind him the character of a man of uncommon depth, and of one who was ſeldom if ever out-reached.‡

When the king met his parliament Feb. 4, 1673, after a receſs of a year and nine months, he acquainted them with the reaſonableneſs and neceſſity of the war with the Dutch, and having aſked a ſupply, told them, "he had found the "good effect of his *indulgence to diſſenters*, but that it was

"juſt remark," ſays Mr. *Granger*, "has been made on its utility, that it is "a very ſufficient exerciſe for the virtue of patience, which it was chiefly "intended to inculcate and improve." Granger's Hiſt. of England, vol. iii. p. 313. 8vo. note. Ed.

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 7. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 121.

† Mr. *Nye* was entered a commoner of Brazen-Noſe, July 1615, aged about nineteen years; but making no long ſtay there, he removed to Magdalen hall, not Magdalen college. Dr. Grey; and Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 368. Ed.

‡ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 29, Palmer, vol. i. p. 86.

"a miſtake

"a miſtake in thoſe who ſaid, more liberty was given to "papiſts than others, becauſe they had only freedom in "their own houſes, and no publick aſſemblies; he ſhould "therefore take it ill to receive contradiction in what he had "done; and to deal plainly with you, (ſaid his majeſty) *I* "*am reſolved to ſtick to my declaration.*" Lord chancellor *Shafteſbury* ſeconded the king's ſpeech, and having vindicated the *indulgence*, magnified the king's zeal for the church of England and the proteſtant religion. But the houſe of commons declared againſt the *diſpenſing power*, and argued, that though the king had a power to pardon offenders, he had not a right to authorize men to break the laws, for this would infer a power to alter the government; and if the king could ſecure offenders by indemnifying them beforehand, it was in vain to make any laws at all, becauſe, according to this maxim, they had no force but at the king's diſcretion.—But it was objected on the other ſide, that a difference was to be made between penal laws in ſpiritual matters and others; that the king's ſupremacy gave him a peculiar authority over theſe, as was evident by his tolerating the Jews, and the churches of foreign proteſtants.——To which it was replied, that the intent of the law in aſſerting the ſupremacy was only to exclude all foreign juriſdiction, and to lodge the whole *authority* with the king; but *that* was ſtill bounded and regulated by law; the Jews were ſtill at mercy, and only connived at, but the foreign churches were excepted by a particular clauſe in the act of uniformity; and therefore, upon the whole, they came to this reſolution Feb. 10, "that "penal ſtatutes in matters eccleſiaſtical cannot be ſuſpended "but by act of parliament; that no ſuch power had ever "been claimed by any of his majeſty's predeceſſors, and "therefore his majeſty's *indulgence* was contrary to law, and "tended to ſubvert the legiſlative power, which had al-"ways been acknowledged to reſide in the king and his two "houſes of parliament." Purſuant to this reſolution, they addreſſed the king Feb. 19, to recal his *declaration*. The king anſwered, that he was ſorry they ſhould queſtion his power in eccleſiaſticks, which had not been done in the reigns of his anceſtors; that he did not pretend to ſuſpend laws, wherein the properties, rights, or liberties of his ſubjects were

were concerned, nor to alter any thing in the eſtabliſhed religion, but only to take off the penalties inflicted on *diſſenters*, which he believed they themſelves would not wiſh executed according to the rigor of the law.* The commons, perceiving his majeſty was not inclined to deſiſt from his declaration, ſtopt the *money-bill*,† and preſented a ſecond addreſs, inſiſting upon a full and ſatisfactory aſſurance, that his majeſty's conduct in this affair might not be drawn into example for the future, which at length they obtained.

The parliament was now firſt diſpoſed to diſtinguiſh between *proteſtant diſſenters* and *popiſh recuſants*, and to give eaſe to the former without including the latter, eſpecially when the diſſenters in the houſe diſavowed the *diſpenſing power*, though it had been exerciſed in their favour. Alderman *Love*, member for the city of London, ſtood up, and in a handſome ſpeech declared, that *he had rather go without his own deſired liberty than have it in a way ſo deſtructive of the liberties of his country, and the proteſtant intereſt; and that this was the ſenſe of the main body of diſſenters.* Which ſurprized the whole houſe, and gave a turn to thoſe very men, who for ten years together had been loading the non-conformiſts with one penal law after another: but things were now at a criſis; popery and ſlavery were at the door; the triple alliance broken; the proteſtant powers

* Eachard, p. 889. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 72, 73.

† The remarks of Mr. *Gough*, here, are juſt and weighty; "The conduct of the commons in this caſe hath procured the general voice of our hiſtorians in their favour, and it muſt be acknowledged that they acted conſiſtently with their duty in oppoſing the infringement of the conſtitution.—Yet as the king's apparent inclination to have the diſſenters exempted from penal laws would have merited praiſe, if it had been ſincere, and attempted in a legal way, ſo the oppoſition of the parliament would have been entitled to the claim of greater merit, if it had not originated, with many of them, in an averſion to the principles of the declaration (impunity to the nonconformiſts) as much as the grounds upon which it was publiſhed; and if they had not laid the foundations for this conteſt in the various penal laws, which, under the influence of party pique, they had univerſally enacted and received; and on all occaſions manifeſted a determined enmity to all diſſenters from the eſtabliſhed religion; for if they had not an averſion to the principles of the declaratiou, they had now a fair opportunity of legalizing it, by converting it into an act of parliament." Hiſtory of the *Quakers*, vol. ii. p. 374.

ravaging

ravaging one another; the Exchequer ſhut up; the heir apparent of the crown an open papiſt; and an army encamped near London under popiſh officers ready to be tranſported into Holland to compleat their ruin. When the diſſenters, at ſuch a time, laid aſide their reſentments againſt their perſecutors, and renounced their own liberty for the ſafety of the proteſtant religion, and the liberties of their country; all ſober men began to think, it was high time to put a mark of diſtinction between them and the Roman catholicks.

But the king was of another mind; yet being in want of money, he was eaſily perſuaded by his miſtreſſes to give up his *indulgence*, contrary to the advice of the *CABAL*, who told him, if he would make a bold ſtand for his *prerogative*, all would be well. But he came to the houſe March 8, and having preſſed the commons to diſpatch the *money-bill*, he added,—"if there be any ſcruple yet remaining with you, "touching the ſuſpenſion of the penal laws, I here faithfully "promiſe you, that what has been done in that particular "ſhall not for the future be drawn into example and con-"ſequence: and as I daily expect from you a bill for my "ſupply, ſo I aſſure you I ſhall as willingly receive and paſs "any other you ſhall offer me, that may tend to the giving "you ſatisfaction in all your juſt grievances." Accordingly he called for the *declaration*, and broke the ſeal with his own hands, by which means all the licences for meeting-houſes were called in. Our hiſtorians * obſerve, that this proceeding of the king made a ſurprizing alteration in lord *Shafteſbury*, who had been the ſoul of the *Cabal*, and the maſter-builder of the ſcheme for *making the king abſolute*; but that when his majeſty was ſo unſteady as to deſert him in the project of an *indulgence* after he had promiſed to ſtand by him, he concluded the king was not to be truſted, and appeared afterwards at the head of the country party.

The non-conformiſts were now in ſome hopes of a *legal toleration* by parliament, for the commons reſolved, *nemine contradicente*, that a bill be brought in for the eaſe of his majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects, who are diſſenters in matters of religion from the church of England. The ſubſtance of the bill was,

* Eachard, p. 891. † Burnet, vol. ii. p. 75.

"1. That

" 1. That eaſe be given to his majeſty's proteſtant ſub-
" jects diſſenting in matters of religion, who ſhall ſubſcribe
" the articles of the doctrine of the church of England, and
" ſhall take the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy.* 2.
" That the ſaid proteſtant ſubjects be eaſed from all pains
" and penalties for not coming to church. 3. That the
" clauſe in the late act of uniformity, for declaring the aſſent
" and conſent, be taken away by this bill. 4. That the
" ſaid proteſtant ſubjects be eaſed from all pains and penal-
" ties, for meeting together for performance of any religious
" exerciſes. 5. That every teacher ſhall give notice of the
" place where he intends to hold ſuch his meetings to the
" quarter-ſeſſions, where in open court he ſhall firſt make
" ſuch ſubſcription, and take ſuch oaths as aforeſaid, and
" receive from thence a certificate thereof, where all ſuch
" proceedings ſhall remain upon record. 6. That any ſuch
" teacher may exerciſe as aforeſaid, until the next reſpective
" quarter-ſeſſions, and no longer, in caſe he ſhall not firſt
" take the oaths, and make ſuch ſubſcription before two of
" the neighbouring juſtices of peace, and ſhall firſt give them
" notice of the place of his intended meeting, and take a
" certificate thereof under the ſaid juſtices' hands, a dupli-
" cate whereof they are to return into the next quarter-
" ſeſſions. 7. The doors and paſſages of all houſes and
" places where the ſaid diſſenters do meet, ſhall be always
" open and free during the time of ſuch exerciſe. 8. If any
" diſſenter refuſes to take *the churchwardens oaths*, he ſhall
" then find another fit perſon, who is not a diſſenter, to ex-
" ecute that office, and ſhall pay him for it." But though all agreed in bringing in a bill, there was neither time nor unanimity enough in the houſe this ſeſſions, to agree upon particulars; for according to biſhop *Burnet*, it went no farther than a ſecond reading. Mr. *Eachard* ſays, it was dropt in the houſe of lords on account of ſome amendments, till the parliament was prorogued; but Mr. *Coke* ſays, more truly, that it was becauſe the *dead weight* of biſhops joined with the king and the caballing party againſt it.†

While this was depending, the commons addreſſed the king againſt papiſts and jeſuits, expreſſing their great con-

* Eachard, p. 889. † Detect. p. 490.

cern

cern to ſee ſuch perſons admitted into employments and places of great truſt and profit, and eſpecially into military commands, and therefore pray, that the laws againſt them may be put in execution. Upon which a proclamation was iſſued, though to very little purpoſe, enjoining all popiſh prieſts and jeſuits to depart the realm, and the laws to be put in execution againſt all popiſh recuſants.

But his majeſty making no mention of removing them *from places of profit and truſt*, the commons, knowing where their ſtrength lay, ſuſpended their *money bill*, and ordered a bill to be brought in, to confine all places of profit and truſt to thoſe only who are of the communion of the church of England: this is commonly called the *teſt act*, and was levelled againſt the *duke of York* and the preſent miniſtry, who were chiefly of his perſuaſion. When it was brought into the houſe, the court oppoſed it with all their might, and endeavoured to divide the church party, by propoſing, that ſome regard might be had to *proteſtant diſſenters*, hoping by this means to clog the bill, and throw it out of the houſe; upon which alderman *Love*, a diſſenter, and repreſentative for the city, ſtood up again and ſaid, he hoped the clauſe in favour of proteſtant diſſenters would occaſion no intemperate heats; and moved, that ſince it was likely to prove ſo conſiderable a barrier againſt popery, the bill might paſs without any alteration, and that nothing might interpoſe till it was finiſhed; and then (ſays the alderman), we [diſſenters] will try if the parliament will not diſtinguiſh us from *popiſh recuſants*, by ſome marks of their favour; but we are willing to lie under the ſeverity of the laws for a time, rather than clog a more neceſſary work with our concerns. Theſe being the ſentiments of the leading diſſenters both in the houſe and without doors, the bill paſſed the commons with little oppoſition; but when it came to be debated in the houſe of peers, in the king's preſence, March 15, the whole court was againſt it, except the earl of *Briſtol*; and maintained that it was his majeſty's prerogative to employ whom he pleaſed in his ſervice. Some were for having the king ſtand his ground againſt the parliament. The duke of *Buckingham* and lord *Berkley* * propoſed bringing the army to town, and taking

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 75, 6.

our

out of both houſes the members who made oppoſition. *Lauderdale* offered to bring an army from Scotland; and lord *Clifford* told the king, that the people now ſaw through his deſigns, and therefore he muſt reſolve to make himſelf maſter at once, or be for ever ſubject to much jealouſy and contempt. But the earl of *Shafteſbury*, having changed ſides, preſſed the king to give the parliament full content, and then they would undertake to procure him the ſupply he wanted. This ſuited the king's eaſy temper, who, not being willing to riſk a ſecond civil war, went into theſe meaſures, and out of meer neceſſity for money, gave up the papiſts, in hopes that he might afterwards recover what in the preſent extremity he was forced to reſign. This effectually broke the *CABAL*, and put the Roman catholics upon purſuing other meaſures to introduce their religion, which was the making way for a popiſh ſucceſſor of more reſolute principles; and from hence we may date the beginning of the popiſh plot, which did not break out till 1678, as appears by Mr. *Coleman*'s letters. The bill received the royal aſſent March 25, together with a money-bill of one million two hundred thouſand pounds; and then the parliament was prorogued to October 20, after a ſhort ſeſſion of ſeven weeks.

The *Teſt Act* is entitled, *an act to prevent dangers which happen from popiſh recuſants.* It requires, "that all perſons "bearing any office of truſt or profit, ſhall take the oaths of "ſupremacy and allegiance in publick and open court, and "ſhall alſo receive the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, ac- "cording to the uſage of the church of England, in ſome pa- "riſh church, on ſome Lord's day, immediately after divine "ſervice and ſermon, and deliver a certificate of having ſo "received the ſacrament, under the hands of the reſpective "miniſters and churchwardens, proved by two credible wit- "neſſes upon oath, and upon record in court. And that all "perſons taking the ſaid oaths of ſupremacy and allegiance "ſhall likewiſe make and ſubſcribe this following declara- "tion, *I* A. B. *do declare, that I believe there is no tranſub- "ſtantiation in the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper, or in the "elements of bread and wine, at or after the conſecration thereof "by any perſon whatſoever.* The penalty of breaking through "this act, is a diſability of ſuing in any court of law, or "equity,

" equity, being guardian of any child, executor or ad-
" miniſtrator to any perſon, or of taking any legacy, or
" deed of gift, or of bearing any publick office; beſides a
" fine of five hundred pounds."

Mr. *Eachard* obſerves well, that this act was principally, if not ſolely, levelled at the Roman catholicks, as appears from the title; and this is further evident from the diſpoſition of the houſe of commons at this time, to eaſe the proteſtant diſſenters of ſome of their burdens. If the diſſenters had fallen in with the court meaſures, they might have prevented the bill's paſſing. But they left their own liberties in a ſtate of uncertainty, to ſecure thoſe of the nation. However, though the intention was good, the act itſelf is, in my opinion, very unjuſtifiable, becauſe *it founds dominion in grace*. A man cannot be an exciſeman, a cuſtom-houſe officer, a lieutenant in the army or navy, no not ſo much as a tide-waiter, without putting on the moſt diſtinguiſhing badge of chriſtianity, according to the uſage of the church of England. Is not this a ſtrong temptation to prophanation and hypocriſy? Does it not pervert one of the moſt ſolemn inſtitutions of religion, to purpoſes for which it was never intended? And is it not eaſy to find ſecurities of a civil nature, ſufficient for the preſervation both of church and ſtate? When the act took place the *duke of York*, lord high admiral of England; lord *Clifford*, lord high treaſurer; and a great many other popiſh officers, reſigned their preferments; but not one proteſtant diſſenter, there not being one ſuch in the adminiſtration: however, as the church party ſhewed a noble zeal for their religion, biſhop *Burnet* obſerves, that the diſſenters got great reputation by their ſilent deportment; though the king and the court biſhops reſolved to ſtick in their ſkirts.*

This being the laſt penal law made againſt the *non-conformiſts* in this reign, it may not be improper to put them altogether. that the reader may have a full view of their diſtreſſed circumſtances: for beſides the penal laws of queen *Elizabeth*, which were confirmed by this parliament; one of which was no leſs than *baniſhment*; and another a *mulct* on every one for not coming to church.

* Vol. ii. p. 80.

There

There were in force,

1ſt. *An act for well governing and regulating corporations*, 13 Car II. ch. 1. Whereby all who bear office in any city, corporation, town, or borough, are required to take the oaths and ſubſcribe the declaration therein mentioned, and *to receive the ſacrament of the Lord's ſupper according to the rites of the church of England.* This effectually turned the diſſenters out of the government of all corporations.

2d. *The act of uniformity*, 14 Car. II. ch. 4. Whereby all parſons, vicars, and miniſters, who enjoyed any preferment in the church, were obliged to declare their unfeigned *aſſent and conſent* to every thing contained in the book of *common-prayer*, &c. or be *ipſo facto* deprived: and all *ſchool-maſters and tutors* are prohibited from teaching youth without licence from the archbiſhop or biſhop, under pain of three months impriſonment.

3d. *An act to prevent and ſuppreſs ſeditious conventicles*, 16 Car. II. ch. 4. Whereby it is declared unlawful to be preſent at any meeting for religious worſhip, except according to the uſage of the church of England, where five beſides the family ſhould be aſſembled; in which caſe the firſt and ſecond offences are made ſubject to a certain fine or three months impriſonment, on conviction before a juſtice of peace on the oath of a ſingle witneſs; and the third offence, on conviction at the ſeſſions, or before the juſtices of aſſize, is puniſhable by *tranſportation for ſeven years.*

4th. *An act for reſtraining non-conformiſts from inhabiting in corporations*, 17 Car. II. ch. 2. Whereby all diſſenting miniſters, who would not take an oath therein ſpecified againſt the lawfulneſs of taking up arms againſt the king on any pretence whatſoever, and that they would never attempt any alteration of government in church and ſtate; are baniſhed five miles from all corporation towns, and ſubject to a fine of forty pounds, in caſe they ſhould preach in any conventicle.

5th. *Another act to prevent and ſuppreſs ſeditious conventicles*, 22 Car. II. ch. 5. Whereby any perſons who teach in ſuch conventicles, are ſubject to a penalty of twenty pounds for the firſt, and forty pounds for every ſubſequent offence; and any perſon who permits ſuch a conventicle to be held in their

their houſe, is liable to a fine of twenty pounds; and juſtices of peace are empowered to break open doors where they are informed ſuch conventicles are held, and take the offenders into cuſtody.

6th. *An act for preventing dangers which may happen from popiſh recuſants*, commonly called the *teſt act*, whereby (as afore-mentioned) every perſon is incapacitated from holding a place of truſt under the government, without taking the ſacrament according to the rites of the church of England.

By the rigorous execution of theſe laws, the non-conformiſt miniſters were ſeparated from their congregations, from their maintenance, from their houſes and families, and their people reduced to diſtreſs and miſery, or obliged to worſhip God in a manner contrary to the dictates of their conſciences, on penalty of heavy fines, or of being ſhut up in a priſon among thieves and robbers. Great numbers retired to the plantations; but Dr. *Owen*, who was ſhipping off his effects for New-England, was forbid to leave the kingdom by expreſs orders from king *Charles* himſelf. If there had been treaſon or rebellion in the caſe, it had been juſtifiable; but when it was purely for non-conformity to certain rites and ceremonies, and a form of church government, it can deſerve no better name than that of *perſecution*.

The houſe of commons, from their apprehenſions of the growth of popery and of a popiſh ſucceſſor to the crown, petitioned the king againſt the duke's ſecond marriage with the princeſs of Modena, an Italian papiſt, but his majeſty told them they were too late. Upon which the Commons ſtopt their *money-bill*, voted the ſtanding army a grievance, and were proceeding to other vigorous reſolutions, when the king ſent for them to the houſe of peers, and with a ſhort ſpeech prorogued them to January 7, after they had ſat only nine days. In the mean time the *duke's marriage* was conſummated, with the conſent of the French king, which raiſed the expectation of the Roman catholicks higher than ever.

This induced the more zealous proteſtants to think of a firmer union with the diſſenters; accordingly Mr. *Baxter*, at the requeſt of the earl of *Orrery*, drew up ſome propoſals for a comprehenſion, agreeably to thoſe already mentioned.*

* Baxter, part iii. p. 110.

"He

"He propoſed that the *meeting-houſes* of diſſenters ſhould be "allowed as *chapels*, till there were vacancies for them in the "churches—and that thoſe who had no meeting-houſes "ſhould be ſchool-maſters or lecturers till ſuch time—that "none ſhould be obliged to read the *apocrypha*—that pa- "rents might have liberty to dedicate their own children in "baptiſm—that miniſters might preach where ſomebody "elſe who had the room might read the common-prayer "—that miniſters be not obliged to give the ſacrament to "ſuch as are guilty of ſcandalous immoralities, nor to re- "fuſe it to thoſe who ſcruple kneeling—that perſons excom- "municated may not be impriſoned and ruined—and that "toleration be given to all conſcientious diſſenters—." Theſe propoſals, being communicated to the earl of *Orrery*, were put into the hands of biſhop *Morley*,* who returned them without yielding to any thing of importance. The motion was alſo revived in the houſe of commons; but the ſhortneſs of the ſeſſions put a ſtop to its progreſs. Beſides, the court biſhops ſeemed altogether indiſpoſed to any conceſſions.†

This year put an end to the lives of two conſiderable non-conformiſt divines; Mr. *William Whitaker*, the ejected miniſter of St. Mary Magdalen, Bermondſey, ſon of Mr. *Jer. Whitaker*, a divine of great learning in the oriental languages. He was an elegant preacher, and a good man from his youth. While he was at Emanuel college, he was univerſally beloved; and when he came to London, generally eſteemed for his ſweet diſpoſition. He was firſt preacher at Hornchurch, and then at the place from whence he was ejected. He afterwards preached to a ſeparate congregation as the times would permit, and died in the year 1673.§

Mr. *James Janeway*, M. A. was born in Hertfordſhire, and ſtudent of Chriſt church, Oxford. He was afterwards tutor in the houſe of Mr. *Stringer* at Windſor; but not being ſatisfied with conformity, he opened a ſeparate meeting in Rotherhithe, where he preached to a numerous congregation with great ſucceſs.‖ He was a zealous preacher, and fervent in prayer, but being weakly, his indefatigable labours broke

* Page 109. † Baxter, part iii. p. 140. § Calamy, vol. ii. p. 25. Palmer, vol. i. p. 127. ‖ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 838. and Palmer, vol. p, 634.

his

his conſtitution, ſo that he died of a conſumption March 16 1673-4, in the 38th year of his age.

The revocation of the *indulgence*, and the diſpleaſure of the court againſt the diſſenters, for deſerting them in their deſigns to prevent the paſſing the *teſt act*, let looſe the whole tribe of *informers*. The papiſts being excluded from places of truſt, the court had no tenderneſs for proteſtant non-conformiſts; the judges therefore had orders to quicken the execution of the laws againſt them. The eſtates of thoſe of the beſt quality in each county were ordered to be ſeized. The mouths of the high church *pulpiteers* were encouraged to open as loud as poſſible: one in his ſermon before the houſe of commons told them, that the non-conformiſts ought not to be tolerated, but to he *cured by vengeance*. He urged them to ſet fire to the faggot, and to teach them by ſcourges or ſcorpions, and open their eyes with gall. The king himſelf iſſued out a proclamation for putting the penal laws in full execution; which had its effect.*

Mr. *Baxter* was one of the firſt upon whom the ſtorm fell, being apprehended as he was preaching his Thurſday lecture at Mr. *Turner*'s. He went with a conſtable and *Keting* the informer to Sir *William Pulteney*'s, who, demanding the warrant, found it ſigned by *Henry Montague*, eſq; bailiff of Weſtminſter. Sir *William* told the conſtable, that none but a city juſtice could give a warrant to apprehend a man for preaching in the city, whereupon he was diſmiſſed.† Endeavours were uſed to ſurprize Dr. *Manton*, and ſend him to priſon upon the *Oxford* or *five-mile act*, but Mr. *Bedford* preaching for him was accidentally apprehended in his ſtead; and though he had taken the oath in the *five-mile act*, was fined twenty pounds, and the place forty pounds, which was paid by the hearers.

The like ravages were made in moſt parts of England; Mr. *Joſeph Swaffield*, of Saliſbury, was ſeized preaching in his own houſe, and bound over to the aſſizes, and impriſoned in the county gaol almoſt a year. Twenty-five perſons, men and women, were indicted for a riot, that is, for a *conven-*

* State Tracts, vol. iii. p. 42. Baxter, part iii. p. 153. † Ibid. part iii. p. 155. § Conf. Plea, part iv. p. 75.

ticle,

ticle, and ſuffered the penalty of the law.§ The informers were Roman catholicks, one of whom was executed for treaſon in the popiſh plot.—At Eaſt-Salcomb, in Devonſhire, lived one *Joan Boſton*, an old blind widow, who, for a ſuppoſed conventicle held at her houſe, was fined twelve pounds, and for non-payment of it threatened with a gaol. After ſome weeks the officers broke open her doors, and carried away her goods to above the value of the fine. They ſold as many goods as were worth thirteen pounds for fifty ſhillings; ſix hogſheads valued at forty ſhillings for nine ſhillings; and pewter, feather-beds, &c. for twenty ſhillings; beſides the rent, which they demanded of her tenants.—Mr. *John Thompſon*, miniſter in Briſtol, was apprehended, and refuſing to take the Oxford oath was committed to priſon, where he was ſeized with a fever through the noiſomeneſs of the place: A phyſician being ſent for, adviſed his removal; and a bond of five hundred pounds was offered the ſheriff for his ſecurity: Application was alſo made to the biſhop without ſucceſs; ſo he died in priſon March 4, declaring, that *if he had known when he came to priſon that he ſhould die there, he would have done no otherwiſe than he did.* Numberleſs examples of the like kind might be produced during the receſs of the parliament. But the king's want of money, and the diſcontents of his people, obliged him to put an end to the war with the Dutch, with no other advantage than a ſum of two or three hundred thouſand pounds for his expences.

His majeſty was unwilling to meet his parliament, who were now full of zeal againſt popery, and began to conſider the non-conformiſts as auxiliaries to the proteſtant cauſe; but neceſſity obliged him to convene them; and as ſoon as they met Jan. 7, 1674, they addreſſed his majeſty to baniſh all papiſts, who were not houſe-keepers nor menial ſervants to peers, ten miles from London; and to appoint a faſt for the calamities of the nation. They attacked the remaining members of the *cabal*, and voted an addreſs for removing them from his majeſty's council; upon which the king prorogued them for above a year, after they had ſat ſix weeks, without giving any money, or paſſing one ſingle act; which was an

§ Conf. Plea, part iv. p. 75.

indication

indication of ill blood between the king and parliament, and a certain forerunner of vengeance upon the *diſſenters*. But to ſtifle the clamours of the people, his majeſty republiſhed his proclamation,* forbidding their meddling in ſtate affairs, or talking ſeditiouſly in coffee-houſes; and then commanded an order to be made publick, "that effectual care be taken "for the *ſuppreſſing of conventicles:* and whereas divers "pretend *old licences* from his majeſty, and would ſupport "themſelves by that pretence, his majeſty declares, that all "his licences were long ſince recalled, and that no *conven-* "*ticle* has any authority, allowance, or encouragement from "him."†

This year put an end to the life of that great man *John Milton*, born in London, and educated in Chriſt college, Cambridge, where he diſcovered an uncommon genius, which was very much improved by his travels. He was Latin ſecretary to the long parliament, and wrote in defence of the murder of king *Charles* I. againſt *Salmatius* and others, with great ſpirit, and in a pure and elegant Latin ſtile. He was afterwards ſecretary to the protector *Cromwell*, and loſt the ſight of both his eyes by hard ſtudy. At the Reſtoration ſome of his books were burnt, and himſelf in danger, but he was happily included in the act of indemnity, and ſpent the remainder of his life in retirement. He was a man of an unequalled genius, and acquired immortal fame by his incomparable poem of *Paradiſe Loſt*; in which he manifeſted ſuch a ſublimity of thought, and ſuch elegance of diction, as perhaps were never exceeded in any age or nation of the world. His daughters read to him, after he was blind, the Greek poets, though they underſtood not the language. He died in mean circumſtances at Bunhill near London, in the 67th year of his age.‡

* Gazette, No. 883. † Ibid. No. 962, 965.

‡ It is but a piece of juſtice to the memory and virtues of ſome of the moſt diſtinguiſhed characters of the *conformiſts* and *non-conformiſts* of this period, to record here their pious exertions for the religious inſtruction of the Welch. A ſubſcription was opened, and an aſſociation was formed, for the diſtribution of bibles, teſtaments, and practical treatiſes, and for opening ſchools, in the principality of Wales. At the head of this inſtitution was Dr. *Tillotſon*, then dean of Canterbury. The gentlemen who were the chief contributors to this deſign were *Whichcott*, *Ford*, *Bates*, *Outram*, *Patrick*,

Though the proteſtant religion ſtood in need of the united ſtrength of all its profeſſors againſt the advances of popery, and the parliament had moved for a toleration of *proteſtant diſſenters*, yet the biſhops continued to proſecute them in common with the papiſts. Archbiſhop *Sheldon* directed circular letters to the biſhops of his province, enjoining them to give directions to their archdeacons and commiſſaries, to procure particular information from the churchwardens of their ſeveral pariſhes on the following enquiries, and tranſmit them to him after the next viſitation: 1. What number of perſons are there, by common eſtimation, inhabiting within each pariſh ſubject to your juriſdiction? 2. What number of popiſh recuſants, or perſons ſuſpected of recuſancy, are reſident among the inhabitants aforeſaid? 3. What number of other diſſenters are there in each pariſh of what ſect ſoever, which either obſtinately refuſe, or wholly abſent themſelves from the communion of the church of England, at ſuch times as by law they are required?—Some of the clergy were grieved at theſe proceedings, and Dr. *Tillotſon* and *Stilling fleet* met privately with Dr. *Manton*, *Bates*, *Pool*, and *Baxter*, to conſider of terms of accommodation, which, when they had agreed upon and communicated to the biſhops, they were diſallowed; ſo that when *Tillotſon* ſaw how things were going, he cautiouſly withdrew from the odium, and wrote the following letter to Mr. *Baxter*, April 11, 1675: "That he was unwilling his name ſhould be made publick "in the affair, ſince it was come to nothing: not but that I "do heartily deſire an accommodation, (ſays he) and ſhall

Patrick, Durham, Stilling fleet, Meriton, Burton, Baxter, Gouge, Poole, Fowler, Newman, Reading, Griffith, Short, Gape, and the beneficent *Firmin*. From Midſummer 1674 to Lady-day 1675, they had diſtributed thirty-two Welſh bibles, which were all that could be procured in Wales or London; 240 new teſtaments, and 500 Whole Duty of Man, in Welch. In the preceding year 812 poor children had, by the charity of others, been put to ſchool in 51 of the chief towns in Wales. The diſtribution of theſe books provoked others to that charitable work, ſo that the children placed at ſchools by theſe gentlemen, and others, from their own purſe, amounted to 1850. It appears as if this undertaking gave birth to an edition of the bible and liturgy in the Welch tongue, in which. Mr. *Gouge* had a principal concern, and to which Dr. *Tillotſon* gave 50l. The impreſſion extended to 8000 copies. Life of Mr. James Owen, p. 10, 11, 12, and Life of Mr. Thomas Firmin, p. 50. ED.

"always

" always endeavour it; but I am ſure it will be a prejudice " to me, and ſignify nothing to the effecting the thing, which, " as circumſtances are, cannot paſs in either houſe *without* " *the concurrence of a conſiderable part of the biſhops, and the* " *countenance of his majeſty, which at preſent I ſee little reaſon* " *to expect.*"†

But the biſhops' conduct made them unpopular, and drew on them many mortifications. People's compaſſion began to move towards their diſſenting brethren, whom they frequently ſaw carried in great numbers to priſon, and ſpoiled of their goods, for no other crime but a tender conſcience. The very name of an *informer* became as odious as their behaviour was infamous. The aldermen of London often went out of the way when they heard of their coming; and ſome denied them their warrants, though by the act they forfeited one hundred pounds. Alderman *Forth* bound over an informer to his good behaviour, for breaking into his chamber without leave.* When twelve or thirteen biſhops came into the city to dine with Sir *Nathaniel Herne* one of the ſheriff of London, and exhorted him to put the laws in execution againſt the non-conformiſts, he told them plainly, they could not trade with their fellow-citizens one day, and put them in priſon the next.

The moderate churchmen ſhewing a diſpoſition to unite with the non-conformiſts againſt popery, the court reſolved to take in the old ranting cavaliers, to ſtrengthen the oppoſition; for this purpoſe *Morley* and ſome other biſhops were ſent for to court, and told, it was a great misfortune that the church party and diſſenters were ſo diſpoſed to unite, and run into one; the court was therefore willing to make the church eaſy, and to ſecure to the king the allegiance of all his ſubjects at the ſame time; for this purpoſe a bill was brought into the houſe of lords, entitled, *an act to prevent the dangers that may ariſe from perſons diſaffected to the government;* by which all ſuch as enjoyed any beneficial office or employment, eccleſiaſtical, civil, or military; all who voted in elections of parliament men; all privy counſellors, and members of parliament themſelves, were under a penalty to take the following oath, being the ſame as was required by the *five-*

† Baxter, part iii. p. 157, 158. * Compl. Hiſtory, p. 338.

mile act: *I* A. B. *do declare, that it is not lawful upon any pretence whatſoever, to take up arms againſt the king: and that I do abhor that traiterous poſition of taking arms by his authority againſt his perſon, or againſt thoſe that are commiſſioned by him in purſuance of ſuch commiſſion. And I do ſwear, that I will not at any time endeavour the alteration of the government either in church or ſtate. So help me* GOD. The deſign of the bill was to enable the miniſtry to proſecute their deſtructive ſchemes againſt the conſtitution and the proteſtant religion, without fear of oppoſition even from the parliament itſelf.* The chief ſpeakers for the bill were, the lord treaſurer and the lord keeper, lord *Danby* and *Finch*, with biſhop *Morley* and *Ward*; but the earl of *Shafteſbury*, duke of *Buckingham*, lord *Hollis*, and *Halifax*, laid open the miſchievous deſigns and conſequences of it: it was conſidered as diſinheriting men of their birthright, to ſhut them out of from the right of election by an enſnaring oath, as well as deſtructive of the privilege of parliament, which was to vote freely in all caſes without any previous obligation; that the peace of the nation would be beſt ſecured by making good laws; and that oaths and teſts without theſe, would be no real ſecurity; ſcrupulous men might be fettered by them, but that the bulk of mankind would boldly take any teſt, and as eaſily break through it, as had appeared in the late times. The bill was committed, and debated paragraph by paragraph, but the heats occaſioned by it were ſo violent, that the king came unexpectedly to the houſe June 9, and prorogued the parliament;‡ ſo the bill was dropt; but the debates of the lords upon the intended oath being made pub-

* Baxter's Life, part iii. p. 167. Burnet, vol. ii. p. 130—134.

‡ The immediate occaſion of the king's breaking up the ſeſſions, was a diſpute concerning privilege between the two houſes, to which another queſtion gave birth, while the bill for the new teſt was pending. Of this bill it was juſtly ſaid, "No conveyancer could have drawn up a diſſettlement "of the whole birthright of England in more compendious terms." The debate on it laſted five ſeveral days, in the Houſe of Lords, before the bill was committed to a committee of the whole houſe, and eleven or twelve days afrerwards: and the houſe ſat many days till eight or nine at night, and ſometimes till midnight. But, through the interruption given to it, by the matter juſt mentioned, the bill was never reported from the committeeto the houſe; a moſt happy eſcape! Burnet's Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 133, and Dr. Calamy's Hiſtorical Account of his own Life, MS. p. 63. ED.

lick

lick, were ordered to be burnt. Two proclamations were re-publiſhed on this occaſion; one to prevent ſeditious diſcourſes in coffee-houſes, the other to put a ſtop to the publiſhing ſeditious libels.

The court had reaſon to deſire the paſſing this bill, becauſe the oath had been already impoſed upon the *non-conformiſts;* and the court clergy had been preaching in their churches, for ſeveral years, that *paſſive obedience* and *non-reſiſtance* were the received doctrines of the church of England; the biſhops had poſſeſſed the king and his brother with the belief of it, and if it had now paſſed into a law, the whole nation had been bound in chains, and the court might have done as they pleaſed. But the parliament ſaw through the deſign; and Dr. *Burnet* ſays,* he opened the reſerve to the duke of *York*, by telling him, "that there was no truſting to diſ-"putable opinions; that *there were diſtinctions and reſerves* "*in thoſe who had maintained theſe points*; and that when "men ſaw a viſible danger of being firſt undone, and then "burnt, they would be inclined to the ſhorteſt way of ar-"guing, and ſave themſelves the beſt way they could; in-"tereſt and ſelf-preſervation being powerful motives." This might be wholſome advice to the duke, but implies ſuch a *ſecret reſerve* as may cover the moſt wicked deſigns, and is not fit for the lips of a proteſtant divine, nor even of an honeſt man.

The daring inſolence of the papiſts, who had their regular clergy in every corner of the town, was ſo great, that they not only challenged the proteſtant divines to diſputations, but threatened to aſſaſſinate ſuch as preached openly againſt their tenets; which confirmed the lords and commons in their perſuaſion, of the abſolute neceſſity of entering into more moderate and healing meaſures with proteſtant diſſenters, notwithſtanding the inflexible ſteadineſs of the biſhops againſt it. Upon this occaſion the duke of *Buckingham*, lately commenced patriot, made the following ſpeech in the houſe of lords, which is inſerted in the *commons journal*. "My Lords, there "is a thing called liberty, which (whatſoever ſome men may "think) is *that* the people of England are fondeſt of, it is "that they will never part with, and is that his majeſty in his

* Burnet, p. 91.

"ſpeech

" ſpeech has promiſed to take particular care of. This, my " lords, in my opinion, can never be done without giving an " *indulgence to all proteſtant diſſenters.* It is certainly a very " uneaſy kind of life to any man, that has either chriſtian " charity, humanity, or good-nature, to ſee his fellow-ſubjects " daily abuſed, diveſted of their liberty and birth-rights, and " miſerably thrown out of their poſſeſſions and freeholds, " only becauſe they cannot agree with others in ſome opi- " nions and niceties of religion, which their conſciences will " not give them leave to conſent to, and which, even by the " confeſſion of thoſe who would impoſe them, are no ways " neceſſary to ſalvation.

" But, my lords, beſides this, and all that may be ſaid " upon it, in order to the improvement of our trade and in- " creaſe of the wealth, ſtrength, and greatneſs of this na- " tion, (which, with your leave, I ſhall preſume to diſcourſe " of ſome other time) there is, methinks, in this notion of " perſecution, a very groſs miſtake, both as to the point of " government and the point of religion: there is ſo as to the " *point of government*, becauſe it makes every man's ſafety " depend upon the wrong place, not upon the governors, " or man's living well towards the civil government eſta- " bliſhed by law, but upon his being tranſported with zeal for " every opinion that is held by thoſe that have power in the " church that is in faſhion; and I conceive it is a miſtake in " *religion*, becauſe it is poſitively againſt the expreſs doctrine " and example of *Jeſus Chriſt.* Nay, my lords, as to our " proteſtant religion, there is ſomething in it yet worſe, for " we proteſtants maintain that none of thoſe opinions which " chriſtians differ about are infallible, and therefore in us it " is ſomewhat an inexcuſable conception, that men ought to " be deprived of their inheritance, and all the certain con- " veniencies and advantages of life, becauſe they will not " agree with us in our uncertain opinions of religion.

" My humble motion therefore to your lordſhips is, that " you will give leave to bring in *a bill of indulgence to all* " *proteſtant diſſenters.* I know very well, that every peer " in this realm has a right to bring into parliament any bill " he conceives to be uſeful to his nation; but I thought it " more reſpectful to your lordſhips to aſk your leave before;

" and

" and I cannot think the doing it will be any prejudice to the " bill, becauſe I am confident the reaſon, the prudence, and " the charitableneſs of it, will be able to juſtify it to this " houſe, and to the whole world." Accordingly the houſe gave *his grace* leave to bring in a bill to this purpoſe; but this and ſome others were loſt by the warm debates which aroſe in the houſe upon the impeachment of the earl of *Danby*, and which occaſioned the ſudden prorogation of the parliament June 9, without having paſſed one publick bill; after which his majeſty, upon further diſcontent, prorogued them for fifteen months, which gave occaſion to a queſtion in the enſuing ſeſſion, whether they were not legally diſſolved.

From this time to the diſcovery of the popiſh plot, parliaments were called and adjourned (ſays Mr. *Coke*) by order from France or French miniſters and penſioners, to carry on the deſign of promoting the *catholick cauſe* in maſquerade.* The king himſelf was a known penſioner of *Lewis* XIV. who had appropriated a fund of twenty millions of livres for the ſervice of theſe kingdoms, out of which the duke of *York*, and the prime miniſters and leaders of parties, received the wages of their commiſſion, according as the French ambaſſador repreſented their merit. The *penſioners* made it their buſineſs to raiſe the cry of the church's danger, and of the return of *forty-one*. This was ſpread over the whole nation in a variety of pamphlets, and news-papers, *&c.* written by their own hirelings; and if they met with oppoſition from the friends of the country, the authors and printers were ſure to be fined and impriſoned. A reward of fifty pounds was offered for the printer of a pamphlet, ſuppoſed to be written by *Andrew Marvel*, entitled, *An account of the growth of power, and a ſeaſonable argument to all grand juries;* and one hundred pounds for the perſons who conveyed it to the preſs. No man could publiſh any thing on the ſide of liberty and the proteſtant religion, but with the hazard of a priſon, and a conſiderable fine; nor is this to be wondered at, conſidering that Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange* was the ſole licenſer of the preſs.

This gentleman was a penſioner of the court, and a champion for the prerogative; he was a younger ſon of Sir *Hammond L'Eſtrange* of Norfolk, who, having conceived hopes

* Deteſt. p. 500.

of

of ſurpriſing the town of Lynn for his majeſty in the year 1644, obtained a commiſſion from the king for that purpoſe, but being apprehended and tried by a court-martial, for coming into the parliament's quarters as a ſpy, he was condemned, and ordered to be executed in Smithfield Jan. 2, 1744-5, but by the interceſſion of ſome powerful friends he was reprieved, and kept in Newgate ſeveral years. His ſufferings made ſuch an impreſſion on his ſpirit, that on the king's reſtoration, he was reſolved to make repriſals on the whole party. He was maſter of a fine Engliſh ſtile, and of a great deal of keen wit, which he employed without any regard to truth or candour, in the ſervice of popery and arbitrary power, and in vilifying the beſt and moſt undoubted patriots. Never did man fight ſo, to force the diſſenters into the church, (ſays *Coke*) and when he had got them there, branded them for *trimmers*, and would turn them out again. He was a moſt mercenary writer, and had a pen at the ſervice of thoſe who would pay him beſt. *Forty-one* was his retreat againſtall who durſt contend againſt him and the prerogative. Sir *Roger* obſerved no meaſures with his adverſaries in his *Weekly Obſervators*, *Citt and Bumpkin*, *Foxes and Firebrands*,* and other pamphlets; and when the falſeneſs of his reaſoning, and inſolence of his ſarcaſm, were expoſed, *like a ſecond Don Quixot*, he called aloud to the civil magiſtrate to come

* Dr. *Grey* ſays, that Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange* was not the author of this work; that the firſt part was written by Dr. *Nalſon*, and the other parts, if he miſtook not, by Mr. *Ware*, the ſon of Sir *James Ware*, the great antiquarian. The moſt valuable of Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*'s publications is reckoned to be his Tranſlation of *Joſephus*. His ſtile, which Mr. *Neal* commends, has been ſeverely cenſured by other writers. Mr. *Gordon* ſays, that "his productions are not fit to be read by any who have taſte and good-"breeding: they are full of technical terms, of phraſes picked up in the "the ſtreets, from apprentices and porters, and nothing can be more low "and nauſeous." Mr. *Granger* obſerves, that *L'Eſtrange* was one of the great corrupters of our language, by excluding vowels and other letters commonly pronounced, and introducing "pert and affected phraſes." He was licenſer of the preſs to *Charles* and *James* II. and died 11th December, 1704, Æt. 88. Queen *Mary*, we are told, made this anagram on his name.

"Roger L'Eſtrange,
"Lying Strange Roger."

Britiſh Biography, vol. vi. p. 317. Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iv. p. 70. Ed.

in

in to his aid. He repreſented the religion of the diſſenters, as a medley of folly and enthuſiaſm; their principles and tempers as turbulent, ſeditious, and utterly inconſiſtent with the peace of the ſtate; their pretences as frivolous, and often hypocritical. He excited the government to uſe the utmoſt ſeverities to extirpate them out of the kingdom.* He furniſhed the clergy with pulpit materials to rail at them, which they improved with equal eagerneſs and indiſcretion; ſo that popery was forgot, and nothing ſo common in their mouths as *forty-one*. *L'Eſtrange* publiſhed ſome of the *incautious* expreſſions of ſome of the diſſenters in the late times, which he picked out of their writings, to excite the populace againſt the whole party, as if it had not been eaſy to make repriſals from the ranting expreſſions of the tories of this reign: for theſe exploits he was maintained by the court, and knighted; and yet when the tide turned in the reign of king *James* II. he forgot *his raillery againſt the principles of the non-conformiſts*, and wrote as zealouſly for liberty of conſcience, on the foot of the diſpenſing power, as any man in the kingdom.

But in anſwer to the invectives of this venal tribe, a pamphlet was publiſhed with the approbation of ſeveral miniſters, entitled, *the Principles and Practices of ſeveral Non-conformiſts, ſhewing that their religion is no other than what is profeſſed in the church of England.* The authors declare,† "that they "heartily own the proteſtant reformation *in doctrine*, as con- "tained in the articles of the church of England——that "they are willing to embrace biſhop *Uſher*'s model of church "government, which king *Charles* I. admitted —— they "hold it unlawful, by the conſtitution and laws of this "kingdom, for ſubjects to take arms againſt the king, his "office, authority, or perſon, or thoſe legally commiſſioned "and authorized by him; nor will they endeavour any al- "teration in church or ſtate by any other means than by "prayer to God, and by petitioning their ſuperiors——

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 252. Rapin.

† To diſcredit Mr. *Corbet*'s piece, Dr. *Grey* refers to *Anthony Wood*'s character of him, as a preacher of ſedition, and a vilifier of the king and his party. But with ſuch writers every ſentiment, that does not breathe the ſpirit of paſſive obedience, is ſeditious. Beſides, Mr. *Corbet*'s vindication turned on notorious facts. Ed.

"they

" they acknowledge the king's ſupremacy over all per-
" ſons, *&c.* within his dominions——they declare that their
" doctrine tends to no unquietneſs or confuſion, any more
" than the doctrine of the church of England. And they
" think it not fair dealing in their adverſaries, to repeat
" and aggravate all intemperate paſſages vented in the late
" times, when impetuous actings hurried men into extre-
" mities; and *they apprehend it would not tend to the ad-*
" *vantage of the conforming clergy, if collections ſhould be pub-*
" *liſhed of all their imprudences and weakneſſes, as has been*
" *done on the other ſide*——they abhor ſeditious conven-
" ticles, and affirm, that inſurrections were never contrived
" in their meetings, nor in any whereof they are conſcious.
" Experience (ſay they) hath witneſſed our peaceableneſs,
" and that diſloyalty or ſedition is not to be found among us,
" by the moſt inquiſitive of our adverſaries.—They deſire
" the church of England to take notice, that they have no
" mind to promote popiſh deſigns; that they are aware of
" the advantage that papiſts make of the diviſions of pro-
" teſtants—that the invectives thrown out againſt them, are
" made up only of big and ſwelling words, or of the indiſ-
" cretions of a few, with which they are not chargeable—
" they do not pretend to be courtiers or philoſophers, but
" they teach their people to fear God and honour the king;
" to love the brotherhood, to bridle their tongues, to be
" meek and lowly, and do their own work with quietneſs."*

Though the perſecution continued very fierce, the non-conformiſts ventured to aſſemble in private, and ſeveral pamphlets were publiſhed about this time [1676] in their defence; as, *the Peaceable Deſign; or, an account of the Non-conformiſt meetings*; by ſome London miniſters: deſigned, ſays Dr. *Stillingfleet*, to be preſented to parliament. *Reaſons which*

* On the 15th of January, 1675-6, died *Dorothy* the wife of *Richard Cromwell*, in the 49th year of her age; who, it is thought, never ſaw her huſband after he retired into France. She was the daughter of *Richard Major*, eſq; of Hurſly in Hampſhire, where ſhe was married on the 1ſt of May 1649. The character given of her is, " that ſhe was a prudent, " godly, practical chriſtian." So far, it is obſerved, this lady has been happy, that amongſt the illiberal things that have been levelled againſt the protectoral houſe of *Cromwell*, her character is almoſt the only one, that ſcandal has left untouched. Biographia Britan. 2d ed. vol. iv. p. 538.

prevailed

prevailed with the diſſenter in Briſtol to continue their meetings, however proſecuted or diſturbed—Separation no Schiſm—A Rebuke to Informers; with a plea for the Miniſters of the Goſpel called Non-conformiſts, and their meetings; with advice to thoſe to whom the informers apply for aſſiſtance in their undertaking.

INFORMERS were now become the terror of the non-conformiſts, and the reproach of a civilized nation.* They went about in diſguiſe, and, like wandering ſtrollers, lived upon the plunder of induſtrious families. They are a ſelect company (ſays the *Conformiſts' Plea for the Non-conformiſts*) whom the long-ſuffering of God permits for a time; they are of no good reputation; they do not ſo much as know the names or perſons in the country whom they moleſt, but go by report of their under-ſervants and accomplices. They come from two or three counties off, to ſet up this new trade; whether they are papiſts or nominal proteſtants, who can tell? They never go to their pariſh churches, nor any other, but lie in wait and ambuſh for their prey; their eſtate is inviſible, their country unknown to many, and their morals are as bad as the very dregs of the age: theſe are the men who direct and rule many of the magiſtrates; who live upon the ſpoil of better chriſtians and ſubjects than themſelves, and go away with honeſt men's goods honeſtly gotten.†—They are generally poor, (ſays another writer) as are many of the *juſtices*, ſo that they ſhared the booty belonging to the king as well as the poor among themſelves; by which means the king and the poor got but little.‡

Their practice was to inſinuate themſelves into an acquaintance with ſome under-ſervants, or lodgers in a *non-conformiſt family*, under the cloak of religion, in order to diſcover the place of their *meeting*. They walked the ſtreets on the *Lord's day*, to obſerve which way any ſuſpected perſons went. They frequently ſat down in coffee-houſes, and places of publick reſort, to liſten to converſation. They could turn them-

* Conform. Plea, part iii. p. 8, 9, 10. † Sewel, p. 493.

‡ Dr. *Grey* is angry with Mr. *Neal* for not quoting the remainder of the paragraph from *Sewel:* in which that writer owns that ſome honeſt juſtices diſcouraged the practices of the informers, and availed themſelves of any defect or failure in their evidence, to clear thoſe againſt whom they informed. ED.

ſelves

ſelves into any ſhape, and counterfeit any principles to obtain their ends. When they had diſcovered a conventicle, they immediately got a warrant from ſome who were called *confiding juſtices*, to break open the houſe. If the miniſter was in the midſt of his ſermon or prayer, they commanded him in the king's name, to come down from his pulpit; and if he did not immediately obey, a file of muſqueteers was uſually ſent up to pull him down by force, and to take him into cuſtody; the congregation was broke up, and the people guarded along the ſtreet to a magiſtrate, and from him to a priſon, unleſs they immediately paid their fines: the goods of the houſe were rifled, and frequently carried off, as a ſecurity for the large fine ſet upon it.

This was a new way of raiſing contributions, but it ſeldom or never proſpered; that which was ill-gotten was as ill-ſpent, upon lewd women, or in taverns and ale-houſes, in gaming, or ſome kind of debauchery. An *informer* was but one degree above a beggar; there was a remarkable blaſt of providence upon their perſons and ſubſtance: moſt of them died in poverty and extreme miſery; and as they lived in diſgrace, they ſeemed to die by a remarkable hand of God. *Stroud* and *Marſhal*, with all their plunder, could not keep out of priſon; and when *Keting*, another informer, was confined for debt, he wrote to Mr. *Baxter* to endeavour his deliverance, confeſſing he believed God had ſent that calamity upon him, for giving him ſo much trouble. Another died in the Compter for debt; and great numbers by their vices came to miſerable and untimely ends.

But as ſome died off, others ſucceeded, who by the inſtigation of the court diſturbed all the meetings they could find. The king commanded the judges and juſtices of London to put the penal laws in ſtrict execution; and Sir *Joſ. Sheldon*, lord-mayor, and kinſman to the archbiſhop, did not fail to do his part. Sir *Tho. Davis* iſſued a warrant to diſtrain on Mr. *Baxter* for 50l. on account of his lecture in New-ſtreet; and when he had built a little chapel in Oxenden-ſtreet, the doors were ſhut up after he had preached in it once. In April this year, [1676] he was diſturbed by a company of conſtables and officers, as he was preaching in Swallow-ſtreet, who beat drums

drums under the windows, to interrupt the ſervice, becauſe they had not a warrant to break open the houſe.

The court biſhops, as has been obſerved more than once, puſhed on the *informers* to do all the miſchief they could to the non-conformiſts; "the prelates will not ſuffer them to "be quiet in their families,* (ſays a conſiderable writer of "theſe times) though they have given large and ample teſ-"timonies, that they are willing to live quietly by their "church neighbours——" The diſſenting proteſtants have been reputed the only enemies of the nation, and therefore only perſecuted, (ſays a noble writer) while the papiſts remain undiſturbed, being by the court thought loyal, and by our great biſhops not dangerous. Mr. *Locke*, biſhop *Burnet*, and others, have ſet a mark upon the names of archbiſhop *Sheldon*, biſhop *Morley*, *Gunning*, *Henchman*, *Ward*, &c. which will not be eaſily eraſed; but I mention no more, becauſe there were others of a better ſpirit, who reſided in their dioceſes, and had no concern with the court.

Among theſe we may reckon Dr. *Edward Reynolds*, biſhop of Norwich, born in Southampton 1599, and educated in Merton college, Oxford; he was preacher to the ſociety of Lincoln's-Inn, and reckoned one of the moſt eloquent preachers of his age, though he had ſome hoarſeneſs in his voice.† In the time of the civil wars he took part with the parliament, and was *one of the aſſembly of divines*. In the year 1648, he was appointed one of the preachers to the univerſity of Oxford, and afterwards a *viſitor*. Upon the reform of the univerſity, he was made dean of Chriſt-church, and vice-chancellor. After the king's death, he loſt his deanery for refuſing the *engagement*, but complied with all the other changes till the king's reſtoration, when he appeared with the preſbyterians, but was prevailed with to accept a biſhoprick on the terms of the king's declaration, which never took place. He was a perſon of ſingular affability, meekneſs, and humility, and a frequent preacher.‡ He was

* State Tracts, vol. ii. p. 54, 55. Vol. iii. p. 42, &c.

† Wood's Athen. Oxon. vol. ii. p. 420.

‡ "He was univerſally allowed," ſays Mr. *Granger*, "to be a man of "extraordinary parts, and diſcovers in his writings a richneſs of fancy as "well as a ſolidity of judgement." He was buried in the new chapel belonging to his palace, which he built at his own expence. Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 241.

a con-

a conſtant reſident in his dioceſe, and a good old Puritan, who never concerned himſelf with the politicks of the court. He died at Norwich Jan. 16, 1676, *ætatis* ſeventy-ſix.

[On May the 22d, 1676, died, aged 73, the pious and learned Mr. *John Tombes*, B. D. ejected from the living of Leominſter, in Herefordſhire. He was born, in 1603, at Bewdley in Worceſterſhire. At fifteen years of age, having made a good proficiency in grammar learning, he was ſent to Magdalen-hall, Oxford; where he ſtudied under the celebrated Mr. *William Pemble*; upon whoſe deceaſe he was choſen, though but twenty-one years of age, ſuch was the reputation of his parts and learning, to ſucceed him in the catechetical lecture in that hall. He held this lecture about ſeven years, and then removed firſt to Worceſter, and then to Leominſter; in both places he had the name of a very popular preacher; and of the latter living he was, ſoon after, poſſeſſed; and as the emolument of it was ſmall, lord viſcount *Scudamore*, out of reſpect to Mr. *Tombes*, made an addition to it. In 1641 he was, through the ſpirit of the church party, obliged to leave this town; and fled to Briſtol, where general *Fiennes* gave him the living of All-Saints. The city being taken by the king's party, his wife and children being plundered, and a ſpecial warrant being out to apprehend him, he eſcaped with difficulty, and got to London with his family, Sept. 22, 1643. Here he was ſometime miniſter of Felchurch, till his ſtipend was taken away for not practiſing the baptiſm of infants. He was then choſen preacher to the honourable ſocieties at the Temple, on condition that he would not touch on the controverſy about it in the pulpit. Here he continued four years, and was then diſmiſſed for having publiſhed a treatiſe on the ſubject. He was, after this, choſen miniſter in the town of his nativity, and had alſo the parſonage of Roſſe given him, but he gave up his intereſt in the latter, to accept the maſterſhip of the hoſpital at Ledbury. When the affections of the people at Bewdley were alienated from him, on account of his ſentiments on baptiſm, he was reſtored to his living at Leominſter. In 1653, he was appointed a *tryer* for candidates for the miniſtry. After the Reſtoration he quitted his places, and laid down the miniſtry, and went to reſide at Saliſbury; from whence he had

not

not long before married a rich widow, and conformed to the church as a *lay-communicant*. He was held in great reſpect by lord chancellor *Hyde*, biſhop *Sanderſon*, biſhop *Barlow*, and Dr. *Ward* biſhop of Saliſbury, whom, during his reſidence in that city, he often viſited. Mr. *Wood* ſays, "that there were "few better diſputants in his age than he was." Mr. *Wall* ſpeaks of him as "a man of the beſt parts in our nation, and "perhaps in any." Dr. *Calamy* repreſents him as one, "whom all the world muſt own to have been a very con- "ſiderable man and an excellent ſcholar." And it perpetuates his memory with honour, that the lords, in their conference with the commons, in 1702, on the bill to prevent *occaſional conformity*, ſupported their argument, that receiving the ſacrament in church did not neceſſarily import an entire *conformity*, by an appeal to his example: "There was a "very learned and famous man," ſaid they, "that lived at "Saliſbury, Mr. *Tombes*, who was a very zealous *conformiſt* "in all points but in one, infant baptiſm." Mr. *Tombes* was one of the firſt of the clergy of his day, who attempted a reformation in the church, and to remove all human inventions in the worſhip of God: with this view he preached a ſermon, which he was commanded by the houſe of commons to print. So early as the year 1627, being led in the courſe of his lectures to diſcuſs the ſubject of baptiſm, he was brought into doubts concerning the authority for that of infants, which for ſome years he continued to practiſe only on the ground of the apoſtle's words, 1 Cor. vii. 14. But the anſwer he received to that argument from an ingenious *baptiſt* at Briſtol, put him to a ſtand as to that text. When he was in London, he conſulted ſome of the learned miniſters there on the queſtion, and at a particular conference debated the matters with them; but it broke up without obviating his objections. He afterwards laid his reaſons for doubting the lawfulneſs of the common practice in Latin before the Weſtminſter aſſembly: after waiting many months, though he had been informed that a committee was to be appointed to conſider the point, he could obtain no anſwer, nor hear that it was ſo much as admitted to a debate; but his papers were toſſed up and down from one to another to expoſe him. On being

being diſmiſſed from the Temple, he printed his Apology; of which Mr. *Batchiler* ſays, "having peruſed this mild "Apology, I conceive that the ingenuity, learning and piety, "therein contained, deſerve the preſs." He repeatedly took up his pen in this controverſy, of which he was judged to be a perfect maſter, and he was often drawn into publick diſputations on it, particularly with Mr. *Baxter*, at Bewdley. "The victory, as uſual," ſays Mr. *Nelſon*, "was claimed "on both ſides: but ſome of the learned, who were far "from approving his cauſe, yielded the advantage both "of learning and argument to Mr. *Tombes*."* He wrote more books on the ſubject than any one man in England; and, continuing miniſter of the pariſh of Bewdley, he gathered a *ſeparate* church of thoſe of his own perſuaſion; which, though not large, conſiſted of ſome members diſtinguiſhed for their piety and ſolid judgement; and three, who were afterwards eminent miniſters of that perſuaſion, were trained up in it, viz. Mr. *Richard Adams*, Mr. *John Eccles*, and Captain *Boylſton*. It continued till about the time of the king's reſtoration. Croſby's Hiſtory of the Baptiſts, vol. i. p. 278—293. Palmer's Non-conformiſt Memorial, vol. ii. p. 33—37; and Nelſon's Life of biſhop Bull, p. 249—253. ED.

The murmurs of the people againſt the government, increaſed rather than diminiſhed. When the parliament met, they addreſſed the king to enter into an alliance with the Dutch, and other confederates, for preſerving the Spaniſh Netherlands, as the only means to ſave Great-Britain from popery and ſlavery.† But his majeſty declared, he would not ſuffer his prerogative of making war and peace to be invaded, nor be preſcribed to as to his alliances. However, he conſented to a ſeparate peace with the Dutch, and then prorogued the parliament to the middle of July, by which

* Nelſon's Life of biſhop *Bull*, p. 251.

† Notwithſtanding this alarm, on a calculation that was made, in the preceding year, the *Non-conformiſts* of all ſorts, and *Papiſts* included, were found to be in proportion to the members of the church of *Eagland*, as one to twenty; "which was a number," ſays biſhop *Sherlock*, "too ſmall "to hurt the conſtitution." His Teſt Act vindicated, as quoted by Dr. *Calamy*; Own Life, p. 63. MS. ED.

time

time the French had almoſt compleated their conqueſts of the Spaniſh Flanders. The chief thing the parliament could obtain, was the repeal of the popiſh act *de hæretico comburendo*.*

But when the campaign was over, his majeſty did one of the moſt popular actions of his reign, which was marrying the princeſs MARY, eldeſt daughter of the duke of York, to the PRINCE OF ORANGE. The king imagined he could oblige the Dutch, by this family alliance, to ſubmit to a diſadvantageous peace with the French; but when the prince declared roundly, that he would not ſacrifice his honour, nor the liberties of Europe, for a wife, his majeſty ſaid, he was an honeſt man, and gave him the *princeſs* without any conditions, to the great joy of all the true friends of their country, who had now a proteſtant heir to the crown in view, though at ſome diſtance. The nuptials were ſolemnized Nov. 4, 1677, and the royal pair ſoon after embarked privately for Holland.

This year died archbiſhop *Sheldon*, one of the moſt inveterate enemies of the non-conformiſts, a man of perſecuting principles, and a tool of the prerogative, who made a jeſt of religion, any farther than it was a political engine of ſtate.* He

* This writ was taken away, on the principle of the wiſdom of prevention, under the apprehenſion of popery, "to preclude the riſk of being "burnt themſelves, not to exempt others from the poſſibility of being "burnt." The conduct of adminiſtration, in this inſtance, "was the "effect of fear, not of general and enlarged principles."

Hobhouſe's Treatiſe on Hereſy, p. 29, note.

Another modern writer obſerves, that "though the *ſtate*, in this in-"ſtance, ſhewed ſome moderation, neither then, nor at any ſubſequent "time, has *any* alteration been made in the conſtitution of the *Church*." It ſtill aſſumes excluſively to itſelf *all truth*, and may perſecute ſome ſectaries as Heretics, and puniſh them by "excommunication, degradation, "and other eccleſiaſtical cenſures, not extending to death." It is not clear, that eccleſiaſtical judges may not, even now, *doom* them to the flames, though the civil power will not execute the ſentence. High-Church Politicks, p. 64. ED.

* "I ſcarce believe," ſays Dr. *Grey*, "that the *moderate*, the *impar-*"*tial*, the peaceable Mr. *Neal*, could write down ſo many untruths, in one "paragraph, without bluſhing." The Doctor expreſſes himſelf in another place, vol. ii. p. 320, diſpleaſed with Mr. *Neal* for ſaying, that Dr. *Sheldon* "never gave any great ſpecimens of his piety or learning to the world,"

He was ſucceeded by Dr. *Sancroft*, who was deprived for *jacobitiſm* at the revolution.* Dr. *Compton* was promoted to the ſee of London, in the room of Dr. *Henchman*, a man of weyk but arbitrary principles, till it came to his turn to be a ſufferer.† Many of the biſhops waited on the king this ſummer,

vol. iii. p. 425. In reply to this he quotes biſhop *Burnet*, who allows that *Sheldon* "was eſteemed a learned man before the wars." Here the doctor refers to biſhop *Kennet*, who ſays that *Sheldon* "withdrew from all ſtate "affairs ſome years before his death;" and to *Eachard*, who extols his *learning* and *piety*, as well as his munificent benefactions, which we have ſpecified, vol. iii. p. 425, note. Dr *Samuel Parker*, who had been his chaplain, ſays, "he was a man of undoubted piety; but though he was "very aſſiduous at prayers, yet he did not ſet ſo great a value upon them "as others did, nor regarded ſo much worſhip as the uſe of worſhip, "placing the chief point of religion in the practice of a good life." Mr. *Granger* repreſents him as "meriting, by his benevolent heart, publick "ſpirit, prudent conduct, and *exemplary piety*, the higheſt and moſt conſpi-"cuous ſtation in the church." Theſe characters of his grace appear to contradict Mr. *Neal*. On the other hand, he is ſupported by the teſtimony of biſhop *Burnet*, who ſays, "He ſeemed not to have a deep ſenſe of re-"ligion, if any at all, and ſpoke of it moſt commonly as of an engine of "government, and a matter of policy:" and the *facts*, adduced above, ſhew his intolerant ſpirit. But all agree in deſcribing him as a man whoſe generous and munificent deeds diſplayed a benevolent and liberal mind, and whoſe pleaſantneſs and affability of manner were truly ingratiating. "His "converſation," as Dr. *Parker* draws his character, "was eaſy; he never "ſent any man away diſcontented; among his domeſticks he was both "pleaſant and grave, and governed his family with authority and courteſy." His advice to young noblemen and gentlemen, who, by the order of their parents, daily reſorted to him, deſerves to be mentioned. It was always this: "Let it be your principal care to become honeſt men, and afterwards "be as devout and religious as you will. No piety will be of any advan-"tage to yourſelves or any body elſe, unleſs you are honeſt and moral men." Granger, vol. iii. p. 230. Britiſh Biography, vol. v. p. 25, 26, note; and Burnet, vol. i. p. 257. Ed.

* "The bare mention of this is ſufficient to expoſe Mr. *Neal's ſneer* "upon one of the *greateſt*, the beſt, and moſt conſcientious prelates." Dr. Grey, vol. iii. p. 376. Ed.

† Dr. *Grey* affects to doubt, whether Mr. *Neal* deſigned this character for biſhop *Henchman* or biſhop *Compton*; though *Henchman* is the immediate antecedent, whoſe character more properly follows the mention of his death. The doctor appeals from Mr. *Neal* to Mr. *Eachard*, who commends biſhop *Henchman*'s wiſdom and prudence, and his admirable management of the king's eſcape after the battle of Worceſter. Mr. *Neal*, in ſpeaking of his arbitrary principles, till he was pinched, undoubtedly refers to his conduct, when the declaration for liberty of conſcience was publiſhed. On this occaſion he was much alarmed, and ſtrictly enjoined his

ſummer, for his commands to put the penal laws into execution, which they did with ſo much diligence, that Mr. *Baxter* ſays, he was ſo weary of keeping his doors ſhut againſt perſons who came to diſtrain his goods for preaching, that he was forced to leave his houſe, to ſell his goods, and part with his very books.* About twelve years (ſays he) I have been driven one hundred miles from them, and when I had paid dear for the carriage, after two or three years I was forced to ſell them. This was the caſe of many others, who, being ſeparated from their families and friends, and having no way of ſubſiſtence, were forced to ſell their books, and houſhold furniture, to keep them from ſtarving.

This year [1677] died the Rev. Dr. *Tho. Manton*, ejected from Covent-garden; he was born in Somerſetſhire 1620, educated at Tiverton ſchool, and from thence placed at Wadham college, Oxon. He was ordained by Dr. *Hall*, biſhop of Exeter, when he was not more than twenty years of age: his firſt ſettlement was at Stoke-Newington near London, where he continued ſeven years, being generally eſteemed an excellent preacher, and a learned expoſitor of ſcripture. Upon the death or reſignation of Mr. *Obadiah Sedgwick*, he was preſented to the living of Covent-garden by the duke of *Bedford*, and preached to a numerous congregation. The doctor was appointed one of the protector's chaplains, and one of the *triers* of perſons' qualifications for the miniſtry; which ſervice he conſtantly attended. In the year 1660, he was very forward, in concert with the preſbyterian miniſters, to accompliſh the king's reſtoration, and was one of the commiſſioners at the Savoy conference; he was then created doctor of divinity, and offered the deanery of Rocheſter, but declined it. After he was turned out of his living in 1662, he held a private meeting in his own houſe, but was impriſoned, and met with ſeveral diſturbances in his miniſterial work. He was conſulted in all the

his clergy to preach againſt popery, though it offended the king. This prelate was lord almoner, and he was the editor of the "Gentleman's Calling," ſuppoſed to be written by the author of the "Whole Duty of Man." Granger, vol. iii. p. 233. Biſhop *Compton*'s character will appear in the ſucceeding part of this hiſtory. ED.

* Baxter, part iii. p. 171, 172.

treaties for a comprehenſion with the eſtabliſhed church, and was high in the eſteem of the duke of *Bedford*, earl of *Mancheſter*, and other noble perſons. At length, finding his conſtitution breaking, he reſigned himſelf to God's wiſe diſpoſal, and being ſeized with a kind of lethargy, he died October 18, 1677, in the 57th year of his age, and was buried in the chancel of the church of Stoke-Newington.* Dr. *Bates* in his funeral ſermon ſays, he was a divine of a rich fancy, a ſtrong memory, and happy elocution, improved by diligent ſtudy. He was an excellent chriſtian, a fervent preacher, and every way a bleſſing to the church of God.* His practical works were publiſhed in five volumes in folio, at ſeveral times after his death, and are in great eſteem among the diſſenters to this day.†

About the ſame time died Mr. *John Rowe*, M. A. born in the year 1626, and educated for ſome time at Cambridge, but tranſlated to Oxford about the time of the viſitation in the year 1648. Here he was admitted M. A. and fellow of Corpus-Chriſti college. He was firſt lecturer at Witney in Oxfordſhire; afterwards preacher at Tiverton in Devonſhire, and one of the commiſſioners for ejecting ignorant and inſufficient miniſters in that county. Upon the death of Mr. *William Strong*, in the year 1654, he was called to ſucceed him in the abbey church of Weſtminſter; at which place, as

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 42; and Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 138.

† Dr. *Manton* was alſo in great eſtimation for his activity and addreſs in the management of publick affairs, and was generally in the chair in meetings of the diſſenting miniſters in the city. Dr. *Grey* queſtions the truth of Mr. *Neal*'s aſſertion, that he was ordained at the age of twenty years, eſpecially as he gives no authority for it. "Biſhop *Hall*," he ſays, "was too *canonical* a man to admit any perſon into *deacon*'s orders at that "age." If the fact be miſtated, he muſt be deſtitute of all candour who can impute this to a *wilful* falſification. Archbiſhop *Uſher* uſed to call Dr. *Manton* a *voluminous preacher*, meaning that he had the art of reducing the ſubſtance of volumes of divinity into a narrow compaſs. But it was true in the literal ſenſe, he was voluminous as an author: for his ſermons run into ſeveral folios, one of which contains 190 ſermons on the 119th pſalm. The taſk of reading theſe, when he was a youth, to his aunt, had an unhappy effect on the mind of lord *Bolingbroke*. In a letter to Dr. *Swift*, he writes, "My next ſhall be as long as one of Dr. *Manton*'s ſermons, who taught my "youth to yawn, and prepared me to be a high churchman, that I might "never hear him read, nor read him more." Granger's Hiſtory, vol. iii. p 304, note. ED.

perſons

in all others, his ſermons were very much attended to by perſons of all perſuaſions.* On the 14th of March 1659, he was appointed one of the approvers of miniſters by act of parliament; but on the king's reſtoration he gave way to the change of the times, and was ſilenced with his brethren by the act of uniformity. He was a divine of great gravity and piety; his ſermons were judicious and well ſtudied, fit for the audience of men of the beſt quality in thoſe times. After the *Bartholomew act*, he continued with his people, and preached to them in Bartholomew-Cloſe, and elſewhere, as the times would permit, till his death, which happened October 12, 1677, in the fifty-ſecond year of his age. He lies buried in Bunhill-fields under an altar monument of a brick foundation.† The words with which he concluded his laſt ſermon were theſe: *We ſhould not deſire to continue longer in this world than to glorify God, to finiſh our work, and to be ready to ſay, Farewell, time; welcome, bleſſed eternity; even ſo come Lord Jeſus!*

* Mr. *Rowe* was a good ſcholar, and well read in the Fathers; and had ſuch a knowledge of Greek, that he began very young to keep a diary in that language; which he continued till his death; but he burnt moſt of it in his laſt illneſs. Palmer. Ed.

† Calamy, vol. ii. p. 39. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 142.

CHAP. X.

From the Popiſh Plot *to the Death of King* CHARLES *the Second, in the Year* 1684-5.

—1678.—

THE king having concluded a peace with the Dutch, became mediator between the French and the confederates, at the treaty of Nimeguen; where the former managed the Engliſh court ſo dexterouſly, that the emperor and Spaniards were obliged to buy their peace, at the expence of the beſt part of Flanders.

From this time to the end of the king's reign, we meet with little elſe but *domeſtick quarrels* between the king and his parliament; *ſham plots*, and *furious ſallies of rage and revenge*, between the court and country parties. The nonconformiſts were very great ſufferers by theſe conteſts; the penal laws being in full force, and the execution of them in the hands of their avowed enemies.

No ſooner was the nation at peace abroad, but a formidable plot broke out at home, to take away the king's life, to ſubvert the conſtitution, to introduce popery, and to extirpate the proteſtant religion root and branch. It was called the POPISH PLOT, from the nature of the deſign, and the quality of the *conſpirators*, who were no leſs than pope *Innocent* XI. cardinal *Howard* his legat; and the *generals of the jeſuits* in Spain and at Rome.* When the king was taken off, the duke of *York* was to receive the crown as a gift from the pope, and hold it in fee. If there happened any diſturbance, the city of London was to be fired, and the infamy of the whole affair to be laid upon the *preſbyterians* and *fanaticks*, in hopes that the *churchmen*, in the heat of their fury, would cut them in pieces, which would make way for the more eaſy ſubverſion of the proteſtant religion.

* Eachard, p. 934.

Thus

Thus an inſurrection, and perhaps a ſecond maſſacre of the proteſtants, was intended; for this purpoſe they had great numbers of popiſh officers in pay, and ſome thouſands of men ſecretly liſted to appear as occaſion required; as was depoſed by the oaths of *Bedloe*, *Tongue*, Dr. *Oates*, and others.

The diſcovery of this plot, ſpread a prodigious alarm over the nation, and awakened the fears of thoſe who had been lulled into a fatal ſecurity. The king's life was the more valuable becauſe of the *popiſh ſucceſſor*, who was willing to run all riſks for the introducing his religion. The murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey** at this juncture, a zealous and

* The death of this gentleman, an able magiſtrate and of a fair character, was deemed a much ſtronger evidence of the reality of the plot, than the oath of *Oates*. The fooliſh circumſtance of his name being anagramatized to "I find murdered by rogues," helped to confirm the opinion of his being murdered by papiſts. His funeral was celebrated with the moſt ſolemn pomp. Seventy-two clergymen preceded the corpſe, which was followed by a thouſand perſons, moſt of whom were of eminence and rank. Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 400. 8vo.

This ſhews the intereſt which the publick took in this event. So great was the alarm this plot raiſed, that poſts and chains were put up in all parts of the city, and a conſiderable number of the trained bands drawn out night after night, well armed, and watching with as much care as if a great inſurrection were expected before the morning. The general topicks of converſation were deſigned maſſacres, to be perpetrated by aſſaſſins ready for the purpoſe, and by recruits from abroad. A ſudden darkneſs at eleven o'clock, on the Sunday after the murder of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, ſo that the miniſters could not read their notes in the pulpits without candles, was looked upon as awfully ominous. The minds of people were kept in agitation and terror by diſmal ſtories and frequent executions. Young and old quaked with fear. Not a houſe was unprovided with arms. No one went to reſt at night without the apprehenſion of ſome tragical event to happen before the morning. This ſtate of alarm and terror laſted not for a few weeks only, but months. The pageantry of mock-proceſſions, employed on this occaſion, heightened the averſion to popery, and inflamed reſentment againſt the conſpirators. In one of theſe, amidſt a vaſt croud of ſpectators, who filled the air with their acclamations, and expreſſed great ſatisfaction in the ſhow, there were carried on men's ſhoulders, through the principal ſtreets, the effigies of the pope and the repreſentative of the devil behind him, whiſpering in his ear and careſſing him, (though he afterwards deſerted him, before he was committed to the flames) together with the likeneſs of the dead body of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*, carried before him by a man on horſeback, to remind the people of his execrable murder. A great number of dignitaries in their copes, with croſſes, of monks, friars, jeſuits, and popiſh biſhops with their mitres, trinkets, and appertenances, formed the reſt of the proceſſion.

Dr. Calamy's own Life, MSS. p. 67, 8. Ed.

active

active proteſtant juſtice of peace, increaſed men's ſuſpicions *of a plot*, and the depoſitions upon oath of the above-mentioned witneſſes, ſeemed to put it beyond all doubt; for upon their impeachment, Sir *G. Wakeman* the queen's phyſician, Mr. *Ed. Coleman* the duke of *York*'s ſecretary, Mr. *Richard Langhorne*, and eight other romiſh prieſts and jeſuits, were apprehended and ſecured. When the parliament met, they voted that *there was a damnable helliſh plot contrived and carried on by popiſh recuſants againſt the life of the king and the proteſtant religion.* Five popiſh lords were ordered into cuſtody, *viz.* lord *Stafford*, *Powis*, *Arundel*, *Petre*, and *Bellaſys*. A proclamation was iſſued againſt papiſts; and the king was addreſſed to remove the duke of *York* from his perſon and councils.

Though the king gave himſelf no credit to the plot, yet finding it impracticable to ſtem the tide of the people's zeal, he conſented to the execution of the law upon ſeveral of the condemned criminals: Mr. *Coleman*, and five of the jeſuits, were executed at Tyburn, who proteſted their innocence to the laſt; and a year or two forward lord *Stafford* was beheaded on Tower-hill. But the court party turned the plot into ridicule; the king told lord *Halifax*, "that it was not "probable that the papiſts ſhould conſpire to kill him, for "have I not been kind enough to them? (ſays his majeſty.)" "Yes, (ſays his lordſhip) you have been too kind indeed to "them; but they know you will only trot, and they want a "prince that will gallop." The court employed their tool Sir *Roger L'Eſtrange*,* to write a weekly paper againſt the plot; and the country party encouraged Mr. *Car* to write *a weekly packet of advice from* Rome, *diſcovering the frauds and ſuperſtitions of that court*; for which he was arraigned, convicted, and fined in the court of King's-bench, and his papers forbid to be printed. An admirable order for a proteſtant court of judicature!

But it was impoſſible to allay the fears of the parliament, who had a quick ſenſe of the danger of popery, and there-

* This perſon, of whom we have already ſpoken, formerly called "Oliver's Fidler," was now the admired "Buffoon of High-church." He called the ſhows, mentioned in our laſt note, "Hobby-horſing proceſſions." Calamy's MSS. p. 67. Ed.

fore

fore paſſed a bill, *to diſable all perſons of that religion from ſitting in either houſe of parliament*, which is ſtill in force, being excepted out of the act of toleration.* The act requires all members of parliament to renounce by oath *the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, and to declare the worſhip of the virgin* Mary, *and of the ſaints, practiſed in the church of* Rome, *to be idolatrous.* Biſhop *Gunning* argued againſt charging the church of Rome with idolatry; but the houſe paid him little regard; and when the bill was paſſed, he took the oath in common with the reſt.

The duke of *York* got himſelf excepted out of the bill,† but the fears of his acceſſion to the crown were ſo great, that there was a loud talk of bringing a bill into the houſe, to exclude him from the ſucceſſion *as a papiſt*, upon which the king came to the houſe November 9, and aſſured them, that he would conſent to any bills for ſecuring the proteſtant religion, *provided they did not impeach the right of ſucceſſion, nor the deſcent of the crown in the true line, nor the juſt rights of any proteſtant ſucceſſor.* But this not giving ſatisfaction, his majeſty towards the end of December, firſt prorogued, and then diſſolved the parliament, after they had been choſen almoſt eighteen years.

It may be proper to obſerve concerning the *popiſh plot*,‡ that though the king's life might not be immediately ſtruck at, yet there was ſuch ſtrong evidence to prove the reality

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 211.

† This point was carried in favour of the duke by no more than two votes. Had it been negatived, he would, in the next place, have been voted away from the king's preſence. Sir John Reresby's Memoirs, p. 72. Ed.

‡ It was an happy effect of the diſcovery of this plot, that while it raiſed in the whole body of the Engliſh *proteſtants* alarming apprehenſions of the dangers to which their civil and religious liberties were expoſed, it united them againſt their common enemy. Mutual prejudices were ſoftened; animoſities ſubſided: the diſſenters were regarded as the true friends of their country, and their aſſemblies began to be more publick and numerous. At this time an evening lecture was ſet up in a large room of a coffee-houſe, in Exchange-Alley: it was conducted by Mr. *John Shower*, Mr. *Lambert*, Mr. *Dorrington*, and Mr. *Thomas Goodwin*; and it was ſupported and attended by ſome of the principal merchants, and by ſeveral who afterwards filled the moſt eminent poſts in the city of London.

Tong's Life of Shower, p. 17, 18. Ed.

of

of a plot to *ſubvert the conſtitution and introduce poyper*, that no diſintereſted perſon can doubt it. Mr. *Rapin*, who had carefully conſidered the evidence, concludes that *there was a meditated deſign, ſupported by the king and the duke of* York, *to render the king abſolute, and introduce the popiſh religion*; for this is preciſely what was meant by the plot: the deſign of killing the king was only an appendage to it, and an effect of the zeal of ſome private perſons, who thought the plot would be crowned with the ſurer ſucceſs, by ſpeedily ſetting the duke of *York* upon the throne. Biſhop *Burnet* adds,* that though the king and he agreed in private converſation, that the greateſt part of the evidence was a contrivance, yet he confeſſes it appeared by *Coleman*'s letters, that the deſign of converting the nation, and of rooting out the northern hereſy, was very near being executed.† To which I beg leave to add, that though *the deſign of killing the king* did not take place at this time, his majeſty felt the effects of it, in his violent death, four or five years afterwards.

This year died Mr. *Thomas Vincent*, M. A. the ejected miniſter of Milk-ſtreet, born at Hertford, May 1634, and educated in Chriſt-Church, Oxford.‡ He was chaplain to *Robert* earl of *Leiceſter*, and afterwards miniſter of Milk-ſtreet, London, till the act of uniformity took place. He was an humble and zealous preacher, of moderate principles, and an unſpotted life. He continued in the city throughout the whole plague, the awfulneſs of which gave him a peculiar fervency and zeal in his miniſterial work. On this occaſion he publiſhed ſome very awakening treatiſes; as, *A ſpiritual antidote for a dying ſoul*; and, *God's terrible voice in*

* This correſponds with his declarations to Sir *John Reresby*; whom at one time he told, in the preſence of the lord treaſurer, at the ducheſs of *Portſmouth*'s lodgings, "He took it to be ſome artifice, and that he did "not believe one word of the whole ſtory." At another time his majeſty ſaid to him, "*Bedloe* was a rogue, and that he was ſatisfied he had given "ſome falſe evidence concerning the death of Sir *Edmundbury Godfrey*." Memoirs, p. 67, 72.

Dr. *Grey* refers to *Eachard* and biſhop *Burnet*, as fully diſcrediting Mr. *Neal*'s account of this plot; and with this view gives a long paſſage from *Carte*'s Hiſtory of the duke of *Ormond*, vol. ii. p. 517.

The reader may ſee the evidence both for and againſt it fully and fairly ſtated by Dr. *Harris*, Life of Charles II. vol. ii. p. 137—157. Ed.

† Page 198—214. ‡ Cal. cont. p. 30.

the

*the city.** He not only preached in publick, but viſited all the ſick who ſent for him in their infected houſes, being void of all fear of death. He continued in health during the whole of that dreadful calamity, and was afterwards uſeful, as the times would permit, to a numerous congregation, being generally reſpected by men of all perſuaſions; but his exceſſive labours put an end to his life October 15, 1678, in the forty-fifth year of his age.†

Mr. *Theophilus Gale*, M. A. and fellow of Magdalen college, Oxford, was ejected from Wincheſter, where he had been ſtated preacher for ſome time; after which he travelled abroad as tutor to the ſons of *Philip* lord *Wharton*. Upon his return, he ſettled with Mr. *John Rowe* as an aſſiſtant, in which ſtation he died. The Oxford hiſtorian allows, that he was a man of great reading, an exact philologiſt and philoſopher, a learned and induſtrious divine, as appears by his *Court of the Gentiles*, and *the vanity of Pagan Philoſophy*. He kept a little academy for the inſtruction of youth, and was well verſed in the fathers, being at the ſame time a good metaphyſician, and ſchool divine.‡ He died of a conſumption this year, [1678] in the forty-ninth year of his age.§

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 32. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 125.

† Mr. *Thomas Vincent* had the whole New Teſtament and Pſalms by heart. He took this pains, as he often ſaid, "not knowing but they who "took from him his pulpit, might in time demand his *bible* alſo." Calamy. Beſides his publications enumerated by this writer, Mr. *Vincent*, on occaſion of an eruption of Mount Ætna, publiſhed a book, entitled "Fire "and Brimſtone: 1. From heaven in the burning of Sodom and Gomorrah "formerly. 2. From earth, in the burning of Mount *Ætna* lately. 3. From "hell, in burning of the wicked eternally." 1670, 8vo. Granger's Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 329, note. Ed.

‡ Mr. *Gale* was a frequent preacher in the univerſity and a conſiderable tutor: biſhop *Hopkins* was one of his pupils. He left all his real and perſonal eſtate for the education and benefit of poor ſtudents, and his library to the college in New-England, except the philoſophical part, which he reſerved for the uſe of ſtudents in England. The world had like to have loſt his great and learned work, "The Court of the Gentiles," in the fire of London. A friend, to whoſe care he left his deſk while he was travelling, threw it into the cart merely to make the load, when he was removing his own goods. Palmer, p. 190. Britiſh Biography, vol. v. p. 182—186. Ed.

§ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 64. Palmer, vol. i. p. 189.

The

The king having ſummoned a new parliament to meet in March, all parties exerted themſelves in the elections; the *non-conformiſts* appeared generally for thoſe who were for proſecuting the *popiſh plot*, and *ſecuring a proteſtant ſucceſſion:* theſe being eſteemed patriots and friends of liberty, in oppoſition to thoſe who made a loud cry for the church, and favoured the arbitrary meaſures of the court, and the perſonal intereſt of the duke of *York*. The elections in many places were the occaſion of great heat, but were carried almoſt every where againſt the court. Mr. *Rapin* ſays, that the preſbyterians, though long oppreſſed, were ſtill numerous in corporations. The *ſemi-conformiſts*, (as Mr. *Eachard* calls the moderate churchmen) and the *diſſenters*, were on one ſide, and the *high churchmen* and *papiſts* on the other. Before the parliament aſſembled, the duke of *York* was ſent out of the way to Flanders, but with this poſitive aſſurance, that *his majeſty would conſent to nothing in prejudice of his right of ſucceſſion*. And further to ingratiate himſelf with the people, and make a ſhew of moderation, a new privy council was choſen out of the low church party; but this not ſatisfying as long as the duke's ſucceſſion was in view, the commons, ſoon after the opening the ſeſſions, ordered in a bill to diſable the duke of *York* from inheriting the imperial crown of England, and carried it through the houſe with a high hand. Upon which his majeſty came to the houſe, and diſſolved them, before they had ſat three months. This threw the nation into new convulſions, and produced a great number of pamphlets againſt the government, the act for reſtraining the preſs being lately expired.

The *popiſh plot* having fixed a brand of infamy and ingratitude on the whole body of Roman catholicks, the courtiers attempted to relieve them, by ſetting on foot a *ſham proteſtant plot*, and fathering it upon the preſbyterians:* for this purpoſe ſpies and other *mercenaries* were employed, to bring news from all parts of the town, which was then full of cabals. At length a plot was formed by one *Dangerfield*, a ſubtle and dangerous papiſt, but a very villain, who had been lately got out of gaol by the aſſiſtance of one Mrs. *Cellier*, a midwife, a lewd woman, who carried him to the

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 272. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 711.

counteſs

counteſs of *Powis*, whoſe huſband was in the Tower for the popiſh plot; with her he formed his ſcheme, and having got a liſt of the names of the chief proteſtant nobility and gentry, he wrote treaſonable letters to them, to be left at the houſes of the non-conformiſts and other active proteſtants in ſeveral parts of England, that ſearch being made upon ſome other pretences, when the letters were found, they might be apprehended for treaſon. At the ſame time, he intruded into the company of ſome of the moſt zealous enemies of popery about town, and informed the king and the duke of *York*, that *he had been invited to accept of a commiſſion; that a new form of government was to be ſet up; and that the king and royal family were to be baniſhed.* The ſtory was received with pleaſure, and *Dangerfield* had a preſent, and a penſion of three pounds a week, to carry on his correſpondence. Having got ſome little acquaintance with colonel *Manſel* in Weſtminſter, he made up a bundle of ſeditious letters, with the aſſiſtance of Mrs. *Cellier*, and having laid them in a dark corner of *Manſel*'s room behind the bed, he ſent for officers from the Cuſtom-houſe, to ſearch for prohibited goods while he was out of town, but none were found, except the bundle of letters, which, upon examination of the parties concerned, before the king and council, were proved to be counterfeit; upon which the court diſowned the plot, and having taken away *Dangerfield*'s penſion, ſent him to Newgate. Search being made into Mrs. *Cellier*'s houſe, there was found a little book in a *meal-tub*, written very fair, and tied up with ribbands, which contained the whole ſcheme of the fiction. It was dictated by lady *Powis*, and proved by her maid to be laid there by her order, from whence it obtained the name of the *meal-tub plot*. *Dangerfield*, who was a notorious lyar, finding himſelf undone if he perſiſted in what he could not ſupport, made an ample confeſſion, and publiſhed a narrative, wherein he declared that *he was employed by the popiſh party; and chiefly by the popiſh lords in the* Tower, *with the counteſs of* Powis, *to invent the* MEAL-TUB PLOT, *which was to have thrown the* POPISH PLOT *wholly upon the preſbyterians.* It was printed by order of the houſe of commons in the year 1680. *Dangerfield* being pardoned, went out of the way into Flanders; but returning

returning to England in king *James*'s reign, he was tried for it, and ſentenced to be whipt at the cart's tail from Newgate to Tyburn; in his return from whence he was murdered by one *Frances* in the coach. Mrs. *Cellier* was tried June 11, 1680, before lord chief juſtice *Scroggs*, and acquitted for want of evidence. But the diſcovery, inſtead of relieving the papiſts from the charge of the popiſh plot, turned very much to their diſadvantage; for when the next parliament met, the houſe of commons reſolved, that Sir *Robert Can* be expelled the houſe, and ſent to the Tower, for declaring publickly in the city of Briſtol, that there was no *popiſh* but a *preſbyterian* plot.* Sir *Robert Yeomans* was ſent for into cuſtody on the ſame account; and Mr. *Richard Thompſon*, a clergyman, was impeached for decrying the popiſh plot in his ſermon, Jan. 30, 1679, and for turning the ſame upon the *proteſtants;* for which, and for preaching againſt the liberty and property of the ſubject, and the privileges of parliament, the houſe declared him a *ſcandal and reproach to his profeſſion.*

This year [1679] died the reverend and learned Mr. *Matt. Pool*, M. A. the ejected miniſter of St. Michael's Querne; he was born in the city of York, and educated in Emanuel college, Cambridge, a divine of great piety, charity, and literature. He was indefatigable in his labours, and left behind him (ſays the Oxford hiſtorian) the character of a moſt celebrated critick and caſuiſt. After ten years cloſe application, he publiſhed his *Synopſis Criticorum*,† in five folios. He

* State Tracts, vol. ii. p. 217.

† "The plan of this work," ſays Mr. *Granger*, "was judicious, and "the execution more free from errors than ſeems conſiſtent with ſo great "a work, finiſhed in ſo ſhort a time, by one man." It includes not only an abridgement of the "*Critici Sacri*," and other expoſitors, but extracts from a great number of treatiſes and pamphlets, that would have been otherwiſe loſt. It was undertaken by the advice of the learned biſhop *Lloyd*; it was encouraged and patronized by *Tillotſon*, and the king granted a patent for the privilege of printing it. Mr. *Pool* formed and compleated a ſcheme for maintaining young men of eminent parts at the univerſity of Cambridge, for the ſtudy of divinity; and by his ſolicitations, in a ſhort time, raiſed 900l. a year for that purpoſe. The ſcheme ſunk at the Reſtoration; but to it the world is ſaid, in ſome meaſure, to owe Dr. *Sherlock*, afterwards dean of St. Paul's. While he was drawing up his *Synopſis*, it

was

He afterwards entered on a commentary upon the whole bible, but proceeded no further than the fifty-eighth chapter of *Iſaiah:* however, the deſign, being valuable, was carried on, and compleated by other hands. Mr. *Pool* publiſhed ſeveral excellent treatiſes, as *The nullity of the Romiſh faith*, &c. for which he was threatened to be aſſaſſinated;* his name being in Dr. *Oates*'s liſt; he therefore retired to Holland, but died (as it is thought) by poiſon at Amſterdam, in the month of October, 1679, *ætat.* fifty-ſix.

Dr. *Thomas Goodwin*, born at Roliſby in Norfolk, and educated in Catherine-hall, Cambridge. He was a great admirer of Dr. *Preſton*, and afterwards himſelf a famous preacher in Cambridge. In 1634, he left the univerſity, being diſſatisfied with the terms of conformity. In 1639, he went into Holland, and became paſtor of an *independent congregation at Arnheim.* He returned to London about the beginning of the long parliament, and was one of the diſſenting brethren in the aſſembly of divines. After the king's death, he was made preſident of Magdalen college, and one of the tryers of miniſters. He was in high eſteem with *Oliver Cromwell*, and attended him on his death-bed.† In the common

was his cuſtom to riſe at three or four o'clock, and take a raw egg about eight or nine, and another about twelve; then to continue his ſtudies till the afternoon was far advanced. He ſpent the evening at ſome friend's houſe, particularly alderman *Aſhurſt*'s, and would be exceedingly but innocently merry; when it was nearly time to go home, he would give the converſation a ſerious turn, ſaying, "Let us now call for a reckoning." His "Annotations" were compleated by other hands; the 59th and 60th chapters of *Iſaiah* by Mr. *Jackſon* of Moulſey. Dr. *Collinges* wrote the notes on the remainder of that prophet, on *Jeremiah*, *Lamentations*, the four *Evangeliſts*, the Epiſtles to the *Corinthians* and *Galatians*, to *Timothy*, *Titus*, and *Philemon*, and on the book of *Revelations*. The Annotations on *Ezekiel* and the *minor* prophets were drawn up by Mr. *Hurſt*, and on *Daniel*, by Mr. *Wm. Cooper*. Mr. *Vinke* commented on the *Acts*, Mr. *Mayo* on the *Romans*. The notes on the *Epheſians*, and the epiſtles of *James*, *Peter* and *Jude*, were compoſed by Mr. *Viel*; on *Philippians* and *Coloſſians*, by Mr. *Thomas Adams*; on the *Theſſalonians* by Mr. *Barker*; on the *Hebrews* by Mr. *Obad. Hughes*. Mr. *Howe* undertook the three Epiſtles of *John*. Calamy and Palmer, ut ſupra. Granger's Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 311, and Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 36. ED.

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 14. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 133.

† On which occaſion he was overheard by Dr. *Tillotſon* to expreſs himſelf, boldly and enthuſiaſtically confident of the *Protector*'s recovery; and when

common regiſter of the univerſity he is ſaid to be, *in ſcriptis theologicis quam plurimis orbi notus*, i. e. well known to the world by many theological writings. After the Reſtoration he reſigned his preſidentſhip, and retired to London, where he continued the exerciſe of his miniſtry till his death, which happened Feb. 23, 1679-80, in the eightieth year of his age. He was a good ſcholar, an eminent divine and textuary. His works are ſince printed in five folios.†

The laſt parliament being diſſolved abruptly, a new one was convened for Oct. 17, 1680, in which the elections went pretty much as in the laſt, the cry of the people being, *No popery, no penſioners, no arbitrary government.* But the king prorogued them from time to time for above a twelvemonth, without permitting them to finiſh any buſineſs. His majeſty falling ſick in the ſummer, the duke of *York* returned immediately to court without the king's leave,‡ which alarmed the people, and made them eager for the ſitting of the parliament to regulate the ſucceſſion.§ This gave riſe to ſundry *petitions*,‖ ſigned by a great number of hands both in city and

when he found himſelf miſtaken, to exclaim, in a ſubſequent addreſs to God, "Thou haſt deceived us, and we were deceived." He was a man much addicted to retirement and deep contemplation, which diſpoſe the mind to enthuſiaſtical confidence. He and Dr. *Owen* are called by *Wood*, "the two Atlaſſes and Patriarchs of Independency." In the fire of London he loſt half of his library, to the value of 500l. but he was thankful that the loſs fell on the books of human learning only, thoſe on divinity being preſerved. He is ſuppoſed to be the independent miniſter and head of a college deſcribed by the "Spectator," No. 494. Birch's Life of Tillotſon, p. 16. Grey, vol. i. p. 185. Granger, vol. iii. p. 303. ED.

† Calamy's Account, vol. ii. p. 61. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. i. p. 183.

‡ If we may credit Sir *John Reresby*, who ſays he had the whole ſtory from *Feverſham*, to whoſe intervention the revocation of the duke was principally owing; the king's illneſs was pretended, and the duke was ſent for with his privity, though not above four perſons knew any thing of the matter. The duke of *Monmouth*, who thought he had the king to himſelf, knew nothing of it, till his highneſs actually arrived at Windſor: "So cloſe "and reſerved," ſays Sir *John*, "could the king be, when he conceived it "to be neceſſary." Memoirs, p. 97, 8. ED.

§ Eachard, p. 982, 987.

‖ Dr. *Grey*, by a quotation from *Hornby*'s "Caveat againſt the Whigs," brings a charge againſt theſe petitions, that the ſignatures were obtained by bribes and impoſitions. Such practices, if truly ſtated in this inſtance, have not

and country, which the king received with the utmoſt diſpleaſure, telling the petitioners, that *he was ſole Judge of what was fit to be done: you would not take it well* (ſays he) *if I ſhould meddle with with your affairs, and I deſire you will not meddle with mine.* After this the king iſſued out his proclamation, declaring them to be illegal, and forbidding his ſubjects to promote any *ſubſcriptions*, or to join in any petitions of this kind, upon peril of the utmoſt rigour of the law. Warrants were iſſued againſt ſeveral of the *petitioners*, and indictments preferred againſt others. But at the next ſeſſions of the common-council of London, Jan. 21, the court agreed that no ſuch *petition* ſhould be preſented from them; and the king returned them thanks for it.* Upon which addreſſes were procured from divers parts of the nation, expreſſing their *deteſtation* and *abhorrence* of the ſeditious practice of the late PETITIONERS, and referring the *ſitting of the parliament* abſolutely to the king's ſovereign pleaſure, from whence they obtained the name of ABHORRERS. In theſe addreſſes, they offer their lives and fortunes for the preſervation of his majeſty's perſon and government, and for the *ſucceſſion of the duke of York.* They renounce the right of the ſubjects petitioning, or intermeddling in affairs of ſtate, and lay their liberties at the feet of the prerogative, promiſing to ſtand by it, and to be *obedient without reſerve* to his majeſty's commands; which addreſſes were printed in the Gazettes, and diſperſed over the kingdom. Theſe proceedings threw the people into a ferment; ſeveral of the privy-council deſerted their ſtations, and deſired to be excuſed their attendance at council; ſome in the admiralty reſigned, and becauſe they might not petition, an ASSOCIATION was formed by ſundry perſons, and copied after the example of that in queen *Elizabeth*'s time, *for the defence of his majeſty's perſon, and the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, and to revenge his majeſty's death upon the papiſts, if he ſhould come to any violent death.* A model of which was ſaidto be found among the

not been confined to that occaſion, or thoſe times; but it is not eaſy to conceive, that a man of integrity, in any party, can have recourſe to them. The propoſal of adopting them ought to be rejected with contempt and indignation. ED.

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 276.

earl of *Shafteſbury*'s papers. This was reſented very highly at court, as done without the royal authority, and produced the next year another ſet of *ranting addreſſes* from all parts of the kingdom, in which their lives and fortunes were given up to the king, and the *aſſociation* branded with the names of *damnable*, *curſed*, *execrable*, *traiterous*, *ſeditious*, and a *bond of rebellion*, which they *deteſt* and *abhor* from their very ſouls; in moſt of which the non-conformiſts are marked as enemies of the king and his government, and their conventicles as the encouragement and life of the *aſſociations*. They promiſe to ſtand by the *duke's ſucceſſion*, and to chooſe ſuch members for the next parliament as ſhall do the king's buſineſs according to his mind. But notwithſtanding the utmoſt efforts of the court, the near approach of a popiſh ſucceſſor awakened men's fears, and kept them upon their guard.

The PETITIONERS for the ſitting of the parliament, and their adverſaries, the ABHORRERS of ſuch petitions, gave riſe to the two grand parties which have ſince divided the nation, under the diſtinguiſhing names of WHIG and TORY.

The WHIGS or LOW CHURCHMEN were the more zealous proteſtants, declared enemies of popery, and willing to remove to a farther diſtance from their ſuperſtitions; they were firm to the conſtitution and liberties of their country; and for an union, or at leaſt a toleration, of diſſenting proteſtants. The clergy of this perſuaſion were generally men of larger principles, and therefore were diſtinguiſhed by the name of *Latitudinarian Divines*; their laity were remarkable for their zeal in promoting the *bill of excluſion*, as the only expedient to ſecure the proteſtant eſtabliſhment in this kingdom. They were for confining the royal prerogative within the limits of the law, for which reaſon their adverſaries charged them with *republican principles*, and gave them the reproachful name of WHIGS or *ſour milk*, a name firſt given to the moſt rigid Scots covenanters.

The TORIES or HIGH CHURCHMEN ſtood on the ſide of the prerogative, and were for advancing the king above law; they went into all the arbitrary court meaſures, and adopted into our religion, (ſays Dr. *Welwood**) a *Mahometan*

* Memoirs, p. 125.

principle,

principle, under the names of *paſſive obedience* and *non-reſiſtance*, which ſince the times of that impoſtor, who firſt broached it, has been the means to enſlave a great part of the world. Theſe gentlemen leaned more to a coalition with the papiſts, than with the preſbyterians.* They cried up the name and authority of the church, and were for forcing the diſſenters to conformity, by all kinds of coercive methods: but with all their zeal, they were many of them perſons of lax and diſſolute morals, and would riſk the whole proteſtant religion rather than go into any meaſures of excluſion, or limitation of a popiſh ſucceſſor. Moſt of the clergy (ſays a member of parliament) are infected with the *Laudean* principles of raiſing money without parliament; one or two biſhops give meaſures to the reſt, and they to their clergy, ſo that all derive their politicks from one or two, and are under the influence of an over-awing power. No men did more to enſlave the nation, and introduce popery into the eſtabliſhment than they: their adverſaries therefore gave them the name of TORIES, a title firſt given to *Iriſh robbers*, who lived upon plunder, and were prepared for any daring or villainous enterprize.

The non-conformiſts fell in unanimouſly with the *whigs* or *low churchmen*, in all points relating to liberty and the civil conſtitution, as they muſt always do if they are conſiſtent with themſelves; but theſe with their allies were not a ſufficient balance for the *tories*, the road to preferment lying through the territories of power; but they were kept in heart with ſome ſecret hopes, that *by a ſteady adherence to the conſtitution* they ſhould one time or other obtain *a legal toleration*. But the ſuperior influence of the *tories* above the *whigs*, was the occaſion of the ſeverities which befel the non-conformiſts in the latter part of this reign.

When the parliament met Oct. 21, 1680, the commons were very warm in maintaining the proteſtant religion and the privileges of parliament.† They aſſerted the rights of the people to *petition* for the ſitting of parliaments, and voted the ABHORRERS betrayers of the liberties of the nation. Among other grievances they complained, that the edge of

* Burnet, Collect. Debates, p. 163.

† Rapin, vol. ii. p. 714. Eachard, p. 995.

the penal laws was turned againſt *proteſtant diſſenters*, while the papiſts remained in a manner untouched——That the *teſt act had little effect, becauſe the papiſts, either by diſpenſations obtained from Rome, ſubmitted to thoſe teſts, and held their offices themſelves; or thoſe put in their places were ſo favourable to the ſame intereſt, that popery itſelf had rather gained than loſt ground by that act.* They declared for that very ASSOCIATION, to revenge the king's death upon the papiſts, if his majeſty ſhould happen to be aſſaſſinated, which the tories had *abhorred*; and in the month of November revived the bill *to diſable the duke of* York *from inheriting the imperial crown of theſe realms.* It was introduced by lord *Ruſſel*, and paſſed the commons by a great majority, but was thrown out of the houſe of lords by a majority of thirty voices,* no's 63, yea's 33, the *bench of biſhops* being in the negative, and the king preſent during the whole debate. It has been ſaid, king *Charles* came into the bill at firſt, the favourite miſtreſs having prevailed with him to abandon his brother, for a large ſum of money, and for an act of parliament to enable him to diſpoſe of the crown by will, under certain reſtrictions; but a foreign popiſh court offering more money, he oppoſed it to the laſt.†

The parliament being inclined to relieve the non-conformiſts, appointed a committee Nov. 18, who agreed upon a *comprehenſion with the diſſenters*, upon much the ſame terms with thoſe already mentioned; they were to ſubſcribe the doctrinal articles of the church; the *ſurplice* was to be omitted, except in cathedrals and the king's chapel; the *ceremonies* to be left indifferent. And as for ſuch proteſtants as could not be comprehended within theſe terms, they were to have a toleration, and freedom from the penal ſtatutes, upon condition of ſubſcribing a declaration of allegiance, *&c.* and

* Lord *Halifax*, a man of the cleareſt head, fineſt wit, and faireſt eloquence, who was in judgment againſt the bill, appeared as leader in oppoſition to it, and made ſo powerful a defence, that he alone, by the confeſſion of all, influenced the houſe, and perſuaded them to throw out the bill. "One would have thought," ſays Sir *John Rereſby*, "that ſo ſignal "a piece of ſervice had been of a degree and nature never to be forgotten." But when the duke afterwards came to be king, he removed lord *Halifax* from the privy ſeal to the preſidency of the council, purely to make room for another, and in the end quite laid him aſide. Memoirs, p. 104, 5. ED.

† Welwood's Memoirs, p. 127.

of

of aſſembling with open doors. Biſhop *Burnet* ſays, the bill for a comprehenſion was offered by the epiſcopal party in the houſe of commons, but that the friends of the diſſenters did not ſeem forward to promote it, becauſe (as Mr. *Baxter* obſerves) they found the bill would not go; or if it had paſſed the commons, it would have been thrown out by the biſhops in the houſe of lords; *the Clergy (ſays* Kennet) *being no further in earneſt than as they apprehended the knife of the papiſts at their throats.*

When the above-mentioned bill was brought into the houſe December 21, entituled *An act for uniting his majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects*, the firſt gentleman of the court party who ſpoke againſt it obſerved, "that there were a ſort of men "who would neither be adviſed nor over-ruled, but under "the pretence of conſcience break violently through all laws "whatſoever, to the great diſturbance both of church and "ſtate; therefore he thought it more convenient to have a "law for forcing the diſſenters to yield to the church, and "not to force the church to yield to them—" Another ſaid, "he was afraid, that if once the government ſhould begin to "yield to the diſſenters, it would be as in *forty-one*, nothing "would ſerve but an utter ſubverſion; the receiving of one "thing would give occaſion for demanding more; and it "would be impoſſible to give them any ſatisfaction without "laying all open, and running into confuſion."* This was the common language of the tories. And there has been a loud cry againſt the diſſenters, for their obſtinacy and perverſeneſs, though not a ſingle conceſſion had been offered ſince the Reſtoration, to let the world ſee how far they would yield; or by receiving a denial, to get an opportunity to reproach them with greater advantage. But in favour of the bill it was urged by others, "that it was intended for the preſer-"vation of the church, and the beſt bill that could be made "in order thereto, all circumſtances conſidered—If we are "to deal with a ſtubborn ſort of people, who in many things "prefer their humour before reaſon, or their own ſafety, or "the publick good, this is a very good time to ſee whe-"ther they will be drawn by the cords of love or no. The "bill will be very agreeable to the chriſtian charity which

* Eachard, p. 999.

"our

" our church profeſſes; and it may be hoped, that in the " time of this imminent danger, they will conſider their own " ſafety, and the ſafety of the proteſtant religion, and no " longer keep a-foot the unhappy diviſions among us, on " which the papiſts ground their hopes; but when they ſee " the church ſo far condeſcend, as to diſpenſe with the *ſur-* " *plice, and thoſe other things they ſcruple*, that they will ſub- " mit to the reſt which are enjoined by law, that ſo we may " unite againſt the common enemy. But if this bill ſhould " not have the deſired effect, but on the contrary, the diſ- " ſenters ſhould continue their animoſities and diſobedience " to the church, I think ſtill the church will gain very much " hereby, and leave the party without excuſe—" This ſeems agreeable to reaſon.

Although the bill for a comprehenſion was committed, it did not paſs the houſe, being changed for another, entituled, *An act to exempt his majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects, diſſenting from the church of England, from the penalties impoſed upon the papiſts by the act of 35th Eliz.** By which act non-conformiſts were adjudged to perpetual impriſonment, or obliged to abjure (that is, depart) the realm never to return. This terrible law had lain dormant almoſt eighty years, but was now revived, and threatened to be put in execution by the *tories*. The *repeal* paſſed the houſe of commons with a high hand, but went heavily through the houſe of lords; the *biſhops* apprehending that the terror of the law might be of ſome uſe; but when it ſhould have been offered to the king for the royal aſſent at the cloſe of the ſeſſion, it was miſſing, and never heard of any more, the clerk of the crown having withdrawn it from the table by the king's particular order. The king (ſays *Burnet*†) had no mind openly to deny the bill, but leſs mind to paſs it, and therefore this illegal method was taken, which was an high offence in the officer of the houſe, and would have been ſeverely puniſhed in the next ſeſſion, if the parliament had not been abruptly diſſolved. Thus the *non-conformiſts* were ſawn to pieces between the king, the biſhops, and the parliament; when one party was willing to give them relief, the other always ſtood in the way. The *parliament* was their enemy for about twelve

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 300. † Ibid.

years,

years, and now *they* are ſoftened, *the king* and the *court biſhops* are inflexible; and his majeſty will rather ſacrifice the conſtitution to his deſpotick will, than exempt them from an old law which ſubjected them to baniſhment and death.

However, the morning before the houſe was prorogued, January 10, two votes were paſſed of a very extraordinary nature. "1. Reſolved, *nemine contradicente*, That it is the "opinion of this houſe, *that the acts of parliament made in the "reigns of queen* Elizabeth *and king* James *againſt popiſh re-"cuſants ought not to be extended againſt proteſtant diſſenters.* "2. Reſolved, That it is the opinion of this houſe, *that the "proſecution of proteſtant diſſenters upon the penal laws is at "this time grievous to the ſubject, a weakening the proteſtant "intereſt, an encouragement to popery, and dangerous to the "peace of the kingdom.*" Biſhop *Burnet** ſays, theſe reſolutions were thought an invaſion of the legiſlature, when one houſe pretended to ſuſpend the execution of the laws, which was to act like dictators in the ſtate. But with all due ſubmiſſion I ſhould think that this cannot be conſtrued a ſuſpenſion of thoſe laws, and that a houſe of commons, which is not ſuffered to ſit and repeal laws, or when they have repealed them have their bills withdrawn illegally by the crown, may have liberty to declare their judgment that the continuance of thoſe laws is burthenſome to the ſtate. They muſt do ſo, (ſays Mr. *Coke*†) in order to a repeal. If the bill for the repeal of the old popiſh act *de hæretico comburendo*, for *burning hereticks*, which the parliament were afraid might be revived in a popiſh reign, had been loſt in this manner, might not the parliament have declared the execution of that law a weakening to the proteſtant intereſt, or dangerous to the peace of the kingdom?

While the parliament was endeavouring to relieve the diſſenters, and charging the miſeries of the kingdom upon the papiſts, many of the biſhops and clergy of the church of England were pleaſed to ſee the *court* inclined to proſecute the non-conformiſts. The clergy in general, (ſays *Rapin*‡) were attached to the court; men of doubtful religion were promoted, and there was reaſon to charge them with leaning to popery. Even ſome able champions againſt po-

* Burnet 301. † Page 561. ‡ Page 711.

pery

pery went ſo far into the court meaſures as to impute the calamities of the times to the non-conformiſts, and to raiſe the cry of the populace againſt them. Dr. *Edward Stillingfleet*, who had written an *Irenicum* in favour of liberty, and againſt *impoſitions*, in his ſermon before the lord-mayor, May 2 this year, intituled, *the Miſchief of Separation*, condemned all the diſſenters as *ſchiſmaticks;* and very gravely adviſed them not to complain of perſecution. When the ſermon was publiſhed, it brought upon the doctor ſeveral learned adverſaries, as Mr. *Baxter*, Mr. *Alſop*, Mr. *Howe*, Mr. *Barret*, and Dr. *Owen*; from which laſt divine, who wrote with great temper and ſerioufneſs, I will venture to tranſcribe the following paſſage, without entering into the argument:* "After ſo many of the non-conformiſts have "died in common gaols, (ſays the doctor) ſo many have en-"dured long impriſonments, not a few being at this day in "the ſame durance; ſo many driven from their habitations "into a wandering condition, to preſerve for a while the li-"berty of their perſons; ſo many have been reduced to "want and penury, by the taking away their goods, and "from ſome the very inſtruments of their livelihood. After "the proſecution that has been againſt them in all courts of "juſtice in this nation, on informations, indictments, and "ſuits, to the great charge of all who have been ſo perſe-"cuted, and the ruin of ſome. After ſo many miniſters and "their families have been brought into the utmoſt outward "ſtraits which nature can ſubſiſt under; after all their pe-"petual fears and dangers wherewith they have been exer-"ciſed and diſquieted, they think it hard to be cenſured for "*complaining*, by them who are at eaſe." The doctor endeavoured to ſupport his charge by the ſuffrage of the French preſbyterians; and *Compton* biſhop of London applied to monſieur *Le Moyne*, and ſeveral others,† for their opinions; as if truth were to be determined by numbers; or as if the Engliſh preſbyterians could pay a vaſt deference to *their* judgments, who had ſo deceived them at the Reſtoration. The miniſters, bred up in French complaiſance and under French ſlavery, after high ſtrains of compliment to the Engliſh biſhops, declared, that they were of opinion,

* Page 53, 54. † Collyer, p. 900.

their

their brethren might comply;* and that *they were not for puſhing things to extremity only for a different form of government.* Which the doctor and his friends interpreted as a deciſion in their favour. But did not the biſhops exaſperate the ſpirits of their diſſenting brethren, by enforcing the ſanguinary laws? Were theſe proteſtant methods of converſion, or likely to bring them to temper? The French miniſters complained ſufficiently of this about five years after, at the revocation of the edict of Nantz. Biſhop *Burnet* remarks of Dr. *Stillingfleet* on this occaſion,† that he not only retracted his *Irenicum*, but went into the humours of the high ſort of people beyond what became him, perhaps *beyond his own ſenſe of things.*

This year [1680] died Mr. *Stephen Charnock*, B.D. firſt of Emanuel college, Cambridge; and afterwards fellow of New college, Oxford. He was chaplain to *Henry Cromwell*, lieutenant of Ireland, and was much reſpected by perſons of the beſt quality in the city of Dublin for his polite behaviour. After the Reſtoration he returned into England, and became paſtor of a ſeparate congregation in London, where he was admired by the more judicious part of his hearers, though not popular, becauſe of his diſadvantageous way of reading with a glaſs: he was an eminent divine, and had a good

* Mr. *Neal*, it ſeems, has fallen into a miſtake, by ſuppoſing that the French *preſbyterians* favoured Engliſh epiſcopacy. Their anſwers were complaiſant, but wary. Yet *Stillingfleet* publiſhed their letters as ſuffrages for epiſcopacy, and annexed them to his Treatiſe on Schiſm. Mr. *Claude*, one of thoſe written to, complained of this treatment; but the letters which contained theſe complaints were concealed till his death, when his ſon printed them. In one of them to biſhop *Compton*, April 1681, he freely told him, that the biſhops were blamed for their eagerneſs to perſecute others by penal laws, for their arbitrary and deſpotick government; for their rigid attachment to offenſive ceremonies; for requiring foreign proteſtant miniſters to be re-ordained; and for not admitting any to the miniſtry without making an oath that epiſcopacy is of divine right, which Mr. *Claude* called a cruel rack for conſcience. He ſolemnly called on the biſhops, in the name of God, to remove theſe grounds of complaints, to give no cauſe, no pretext for ſeparation, to do all in their power to prevent it, and inſtead of chafing and irritating people's minds, by all gentle methods to conciliate them. This was excellent advice: but the publick were not informed, that it had been given by thoſe to whom it was addreſſed. Robinſon's Life of Claude, prefixed to his tranſlation of an Eſſay on the Compoſition of Sermons, p. 65—67. ED.

† Vol. i. p. 276.

judge.

judgement, a curious imagination, and a ſtrong manner of reaſoning, as appears by his works printed ſince his death in two volumes folio, which were no other than his common ſermons tranſcribed from his notes;* his ſtile is manly and lofty, and his thoughts ſublime: his love and charity were very extenſive, and there was no part of learning to which he was a ſtranger.† He died July 26, 1680, aged 52.

[On December 26th, 1680, died, at London, where he came to be cut for the ſtone, with which he was many years afflicted, Mr. *John Corbet*, ejected from Bramſhot in Hants; a man every way great. He was a native of the city of Glouceſter, and a ſtudent in Magdalen-hall, Oxon. He began his miniſtry in the place of his nativity, and lived many years there, and during the civil wars, of which he was a ſpectator. He wrote the hiſtory of the ſiege of the city, and is thought to have given as good an inſight into the riſe and ſprings of the civil war as can be met with in ſo narrow a compaſs. He removed from thence to Chicheſter, and then to the living from which he was ejected. After this he lived privately in and about London, till king *Charles*'s indulgence in 1671, when part of his flock invited him to return to Chicheſter, where he continued his miniſtrations with great aſſiduity and ſucceſs. It was during his reſidence there that biſhop *Gunning* gave a publick challenge to the *Preſbyterians*, *Independents*, *Baptiſts*, and *Quakers*. (See chapter viii. p. 449 of this volume.) Mr. *Corbet* accepted it on behalf of the firſt; but, after the biſhop had fired his own volley of invectives, Mr. *Corbet* was not permitted to enter into a defence; nor, though he propoſed to do it at any other time, and waited on the biſhop at his palace, could he, afterwards, obtain an hearing. He was a man of great moderation, a lover of peace, an advocate for catholick communion and union of ſaints, and of blameleſs converſation. He ſaw ſome things to approve, and ſome

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 56. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. i. p. 159.

† Mr. *Johnſon*, who preached his funeral ſermon, ſays, "he never knew "a man in all his life, who had attained near to that ſkill Mr. *Charnock* "had, in the originals of the Old and New Teſtament, except Mr. *Thomas* "*Cawton*." Granger, vol. iii. p. 308. Ed.

things

things to diſlike in all parties, and valued not the intereſt of a party or faction. True to his conſcience, he had no worldly deſigns to carry on, but was eminent in ſelf-denial, and managed his miniſtry with faithfulneſs and prudence. He was tender of the reputation of his brethren, and rejoiced in the ſucceſs of their labours as well as of his own. Nor was he apt to ſpeak againſt thoſe by whom he ſuffered. He was very free in acknowledging by whom he profited, and preferring others before himſelf. He was much in the ſtudy of his own heart, had the comfort of ſenſible improvements in faith and holineſs, humility and heavenly-mindedneſs, and died at laſt in great ſerenity and peace. He had a conſiderable hand in compiling Mr. *Ruſhworth*'s firſt volume of Collections, which is reckoned by good judges a maſter-piece of the kind. His "Self-emplo ment in Secret," an excellent ſmall piece, recommended lately by Mr. *Bulkley* in his "Chriſtian Miniſter," has gone through various editions. Mr. *Howe* wrote a preface to it. Dr. *Wright* reprinted it in 1741, and the Rev. *William Unwin*, rector of Stock cum Ramſden-Belhouſe, Eſſex, publiſhed it again in 1773, with the encomiums of a celebrated miniſter of the church of England upon it, as "the beſt manual he knew for a chriſtian or a "miniſter, furniſhing excellent materials for addreſſing con-"ſcience, and directing men to judge of their ſpiritual "ſtate." Calamy, vol. ii. p. 333. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. ii. p. 4. ED.]

The king having parted with his laſt parliament in diſpleaſure, without being able to obtain any money, reſolved once more to try a new one;* and apprehending that the male-contents were encouraged by the neighbourhood of the city of London, he ſummoned them to meet at Oxford; the ſame repreſentatives being rechoſen for London, had a paper put into their hands by four merchants, in the name of all the citizens then aſſembled in the common hall, containing a return of their moſt hearty thanks for their faithful and unwearied endeavours in the two laſt parliaments, to ſearch into the depth of the popiſh plot, to preſerve the proteſtant religion, to promote an union among his majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects, to repeal the 35th of *Eliz.* and the *corporation act*,

* Eachard, p. 1002. Rapin, vol. ii. p. 720.

and

and to promote the *bill of excluſion*, and to requeſt their continuance of the ſame. The members being afraid of violence, were attended to Oxford with a numerous body of horſe, having ribbons in their hats, with this motto, *No popery; no ſlavery;* the citizens having promiſed to ſtand by them with their lives and fortunes. Many other papers of the like nature were preſented to the members in the ſeveral counties. The king, in his ſpeech at the opening the ſeſſions, March 21, reflected ſeverely on the laſt parliament, and ſaid, *he was reſolved to maintain the ſucceſſion of the crown in the right line*, and for quieting people's fears, he was willing to put the adminiſtration into the hands of a *proteſtant regent*; but the commons rejected the propoſal, to the inexpreſſible joy of the duke's party, and ordered the *bill of excluſion* to be brought in again. In the mean time a motion was made to conſider of the loſs of the bill in favour of the *diſſenters* laſt parliament. Sir *William Jones* ſaid, "the bill was of great "moment and ſervice to the country, and might be to their "lives, in the time of a popiſh ſucceſſor; but be the bill "what it will, the precedent was of the higheſt conſequence; "the king has a *negative* to all bills, but ſurely the clerk of "the parliament has not.—If this way be found out, that "bills ſhall be thrown by, it may hereafter be ſaid, they "were forgot and laid by, and ſo we ſhall never know whe-"ther the king would paſs them or no: if this be ſuffered, "'tis in vain to ſpend time here—" In concluſion this affair was referred to a conference with the houſe of lords, which was fruſtrated by the haſty diſſolution of the parliament.

They next went upon the libel of one *Fitz-Harris*, an Iriſh *papiſt*, which was a ſecond *meal-tub plot*, promoted in the name of the non-conformiſts;* the libel was to be ſent by penny-poſt letters to the lords who had proteſted in favour of the bill of excluſion, and to the leading men in the houſe of commons, who were immediately to be apprehended and ſearched. *Everard*, who was *Fitz-Harris*'s confident, and betrayed the ſecret, affirmed that the king himſelf was privy to it, as *Fitz-Harris*'s wife averred to a perſon of worth many years after; that his majeſty had given *Fitz-Harris* money, and promiſed him more if it met with ſucceſs.

* Burnet, p. 303, 4.

The

The *libel* was to traduce the king and the royal family as papiſts, and arbitrarily affected from the beginning, and ſays, that king *Charles* I. had a hand in the Iriſh rebellion; —that the act forbidding to call the king a papiſt, was only to ſtop men's mouths, and that it was as much in the power of the people to depoſe a *popiſh poſſeſſor* as a *popiſh ſucceſſor*. It was intituled *The True Engliſhman ſpeaking plain Engliſh*; and adds, "If JAMES be conſcious and guilty, CHARLES is "ſo too; believe me theſe two brothers in iniquity are in "confederacy with the pope and the French, to introduce "popery and arbitrary government, and to caſt off parlia- "ments, *magna charta*, and the liberty of the ſubject, as "heavy yokes, and to be as arbitrary as the king of France "—Let the Engliſh move and riſe as one man to ſelf- "defence; blow the trumpet, ſtand on your guard, and "withſtand them as bears and tygers—Truſt to your ſwords "in defence of your lives, liberties and religion, like the "ſtout earl of old, who told his king, if he could not be "defended by *magna charta*, he would be relieved by *longa* "*ſpada*." He goes on to reproach the king with the breach of his *Scots oaths*, *Breda promiſes*, *proteſtant profeſſion*, *liberty of conſcience*; as deſigned only to delude proteſtants; and puts him in mind of all his political and moral vices, as intended to debauch the nation, to promote the popiſh religion and arbitrary government, &c. Thus were the non-conformiſts to be expoſed again to the reſentments of the nation; but when the ſham was diſcovered to the houſe of commons by Sir *William Waller*, he received the thanks of the houſe, and *Fitz-Harris*, though impeached in parliament, was tried by a jury, and executed with Dr. *Plunket*, the titular primate of Ireland. The whigs would have ſaved *Fitz-Harris*, though a papiſt, in hopes of his being an evidence in the popiſh plot; but the court was reſolved to diſpatch him out of the way, that he might tell no more tales.

His majeſty, hearing that the *bill of excluſion* was to be brought into the houſe again, went ſuddenly, and not very decently, (ſays *Burnet**) to the houſe of lords in a *ſedan*, with the crown between his feet, and having put on his robes in haſte, called up the commons, and diſſolved his fifth

* Burnet, p. 306.

and

and laſt parliament, after they had ſat only ſeven days. As ſoon as his majeſty got out of the houſe, he poſted away in all haſte to Windſor, as one that was glad he had got rid of his parliament, which was the laſt that he ever convened; though he lived three or four years after. And here was an end of the conſtitution and liberties of England for the preſent; all that followed to the king's death was no more than the convulſions and ſtruggles of a dying man. The king raiſed what money he wanted without parliaments; he took away all the charters of England, and governed abſolutely by dint of prerogative. April the 8th, the king publiſhed a *declaration* * *to all his loving ſubjects, touching the cauſes and reaſons that moved him to diſſolve the two laſt parliaments*; and ordered it to be read in all the churches and chapels throughout England. It contains a recital of his majeſty's condeſcenſions for the ſecurity of the proteſtant religion, *as far as was conſiſtent with the ſucceſſion of the crown in the lineal deſcent*; and a large rehearſal of the unſuitable returns of the commons. "But notwithſtanding all this, (ſays his majeſty) let not "theſe men, who are labouring to poiſon our people with "*commonwealth principles*, perſuade any of our ſubjects that "we intend to lay aſide the uſe of parliaments, for we ſtill "declare, that no irregularities in parliaments ſhall make "us out of love with them; and we are reſolved by the "bleſſing of God, to have frequent parliaments;" although he never called another. Several anonymous remarks were made upon *this declaration*, to weaken its influence. But the court uſed all its intereſt among the people to ſupport its credit: addreſſes were ſent from all parts, thanking his majeſty for his *declaration*, promiſing to ſupport his perſon and government with their lives and fortunes. Moſt of them declared againſt the *bill of excluſion*, and for the duke's ſucceſſion† (as has been obſerved.) Some ventured to arraign the late parliament as guilty of ſedition and treaſon, and to

* It was obſerved, Dr. *Calamy* ſays, that "this declaration was known "by M. *Barillon*, the French ambaſſador, and by the ducheſs of *Mazarine*, "ſooner than by the king's council, and that it was evidenced to be of "French extraction by the galliciſms in it; and withal it had no broad "ſeal to it, and was ſigned only by a clerk of the council." Own Life, MS. p. 74. Ed.

† Burnet, vol. ii. 308, 9.

pray

pray his majeſty to put in execution the ſtatute of 35 *Eliz.* againſt the non-conformiſts. The grand juries, the juſtices at their ſeſſion, divers boroughs and corporations, the companies in towns, and at laſt the very apprentices, ſent up addreſſes. Thoſe who preſented or procured them were well treated at court, and ſome of them knighted. Many zealous healths were drank, and in their cups the ſwaggerings of the old cavaliers ſeemed to be revived. One of the moſt celebrated addreſſes was from the univerſity of Cambridge, preſented by Dr. *Gower* maſter of St. *John*'s, which I ſhall give the reader as a ſpecimen of the reſt. It begins thus: "Sacred "Sir! We your majeſty's moſt faithful and obedient ſub- "jects have long, with the greateſt and ſincereſt joy, beheld "the generous emulation of our fellow-ſubjects, contending "who ſhould beſt expreſs their duty to their ſovereign at this "time, when the ſeditious endeavours of unreaſonable men "have made it neceſſary to aſſert the ancient loyalty of the "Engliſh nation.—It is at preſent the great honour of this "your univerſity, not only to be ſtedfaſt and conſtant in our "duty, but to be eminently ſo, and to ſuffer for it as much "as the calumnies and reproaches of factious and ma- "licious men can inflict upon us. And that they have not "proceeded to ſequeſtration and plunder, as heretofore, "next to the over-ruling providence of almighty God, is "only due to the royal care and prudence of your moſt ſacred "majeſty, who gave ſo ſeaſonable a check to their arbitrary "and inſolent undertakings.—*We ſtill believe and maintain, "that our kings derive not their power from the people, but "from God; that to him only they are accountable; that it be- "longs not to ſubjects either to create or cenſure, but to honour "and obey their ſovereign, who comes to be ſo by a fundamental, "hereditary right of ſucceſſion, which no religion, no law, no "fault or forfeiture can alter or diminiſh*; nor will we abate of "our well-inſtructed zeal for the Church of England as by "law eſtabliſhed.—Thus we have learned our own, and thus "we teach others their duty to God and the king."—His majeſty diſcovered an unuſual ſatisfaction on this occaſion, and after having returned them thanks, was pleaſed to add, that *no other church in the world taught and practiſed loyalty ſo conſcientiouſly as they did.*

As

As ſuch abject and ſervile flattery could not fail of pleaſing the king, it muſt neceſſarily draw down vengeance on the non-conformiſts, who joined in none of their addreſſes, but were doomed to ſuffer under a double character, as *whigs*, and as *diſſenters*. "This (ſays biſhop *Burnet**) was ſet on "by the papiſts, and it was wiſely done of them, for they "knew how much the *non-conformiſts* were ſet againſt them. "They made uſe alſo of the indiſcreet zeal of the *high* "*church clergymen* to ruin them, which they knew would "render the clergy odious, and give the papiſts great advan- "tage when opportunity offered." The times were boiſte- rous and ſtormy; ſham plots were contrived, and warrants iſſued againſt the leaders of the whig party for ſeditious lan- guage; *Shafteſbury*, now called the *proteſtant earl*, was ſent to the *Tower*, and *Stephen College*, the *proteſtant joiner*, was carried to Oxford, and hanged, after the grand jury in Lon- don had brought in a bill of indictment againſt him *ignora- mus*. Witneſſes were imported from Ireland, and employed to ſwear away men's lives. "The court intended to ſet them to "ſwear againſt all the hot party, which was plainly murder "in them who believed them falſe witneſſes, (ſays *Burnet*†) "and yet made uſe of them to deſtroy others." Spies were planted in all coffee-houſes, to furniſh out evidence for the witneſſes. Mercenary juſtices were put into commiſſion all over the kingdom; juries were packed; and with regard to the non-conformiſts, informers of the vileſt of the people were countenanced to a ſhameful degree, inſomuch that the gaols were quickly filled with priſoners, and large ſums of money extorted from the induſtrious and conſcientious, and played into the hands of the moſt profligate wretches in the nation.

The juſtices of Middleſex ſhewed great forwardneſs, and repreſented to his majeſty in December, "that an intimation "of his pleaſure was neceſſary at this time, to the putting "the laws in execution againſt conventicles, becauſe when "a charge was lately given at the council-board to put the "laws in execution againſt popiſh recuſants, no mention was "made of ſuppreſſing conventicles." Upon this his majeſty commanded the lord-mayor, aldermen, and juſtices, to uſe

* Page 306. † P. 315.

their

their utmoſt endeavour to ſuppreſs all conventicles and unlawful meetings, upon pretence of religious worſhip, for it was his expreſs pleaſure, that the laws be effectually put in execution againſt them, both in city and country. Accordingly the juſtices of peace at their ſeſſions at Hickes's-hall, Jan. 13, ordered, "that whereas the conſtables and church-"wardens, &c. of every pariſh and precinct within the ſaid "county, had been enjoined laſt ſeſſions to make a return "the firſt day of this, of the names of the preachers in "conventicles, and the moſt conſiderable frequenters of the "ſame within their ſeveral limits; which order not being "obeyed, but contemned by ſome, it was therefore by the "juſtices then aſſembled deſired, that the lord biſhop of Lon-"don will pleaſe to direct thoſe officers which are under his "juriſdiction, to uſe their utmoſt diligence, that all ſuch "perſons may be excommunicated, who commit crimes de-"ſerving the eccleſiaſtical cenſure; and that the ſaid excom-"munications may be publiſhed in the pariſhes where the "perſons live, that they may be taken notice of, and be "obvious to the penalties that belong to perſons excommu-"nicate, (*viz.*) *not to be admitted for a witneſs, or returned upon "juries, or capable of ſuing for any debt.*" They further ordered at the ſame time, "that the ſtatute of the firſt of *Eliz.* "and third of king *James*, be put in due execution, for the "levying twelve-pence *per* Sunday upon ſuch perſons who "repaired not to divine ſervice and ſermons at their pariſh "or ſome other publick church." All which (ſays Mr. *Eachard*) made way for all ſorts of proſecutions both in city and country, which in many places were carried on with great ſpight and ſeverity, where there never wanted buſy agents and informers, of which a few were ſufficient to put the laws in execution; ſo that *the diſſenters this year and much longer*, (ſays he) *met with cruel and unchriſtian uſage*; which occaſioned great complaints among the people, and ſome ſevere reflections on the king himſelf.

It was not in the power of the *church-wigs* to relieve the *non-conformiſts*, nor ſcreen them from the edge of the penal laws, which were in the hands of their enemies. All that could be done was to encourage their conſtancy, and to write ſome compaſſionate treatiſes to move the people in their favour, by

ſhewing them, that while they were plundering and deſtroying their proteſtant diſſenting neighbours, they were cutting the throat of the reformed religion, and making way for the triumphs of popery upon its ruins. Among other writings of this ſort, the moſt famous was, *the Conformiſts Plea for the Non-conformiſts*, in four parts, *by a beneficed miniſter and a regular ſon of the church of England.* In which the author undertakes to ſhew, 1. The greatneſs of their ſufferings. 2. The hardſhips of their caſe. 3. The reaſonableneſs and equity of their propoſals for union. 4. The qualifications and worth of their miniſters. 5. Their peaceable behaviour. 6. Their agreement with the church of England in the articles of her faith. 7. The prejudice to the church by their excluſion; and then concludes, with an account of the infamous lives, and lamentable deaths, of ſeveral of the informers. It was a ſenſible and moving performance, but had no influence on the tory juſtices, and tribe of informers. There was no ſtemming the tide; every one who was not a furious tory (ſays *Rapin*) was reputed a preſbyterian.

Moſt of the clergy were with the court, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves on the ſide of perſecution. The pulpits every where reſounded with the doctrines of *paſſive-obedience* and *non-reſiſtance*, which were carried to all the heights of king *Charles* I. No eaſtern monarch (according to them) was more abſolute than the king of England.* They expreſſed ſuch a zeal for the duke's ſucceſſion, as if a popiſh king over a proteſtant country had been a ſpecial bleſſing from heaven. They likewiſe gave themſelves ſuch a looſe againſt *proteſtant non-conformiſts*, as if nothing was ſo formidable as that party. In all their ſermons, *popery* was quite forgot, (ſays *Burnet*) and the force of their zeal was turned almoſt wholly againſt *proteſtant diſſenters*. In many country places the *parſon of the pariſh*, who could bully, and drink and ſwear, was put into the commiſſion of the peace, and made *a confiding juſtice*, by which means he was both judge and party in his own cauſe. If any of his ſober pariſhioners did not appear at church, they were ſure to be ſummoned, and inſtead of the mildneſs and gentleneſs of a chriſtian clergyman, they uſually met with haughty and abuſive language, and the utmoſt ri-

* Rapin, p. 725. Burnet, p. 309.

gour

gour the law could inflict. There was alſo a great change made in the *commiſſions* throughout England. A ſet of *confiding magiſtrates* was appointed; and none were left on the bench, or in the militia, that did not declare for the arbitrary meaſures of the court: and ſuch of the clergy as were averſe to this fury were declaimed againſt as *betrayers of the church*, and ſecret favourers of the diſſenters; but the truth is, (ſays the biſhop) *the number of ſober honeſt clergyman was not great*, for where the carcaſe is, there will the eagles be gathered together. The ſcent of preferment will draw aſpiring men after it. Upon the whole, the preſent times were very lowring, and the proſpect under a popiſh ſucceſſor ſtill more threatening.

It would fill a volume, to enter into all the particulars of theſe unchriſtian proceedings, which even the black regiſters of the ſpiritual courts cannot fully unfold. The reverend Mr. *Edward Bury*, aſſiſting at a private faſt, on account of the extraordinary drought, was apprehended June 14, and fined twenty pounds; and refuſing to pay it, becauſe he did not preach, they took away his goods, books, and even the bed he lay upon. The reverend Mr. *Philip Henry* was apprehended at the ſame time, and fined forty pounds, and for non-payment they carried away thirty-three loads of corn which lay cut upon the ground, together with hay, coals, and other chattels. The *informers* took the names of one hundred and fifty more, who were at the meeting: they fined the maſter of the houſe twenty pounds, and five pounds more as being conſtable that year, and exacted five ſhillings a head from all who were preſent. Examples of this uſage in London, Middleſex, and moſt of the counties of England, are innumerable.

The quakers publiſhed a narrative of the ſufferings of their friends ſince the reſtoration, by which it appeared, that great numbers had been fined by the biſhop's courts, robbed of their ſubſtance, and periſhed in priſon.* Many had been ſo beaten and wounded for attending *their meetings*, that they died of their wounds. An account was alſo publiſhed, of the unjuſt proceedings of the *informers*, ſhewing, that at their inſtance many had been plundered without a juridical

* Sewel, p. 574, 581.

proceſs; that ſeven hundred of them were now in priſon in ſeveral parts of England, and eſpecially about Briſtol; but remonſtrances and complaints availed nothing.

In the midſt of this furious perſecution, the famous Mr. *Thomas Gouge*, ſon of Dr. *Gouge* of Black-friars, and the ejected miniſter of St. Sepulchre's, was taken out of this world: he was born at Bow near Stratford, 1605, bred at Eaton ſchool, and educated in King's college, Cambridge.* He ſettled at St. Sepulchre's in the year 1638, and for twenty-four years diſcharged all the parts of a vigilant and faithful paſtor. He was a wonder of piety, charity, humility, and moderation, making it his ſtudy to keep a conſcience void of offence towards God and man. Mr. *Baxter* ſays, he never heard any man ſpeak to his diſhonour, except that he did not conform. He was poſſeſſed of a good eſtate, and devoted the chief of it to charity. He ſettled ſchools to the number of three or four hundred, and gave money to teach children to read in the mountainous parts of Wales, where he travelled annually, and preached, till he was forbid by the biſhops, and excommunicated, though he ſtill went as a hearer to the pariſh churches. He printed eight thouſand Welſh Bibles,† a thouſand of which were given to the poor, and the reſt ſent to the principal towns of Wales, to be ſold at an under rate. He printed five hundred of the *Whole Duty of Man* in Welſh, and gave them away; two hundred and forty *New Teſtaments*; and kept almoſt two thouſand Welſh children at ſchool to learn Engliſh. Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, in his funeral ſermon, ſays, that, all things

* Tillotſon's Works, vol. i. p. 265.

† In theſe charitable works, as we have ſeen before, he was aſſiſted by his friends. The great BUSINESS OF HIS LIFE was to do good. He annually travelled over Wales, inſpecting the ſchools and inſtructing the people both in publick and private, till he was between ſixty and ſeventy years of age. He ſuſtained great loſs by the fire of London, and after the death of his wife and the ſettlement of his children, his fortune was reduced to 150l. per annum; out of which he conſtantly expended 100l. in works of charity. He had a ſingular ſagacity and prudence in deviſing the moſt effectual ways of doing good: and his example gave the firſt hint to Mr. *T. Firmin* of that plan of furniſhing the poor with employment, which he ſo extenſively and generouſly purſued. His funeral ſermon was preached by Doctor, afterwards Archbiſhop *Tillotſon*. Palmer. ED.

conſidered,

conſidered, there has not ſince the primitive times of chriſtianity been many among the ſons of men, to whom that glorious character of the Son of God might be better applied, that *he went about doing good.** He was a divine of a chearful ſpirit, and went away quietly, in his ſleep, October 29, 1681, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his age.†

While the tories and high-church clergy were ravaging the diſſenters, the court was intent upon ſubverting the conſtitution, and getting the government of the city into their hands. June 24, 1682, there was a conteſt about the election of ſheriffs, which occaſioned a conſiderable tumult. And when the election of a lord-mayor came on at Michaelmas, the citizens were again in an uproar, the *lord-mayor* pretending a right to adjourn the court, while the *ſheriffs*, to whom the right belonged, continued the poll till night; when the books were caſt up, each party claimed the majority according to their reſpective books. The conteſt roſe ſo high, that Sir *William Pritchard*, lord-mayor, was afterwards arreſted at the ſuit of Mr. *Papillon* and *Dubois*, and detained priſoner in Skinner's-hall till midnight. But when the affair came to a trial, the election was vacated, *Papillon* and *Dubois* were impriſoned, and the leading men of the whig party, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the conteſt, were fined in large ſums of money, which made way for the loſs of the charter.

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 8.

† The learned and excellent Dr. *William Lloyd*, then biſhop of St. Aſaph, who endeavoured by argument to remove the ſcruples of the diſſenters, and to bring them back into the church by mild and chriſtian methods, after ſome private conferences, called on Mr. *James Owen*, to produce his reaſons for preaching without ordination by dioceſan biſhops, at the publick hall of Oſweſtree, on the 27th of September, of the year 1681. The biſhop was attended by the learned Mr. *Henry Dodwell*; Mr. *Owen*'s ſupporters were, Mr. *Philip Henry*, Mr. *Jonathan Roberts* of Slainvair, in Denbighſhire, an excellent ſcholar and warm diſputant. The diſpute began at two in the afternoon, and ended between eight and nine. Several points, connected with the main queſtion, "concerning the "neceſſity of ordination by dioceſan biſhops, in uninterrupted ſucceſſion "from the apoſtles," were debated. The effects of this diſcuſſion were various; but no converts were made by it. The biſhop procured reſpect by his exemplary candour; and Mr. *Philip Henry*, by his prudent and primitive temper, and the mildneſs of his manner, recommended himſelf to the high eſteem of the prelate and the company. Mr. James Owen's Life, p. 29—35. Ed.

The

The court would have perſuaded the *common-council* to make a voluntary ſurrender of it to the crown, to put an end to all conteſts for the future;* but not being able to prevail, they reſolved to condemn it by law; accordingly a *quo warranto* was iſſued out of the court of King's-bench, to ſee whether its charter had been duly obſerved, becauſe the common-council, in one of their addreſſes, had petitioned for the ſitting of the parliament, and had taxed the prorogation as a delay of juſtice; and becauſe they had laid taxes on their wharfs and markets contrary to law. After trial upon theſe two points, the chief juſtice delivered it as the unanimous opinion of the court, *that the liberties and franchiſes of the city of London had been forfeited, and might be ſeized into the king's hands*, but judgment was not to be entered till the king's pleaſure was further known. In the mean time the lord-mayor and common-council, who are the repreſentatives of the city, agreed to ſubmit to the king's mercy, and ſent a deputation to Windſor, June 18, 1683, to beg pardon; which the king was pleaſed to grant on condition *that his majeſty might have a negative in the choice of all the chief magiſtrates—that if his majeſty diſapproved of their choice of a lord-mayor they ſhould chooſe another within a week—and that if his majeſty diſapproved their ſecond choice he ſhould himſelf nominate a mayor for the year enſuing;* and the like as to *ſheriffs*, *aldermen*, &c.† When this was reported to the common-council, it was put to the vote, and upon a diviſion, one hundred and four were for accepting the king's regulation, and eighty-ſix againſt it; but even theſe *conceſſions* continued no longer than a year. The charter of London being loſt, the cities and corporations in general were prevailed with to deliver up their charters, and accept of ſuch new ones as the court would grant, which was the higheſt degree of perfidy and baſeneſs in thoſe who were entruſted with them, eſpecially when they knew, that the deſign was to pack a parliament, in order to make way for a popiſh ſucceſſor.

Thus the liberties of England were delivered up to the crown; and though the forms of law remained, men's lives

* Burnet, p. 354—357. Rapin, p. 727. † Burnet, vol. ii. p. 403. Gazette, No. 1835.

and

and eſtates were at the mercy of a ſet of profligate creatures, who would ſwear any thing for hire. *Juries* (ſays *Burnet**) were a ſhame to the nation, and a reproach to religion, for they were packed and prepared to bring in verdicts as they were directed, and not as matters appeared upon the evidence. Zeal againſt popery was decried as the voice of a faction, who were enemies to the king and his government. All rejoicings on the fifth of November were forbid, and ſtrict orders given to all conſtables and other officers to keep the peace; but the populace not being ſo orderly as they ſhould have been, ſeveral London apprentices were fined twenty marks for a riot, and ſet in the pillory. Theſe were the triumphs of a tory and popiſh adminiſtration.

A little before this died old Mr. *Thomas Caſe*, M. A. educated in Chriſt-church, Oxford, and one of the aſſembly of divines; he was peculiarly zealous in promoting the *morning exerciſes*, but was turned out of his living of St. Mary Magdalen, Milk-ſtreet, for refuſing the engagement, and impriſoned for Mr. *Love*'s plot; he was afterwards rector of St. Giles's, and waited on the king at Breda.† He was one of the commiſſioners at the Savoy, and ſilenced with his brethren in 1662. He was an open plain-hearted man, an excellent preacher, of a warm ſpirit, and a hearty lover of all good men. He died May 30, 1682, aged 84.‡

Mr. *Samuel Clarke*, the ejected miniſter of St. Bene't Fink, was an indefatigable ſtudent, as appears by his Martyrology, his Lives of eminent Divines, and other hiſtorical works; he was a good ſcholar, and had been an uſeful preacher in

* Page 359. † Calamy, vol. ii. p. 13. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. i. p. 124.

‡ He ſurvived every one of the diſſenters that ſat in the aſſembly of divines. Mr. *Baxter* ſtyles him "a holy, faithful ſervant of God." It is painful, however, to reflect, that a man whoſe character appears, in general, to have been venerable and amiable, ſhould be ſo tranſported by the heat of the times, as, in a ſermon preached before the "court-martial" in 1644, to ſay; "Noble Sirs, imitate God, and be merciful to none that "have ſinned of *malicious* wickedneſs;" meaning the royaliſts, who were frequently ſtyled *malignants*. This, as Mr. *Granger* obſerves, is ſanguinary. It may be added, that it conveyed alſo a falſe idea of the divine clemency, which extends its exerciſe, on repentance, to all characters; to ſins of malignity as well as of infirmity.

Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 317, 18. ED.

Cheſhire

Cheſhire and Warwickſhire, before he came to London; he was one of the commiſſioners at the Savoy, and preſented the preſbyterian miniſter's addreſs of thanks to the king for his declaration concerning eccleſiaſtical affairs; and though he could not conform as a preacher, he frequently attended the ſervice of the church as a hearer and communicant. He died December 25, 1682, *ætatis* eighty.*

While the liberties of England lay bleeding, the fury of the court raged higher than ever againſt the *non-conformiſts*, as inflexible enemies of their arbitrary meaſures.† Mr. *Baxter* was ſurprized in his own houſe, by a company of conſtables and other *peace-officers*, who arreſted him for coming within five miles of a corporation, and brought warrants to diſtrain upon him for five ſermons, amounting to 195l. They took him out of his bed, to which he had been confined for ſome time, and were carrying him to gaol; but Dr. *Cox* the phyſician, meeting him in the way, went and made oath before a juſtice of peace, that he could not be removed to priſon without danger of his life, ſo he was permitted to go home again to bed; but the officers rifled his houſe, took away ſuch books as he had, and ſold even the bed from under him. Dr. *Anneſley*, and ſeveral other miniſters, had their goods diſtrained for *latent convictions*; that is, *upon the oaths of perſons they never*

* When Mr. *Clarke* was ejected, he had been forty years in the miniſtry, during which time he had been ſeven or eight years a governor, and two years a preſident of Sion college. The moſt valuable of his numerous works are reckoned to be "Lives of the Puritan Divines and other perſons "of note." "The author and the bookſeller," ſays Mr. *Granger*, "ſeem "to have been thoroughly informed of this ſecret, that *a taking title-page* "becomes much more taking, with an engraved frontiſpiece before it; and "that little *pictures*, in the body of the book, are great embelliſhments to "ſtyle and matter." He was more a compiler than an author. His name was anagrammatiſed to *Su* (c) *kall Cream*, alluding to his taking the beſt parts of thoſe books from which he collected. One is ſorry to find, in the liſt of his publications, "A Diſcourſe againſt Toleration." He enjoyed about nine years the living of Alceſter in Warwickſhire, where his preaching was very uſeful, and the town became exemplary for ſobriety, which had borne the character of drunken *Alceſter*. He met death with a lively ſenſe of eternity upon his mind, and a comfortable aſſurance of his own title to future bleſſedneſs. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 88, &c. Granger's Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 321. Ed.

Mr. Clarke was the great-grandfather of Dr. Samuel Clarke of St. Alban's, the patron of Dr. Doddridge's youthful ſtudies. Ed.

† Part iii. p. 191.

ſaw,

ſaw, nor received ſummons to anſwer for themſelves before a juſtice of peace. This was ſtabbing men in the dark. Some were impriſoned on the corporation act. The reverend Mr. *Vincent* was tried and convicted at the Surry aſſizes on the 35th of queen *Elizabeth*, already mentioned: he lay in priſon many months, but was at laſt releaſed by the interceſſion of ſome great men. The diſſenting laity were haraſſed every where in the *ſpiritual courts*, warrants were ſigned for *diſtreſſes* in the village of Hackney alone, to the ſum of fourteen hundred pounds; one of which was five hundred. The reader will then judge what muſt have been the caſe of the intereſt in general.*

But in the midſt of this oppreſſion and violence, the court found that the ſpirit of Engliſh liberty was not eaſily to be ſubdued: there were a ſet of patriots who ſtood in their way, and were determined to hazard their lives and fortunes for the conſtitution; theſe were therefore to be removed or cut off, by bringing them within the compaſs of ſome pretended plot againſt the government. Some, who were more zealous than prudent, met together in clubs at the taverns and other places, to talk over the common danger, and what might be done to ſecure their religion and liberties in caſe of the king's death; but there was no formed deſign in any of them againſt the king or the preſent government. The court however laid hold of this occaſion, and, as Mr. *Coke* ſays, ſet on foot three plots, one to aſſaſſinate the king and duke as they came from Newmarket; another to ſeize the guards; and a third was called the Blackheath *plot*; in all which, for ought I can find, (ſays he) the *fox was the finder*. Dr. *Wel-*

* Tne temper of the court and church at this time inclined Mr. *John Shower*, to attend the nephew of Sir *Samuel Barnardiſton* on his travels, in compliance with the earneſt requeſt of his uncle, in company with ſeveral other gentlemen, which we mention here to introduce the following paſſage. When they were at Geneva, where they continued for ſome time, they contracted an acquaintance with *Turretin* the younger. On their firſt converſation they found this learned divine and the reſt of the city poſſeſſed with very unfavourable ſentiments concerning the Engliſh Nonconformiſts. But when Mr. *Shower* and his companions had ſtated their caſe, and the terms required of them, *Turretin* and the others declared themſelves well ſatisfied with the grounds of their diſſent, and treated them, during the remainder of their reſidence in the city, with a very particular reſpect. Tong's Life of Shower, p. 48. Ed.

wood

wood adds,* that the ſhattered remains of Engliſh liberty were attacked on every ſide, and ſome of the nobleſt blood in the nation offered up a ſacrifice to the *manes* of popiſh martyrs. *Swearing* came into faſhion, and an evidence office was ſet up at Whitehall; the witneſſes were highly encouraged, and, inſtead of judges and juries that might boggle at half evidence, care was taken to pick out ſuch as ſhould ſtick at nothing to ſerve a turn. The plot which the court made uſe of was called the *Ryehouſe plot*,† from the name of the houſe were the two royal brothers were to be ſhot; it was within two miles of Hodſdon in Hertfordſhire, and was firſt diſcovered by one *Keeling* an *anabaptiſt*; after him *Goodenough*, *Rumſey* and *Weſt*, made themſelves witneſſes, and framed a ſtory out of their own heads, of *lopping off the two brothers*, as they came from Newmarket; and having heard of conferences between the duke of *Monmouth*, lord *Ruſſel*, and others, concerning ſecuring the proteſtant religion upon the king's deceaſe, they impeached them to the council, upon which lord *Ruſſel*, *Algernon Sidney*, the earl of *Eſſex*, and Mr. *Houblon*, were apprehended and ſent to the Tower. Warrants were iſſued out for ſeveral others, who, knowing that innocence was in theſe times no ſufficient protection, abſconded, and went out of the way; but ſeveral were tried, and executed upon the *court-evidence*; as Mr. *Rumbold*, the maſter of the houſe where the plot was to take place, who declared at his execution in king *James*'s reign, that he never knew of any deſign againſt the king; as did Captain *Walcot* and Sir *Thomas Armſtrong*, *Rouſe*, and the reſt. Lord *Ruſſel* was condemned, and beheaded, for being within the hearing of ſome treaſonable words at Mr. *Shepherd*'s, a wine-cooper in Abchurch-lane.‡ The earl of *Eſſex*'s throat was cut in the Tower § during lord *Ruſſel*'s trial;

* Memoirs, p. 132. † Burnet, vol. ii. p. 368—373. ‡ P. 382.

§ Dr. *Grey* cenſures Mr. *Neal*'s account of the *Rye-houſe* plot as very faulty, if not falſe; "as appears," he ſays, "from the very beſt of our hiſ-"torians, and the confeſſion of ſeveral that ſuffered for it." The hiſtorians to whom the doctor refers are *Eachard*, *Kennet*, &c. and principally biſhop *Sprat*'s "Hiſtory of the Rye-houſe Plot." As to this work, the moſt partial to it muſt own it detracts greatly from its credit; that it was drawn up to pleaſe the court, by one that was wholly in that intereſt; and the author, it

trial;* and *Algernon Sidney* was executed for having *a ſeditious libel in his ſtudy*;† of the injuſtice of which the parliament at the revolution was ſo ſenſible, that they reverſed the judgments. A proclamation was iſſued out againſt the duke of *Monmouth*, though the king knew where he was; and after the ferment brought him to court. Mr. *Eachard* obſerves, that ſome have called this the *fanatick*, the *proteſtant*, the *whiggiſh*, or *preſbyterian plot*; others have called it, with more juſtice, a piece of ſtate policy, and no better than an impoſture, for it had no other foundation than the raſh and imprudent diſcourſe of ſome warm whigs, which, in ſo critical a conjuncture, was very hazardous; but no ſcheme of a plot had been agreed upon, no preparations made, no arms nor horſes purchaſed, nor perſons appointed to execute any deſign againſt the king or government.‡ However, the court had their ends in ſtriking terror into the whole party.

Great

it ſeems, acknowledges, "that king *James* II. called for his papers, and "having read them, altered divers paſſages, and cauſed them to be printed "by his own authority." Calamy's Letter to archdeacon Eachard, p. 55. Dr. *Grey* ironically calls Mr. *Neal*'s account of the earl of *Eſſex*'s death, a *candid* remark; and then refers to, and quotes largely, *Carte*'s and *Eachard*'s repreſentations of that event, to ſhew that the *earl* was *felo de ſe*. This is not the place to diſcuſs the queſtion concerning his lordſhip's death, whether he committed an act of ſuicide, or was murdered by others? Dr. *Harris* has fully and impartially ſtated the arguments on both ſides. Hiſtory of Charles II. vol. ii. p. 371—376. The ſame judicious writer has alſo inveſtigated the evidence concerning the *Rye-houſe* plot, p. 355—370. Ed.

* Welwood's Memoirs, p. 161.

† This was an anſwer to *Filmer*'s book, written to prove the abſolute and unlimited power of kings. The leading principle of this MS. was, "that power is delegated from the people to the prince, and that he is ac-"countable to them for the abuſe of it." It was urged that he was not proved to have written the piece; that if he were the author, it contained only his private ſpeculations; that it could not be admitted as a proof of the plot, for it was written years before; and that, as it was not a finiſhed piece, it could not be known how it would end; and no general concluſion ought to be drawn from any particular chapter of a work. The book was, however, conſidered by *Jefferies* as an overt-act, on this principle, *ſcribere eſt agere*. It is remarkable, that within a *few years*, the energy and truth of the above principle removed *James* II. from the throne, and placed on it the prince of Orange. So vain is it to fight againſt juſt principles! Ed.

‡ "Mr. *Neal* muſt think his readers," ſays Dr. *Grey*, "very eaſy c-"belief to ſwallow down ſuch *groſs untruths* as theſe, which the ſm-"dabbler in the hiſtory of thoſe times can eaſily confute." The re-

Great induſtry was uſed by the court to bring the body of non-conformiſts into this plot: it was given out that Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Mead*, and Mr. *Griffith*, were acquainted with it;* Mr. *Mead* was ſummoned before the council, and gave ſuch ſatisfactory anſwers to all queſtions, that the king himſelf ordered him to be diſcharged. The reverend Mr. *Caſtaires*, a Scots divine, was put to the torture of the *thummikins* in Scotland, to extort a confeſſion; both his thumbs being bruiſed between two irons till the marrow was almoſt forced out of the bones: this he bore for an hour and half without making any confeſſion. Next day they brought

who is not a dabbler in the hiſtory of thoſe times, is referred to Dr. *Harris*, as before quoted, for materials on which to form his judgment of the truth of this remark. In the mean time he may not be diſpleaſed with the following plain lines on the death of *Sidney*.

" ALGERNON SIDNEY fills this tomb,
" An atheiſt for diſclaiming Rome;
" A rebel bold for ſtriving ſtill
" To keep the laws above the will:
" Crimes damn'd by church and government,
" Alas! where muſt his ghoſt be ſent?
" Of heav'n it cannot but deſpair,
" If holy Pope be turnkey there;
" And hell it ne'er muſt entertain,
" For there is all tyrannick reign.
" Where goes it then? Where 't ought to go,
" Where pope nor devil have to do.

Bennet's Memorial, p. 359. Note. ED.

* Dr. *Grey* refers to " copies of informations," in the appendix to *Sprat*'s account for a depoſition ſigned by Mr. *Carſtaires*, ſaying; " the " deponent did communicate the deſign on foot to Dr. *Owen*, Mr. *Griffith*, " and Mr. *Mead*, at Stepney, who all concurred in promoting of it, and " deſired it might take effect."—Dr. *Grey*, by this quotation, means to implicate thoſe gentlemen in the moſt atrocious part of this plot. But the queſtion returns, what was the deſign on foot? what was the nature and extent of it?—Mr. *Neal* immediately informs us in his report of the amount of *Carſtaires*'s confeſſion, that it did not go to any aſſaſſination, but only to preſerving their liberties and the proteſtant religion. As to Mr. *Mead*, in particular, he went into Holland on this occaſion: and after his return to England, he was ſummoned to appear before king *Charles* at the privy-council, where he very fully vindicated his innocence, and was perfectly diſcharged. Pierce's Vindication of the Diſſenters, part i. p. 258. Mr. *Mead* carried with him into Holland the ſon, (the eleventh of thirteen children) whom he placed under an excellent maſter, who afterwards roſe to the firſt eminence as a ſcholar and phyſician. Granger's Hiſtory, vol. iii. p. 333. ED.

him

him to undergo the torture of the *boot*, but his arms being ſwelled with the late torture, and he already in a fever, made a declaration of all that he knew, which amounted to no more than ſome looſe diſcourſe of what might be fit to be done, to preſerve their liberties and the proteſtant religion, if there ſhould be a *criſis*;* but he vindicated himſelf and his brethren in England from all aſſaſſinating deſigns, which, he ſaid, they abhorred. Dr. *South* was deſired to write the hiſtory of this plot; but Dr. *Sprat*, afterwards biſhop of Rocheſter, performed it, though at the revolution he diſowned it ſo far as to declare, that king *James* had altered ſeveral paſſages in it before it was publiſhed. Biſhop *Burnet* adds, that when the congratulatory addreſſes for the diſcovery of this plot had gone all round England, the *grand juries* made high preſentments againſt all who were accounted whigs and non-conformiſts. Great pains were taken to find out more witneſſes; pardons and rewards were offered very freely to the guilty, but none came in, which made it evident, (ſays his lordſhip) that nothing was ſo well laid, or brought ſo near execution, as the witneſſes had depoſed, otherwiſe the people would have crouded in for pardons. Biſhop *Kennet* ſays,† that the *diſſenters* bore all the odium, and were not only branded for expreſs *rebels* and *villains*, in multitudes of congratulatory and tory addreſſes from all parts of the kingdom, but were ſeverely arraigned by the king himſelf, in a declaration to all his loving ſubjects, read in all the churches on Sunday September 9, which was appointed as a day of thankſgiving, and ſolemnized, after an extraordinary manner, with mighty pomp and magnificence. There was hardly a pariſh in England that was not at a conſiderable expence to teſtify their joy and ſatisfaction: nay, the papiſts celebrated in all their chapels in London an extraordinary ſervice on that account; ſo that *theſe* had their places of publick worſhip, though the proteſtant diſſenters were denied them.

The *quakers* avowed their innocence of the plot in an addreſs to the king at Windſor,‡ preſented by *G. Whitehead*, *Parker*, and two more, wherein they appeal to the Searcher of all hearts, that "their principles do not allow them to

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 426—430. † P. 402. ‡ Sewel, p. 585.

"take

" take up defenſive arms, much leſs to avenge themſelves for " the injuries they receive from others. That they conti- " nually pray for the king's ſafety and preſervation, and " therefore take this occaſion humbly to beſeech his majeſty, " to compaſſionate their ſuffering friends, with whom the " gaols are ſo filled, that they want air, to the apparent " hazard of their lives, and to the endangering an infection " in divers places. Beſides, many houſes, ſhops, barns and " fields, are ranſacked, and the goods, corn and cattle ſwept " away, to the diſcouraging of trade and huſbandry, and im- " poveriſhing great numbers of quiet and induſtrious people; " and this for no other cauſe but for the exerciſe of a tender " conſcience, in the worſhip of Almighty God, who is " ſovereign lord and king in men's conſciences——."

But this addreſs made no impreſſion;* all things proceeding triumphantly on the ſide of the prerogative;† the court did what they pleaſed; the king aſſumed the government of the city of London into his own hands, and appointed a mayor, ſheriffs, and aldermen, without the election of the people; ſermons were filled with the principles of abſolute obedience and non-reſiſtance, which were carried higher than ever their forefathers had thought of or practiſed. The univerſity of Oxford paſſed a *decree* ‡ in full convocation, July 21, 1683,

* The king was touched, for the moment, with the exhibition it gave of the unreaſonable and unmerited ſufferings of the *quakers*, and ſaid to one of his courtiers ſtanding by, " What ſhall we do for this people? the priſons " are full of them?" The party to whom this query was put, to divert his attention, drew him into converſation upon ſome other topick, ſo that little or no relaxation of the oppreſſive meaſures reſulted from this addreſs, nor during the remainder of the king's reign. Gough's Hiſtory of the Quakers, vol. iii. p. 8, 9. Ed.

† Kennet, p. 410.

‡ This decree was drawn up by Dr. *Jane*, dean of Glouceſter, and the king's profeſſor of divinity, and ſubſcribed by the whole convocation. It was preſented to the king with great ſolemnity on the 24th of July following, and very graciouſly received. It was ordered, in perpetual memory of it, to be entered in the regiſtry of the convocation, and to be ſtuck up in the different colleges and halls. Further to counteract the ſpread and influence of the propoſitions againſt which it was levelled, all readers, tutors, catechiſts and others, to whom the inſtruction and care of youth were committed, were commanded, to inſtruct and ground their ſcholars in " that moſt neceſſary doctrine, which in a manner is the *badge and cha-* " *racter*

1683, *againſt certain pernicious books and damnable doctrines, deſtructive to the ſacred perſons of princes, their ſtate and government, and all human ſociety.** It conſiſts of twenty-ſeven propoſitions, extracted from the writings of *Buchanan, Baxter, Owen, Milton, J. Goodwin, Hobbs, Cartwright, Travers*, and others, who had maintained that there was an *original contract* between king and people; and that *when kings ſubvert the conſtitution of their country, and become abſolute tyrants, they forfeit their right to the government, and may be reſiſted:* theſe and other propoſitions of a like nature, they declare to be *impious, ſeditious, ſcandalous, damnable, heretical, blaſphemous*, and *infamous to the chriſtian religion.* They forbid their ſtudents to read thoſe writers, and ordered their books to be burnt. But how well they practiſed their own doctrines at the revolution, will be ſeen in its proper place; and one of queen *Anne*'s parliaments ordered the *decree itſelf* to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman.

Dr. *Benjamin Calamy*, rector of St. Lawrence Jewry, in one of his printed ſermons, intituled *a Scrupulous Conſcience*, invited the *non-conformiſts* to examine what each party had to

" *racter of the church of England*, of ſubmitting to every ordinance of " man for the Lord's ſake, whether it be to the king as ſupreme, or unto " governors, as unto them that are ſent by him, for the puniſhment of evil " doers, and for the praiſe of them that do well; teaching that this ſub- " miſſion is to be *clear, abſolute*, and *without any exception* of any ſtate " or order of men." High-church Politicks, p. 89.

* Another proof of the intolerant ſpirit which dictated the decrees of the univerſity at this time, offers in its treatment of Dr. *Whitby*, præcentor of the church of Sarum. This learned writer publiſhed in this year, 1683, without his name, his " Proteſtant Reconciler," *humbly pleading for condeſcenſion to diſſenting brethren, in things indifferent and unneceſſary, for the ſake of peace; and ſhewing how unreaſonable it is to make ſuch things the neceſſary conditions of communion.* This book gave ſuch high offence, that it was condemned by the univerſity on the above-mentioned day, and burnt by the hands of the marſhal in the ſchools quadrangle. The author was alſo obliged by Dr. *Seth Ward*, to whom he was chaplain, to make a publick retractation of it on the 9th of the enſuing October. And in the ſame year, to remove the clamour his piece had raiſed, he publiſhed a ſecond part, " earneſtly perſuading the diſſenting laity to join in full " communion with the church of England, and anſwering all the objections " of the Non-conformiſts againſt the lawfulneſs of the ſubmiſſion to the rites " and conſtitutions of that church." Birch's Life of archbiſhop *Tillotſon*, p. 103—105. ED.

† Collyer, 902.

ſay

ſay for themſelves with reſpect to the ceremonies impoſed by the church, and inforced by the penal laws, calling upon them modeſtly to propoſe their doubts, and meekly to hearken to, and receive inſtruction. In compliance with this invitation, Mr. *Thomas Delaune*, an anabaptiſt ſchool-maſter, and a learned man,* printed a *Plea for the Non-conformiſts*, ſhewing the true ſtate of their caſe, and juſtifying their ſeparation. But before it was publiſhed, he was apprehended by a meſſenger from the preſs, and ſhut up cloſe priſoner in Newgate, by warrant from the recorder *Jenner*, dated Nov. 30, 1683. Mr. *Delaune* wrote to Dr. *Calamy* to endeavour his enlargement: "My confinement "(ſays he) is for accepting your invitation; I look upon "you obliged in honour to procure my ſheets, yet unfiniſhed, "a publick paſſport, and to me my liberty—there is nothing "in them but a fair examination of thoſe things your ſermon "invited to, and I cannot find that *Chriſt* and his diſciples "ever forced *ſcrupulous conſciences* to conformity, by ſuch "methods as ſending them to Newgate; I beſeech you "therefore in the fear of God, as you will anſwer it to our "great Lord and Maſter Jeſus Chriſt, that you would en-"deavour to convince a ſtranger by ſomething more like "reaſon and divinity, than a priſon." The *doctor* at firſt

* Mr *Delaune* was born at Brini in Ireland, about three miles from Riggſdale. His parents were papiſts and very poor, and rented part of the eſtate of —— *Riggs*, eſq. This gentleman, obſerving the early and forward parts of the young *Delaune*, placed him in a friary at Kilcraſh, ſeven miles from Cork, where he received his education; when he was about fifteen or ſixteen years of age, he removed to Kinſale, and met with Mr. *Bampfield*, who, diſcovering his genius and learning, made him clerk of his pilchard fiſhery there. and was the means of giving his mind a pious and virtuous turn. After ſome years, during which he enjoyed the high eſteem and friendſhip of major *Riggs* and Mr. *Bampfield*, perſecution and troubles induced him to leave Ireland, and come over into England, where he married the daughter of Mr. *Edward Hutchinſon*, who had been paſtor of a congregation at Ormond, but was alſo come to England on account of the troubles of the times. After this Mr. *Delaune* went to London, kept a grammar-ſchool there, and fell into an intimacy and ſtrict friendſhip with Mr. *Benjamin Keach*, and tranſlated the *Philologia Sacra*, prefixed to his celebrated work, entitled "A Key to open Scripture Metaphors." The narrative publiſhed with the ſubſequent editions of his "Plea for the Non-"conformiſts," fully repreſents the ſeries of ſufferings under which he ſunk, and the proceſs of the iniquitous proſecution to which he, his wife and children, became a ſacrifice. ED.

ſaid,

ſaid, he would do him all the kindneſs that became him.* But in anſwer to a ſecond letter, he ſaid, he looked upon himſelf as unconcerned, becauſe he was not mentioned in that ſheet he ſaw with the recorder. Mr. *Delaune* inſiſted that his honour was at ſtake for his deliverance, and prayed him at leaſt to perform the office of a divine, in viſiting him in priſon, to argue him out of his doubts; but the *doctor*, like an ungenerous adverſary, deſerted him. Mr. *Delaune* therefore was to be convinced by an indictment at law; for *that on Nov.* 30, *he did by force of arms, &c. unlawfully, ſeditiouſly, and maliciouſly, write, print, and publiſh, a certain falſe, ſeditious and ſcandalous libel, of and concerning our lord the king; and the book of common-prayer*, entituled, *A Plea for the Non-conformiſts*. For which offence he was fined one hundred marks, and to be kept priſoner till he paid it; to find ſecurity for his good behaviour for one year, and his books to be burnt before the Royal Exchange. The court told him, that in reſpect of his being a ſcholar, he ſhould not be pilloryed, though he deſerved it. Mr. *Delaune*, not being able to pay his fine, lay in priſon fifteen months, and ſuffered great hardſhips by extreme poverty, having no ſubſiſtence but on charity. He had a wife and two ſmall children with him, who all died in the goal, through the length and cloſeneſs of the confinement, and other incon-

* Mr. *Neal*'s account of Dr. *Calamy*'s conduct towards Mr. *Delaune*, is drawn from the injured ſufferer's narrative; and it muſt be allowed, that it reflects on the doctor's character and memory. But though by not replying to his book, nor viſiting him, he appeared to deſert him; yet it appears that the behaviour which Mr. *Delaune*, in his afflicted ſituation, felt as a ſevere neglect, was tempered with more attention to his caſe and kindneſs than he ſeems to have known of. For Dr. *Edmund Calamy* ſays, "that his uncle took pains with *Jefferies* to get him releaſed, but could not "prevail, which was no ſmall trouble to him." Dr. *Calamy* was a man greatly reſpected; and, though a true ſon of the church, averſe to perſecution. He was a man of great humanity, courteous and affable in his deportment, and exemplary in his life. His ſermons were reckoned to poſſeſs great merit. No books in his ſtudy appeared to have been ſo much uſed as Mr. *Perkin*'s works, eſpecially his "Caſes of Conſciences," which were full of marks and ſcores. He died when a little turned of forty years of age. The treatment which his neighbour and particular friend alderman *Corniſh* received, greatly affected him, and is thought to have haſtened his end. Dr. Calamy's own Life, MSS. and Biographia Britannica, vol. iii. 2d ed. ED.

veniencies they endured;* and at length Mr. *Delaune* himſelf ſunk under his ſufferings, and died in Newgate, a martyr to the challenge of this high-church champion.

Mr. *Francis Bampfield* ſuffered the like, or greater hardſhips; he had been educated in Wadham-college, Oxford, and was miniſter of Sherborne in Dorſetſhire.† After the act of uniformity, he continued preaching as he had oppor-

* The ſtory of Mr. *Delaune* is very affecting, and cannot but, at this diſtance of time, move pity and reſentment. "The fate of himſelf and "family, periſhing in Newgate for want of 70l." obſerves the candid editor of the Biographia Britannica, 2d edit. "is not only a diſgrace to the "general ſpirit of the times, but caſts peculiar diſhonour on the non-"conformiſts of that period. Though there was probably ſomething in "his diſpoſition which occaſioned his having but few friends, a man of his "knowledge, learning, and integrity, ought not to have been ſo fatally "neglected. Perhaps the only apology which can be made for the diſſenters "of king *Charles* II's reign is, that whilſt ſo many of their miniſters were "in a perſecuted ſtate, it was impoſſible for every caſe of diſtreſs to be duly "regarded." To this may be added the great number of caſes of diſtreſs, ariſing from the proſecution and ſufferings of the *lay-diſſenters*. Mr. *Jeremy White* told Mr. *John Waldron* of Exeter, that the computation of thoſe who ſuffered for non-conformity, between the Reſtoration and the Revolution, amounted to ſeventy thouſand families ruined, and eight thouſand perſons deſtroyed; and the computation was not finiſhed, when this number was aſcertained. The ſources of beneficence were alſo diminiſhed by the effect of the meaſures purſued on trade. For the cuſtoms paid in Briſtol only aroſe, in *Charles*'s perſecution, not to 30,000l. per annum; but in king *William*'s reign they advanced to near 100,000l. *Waldron*'s copy of Neal, *penes me*. ED.

† Mr. *Bampfield* was deſcended from an antient and honourable family in Devonſhire. The firſt living he held was more valuable than that of Sherborne, being about 100l. per annum; and having an annuity of 80l. per annum ſettled on him for life, he ſpent all the income of his place in acts of charity, by employing the poor that could work, relieving the neceſſities of thoſe who were incapable of any labour, and diſtributing bibles and practical books. Soon after his ejectment he was impriſoned for worſhipping God in his own family; and it is remarkable, that notwithſtanding he was proſecuted with ſeverity, he had been zealous againſt the parliament's army and *Oliver*'s uſurpation, and always a ſtrenuous advocate for the royal cauſe. When he reſided in London he formed a church on the principles of the *Sabbatarian Baptiſts* at Pinner's-hall, of which principles he was a zealous aſſertor. He was a celebrated preacher, and a man of ſerious piety. He bore his long impriſonment with great courage and patience, and gathered a church even in the place of confinement. His fellow-priſoners lamented him, as well as his acquaintance and friends. Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 468—472. Croſby's Hiſtory of the Baptiſts, vol. i. p. 363—368. Vol. ii. p. 355—361. ED.

tunity

tunity in private, till he was impriſoned for five days and nights, with twenty-five of his hearers in one room, with only one bed, where they ſpent their time in religious exerciſes; but after ſome time he was releaſed.* Soon after he was apprehended again, and lay nine years in Dorcheſter gaol, though he was a perſon of unſhaken loyalty to the king, and againſt the parliament war; but this availed nothing to his being a non-conformiſt. He afterwards retired to London, where, being again apprehended, he was ſhut up in Newgate, and there died Feb. 16, 1683-4. He was for the *ſeventh day ſabbath*, but a perſon of unqueſtionable ſerioufneſs and piety.

With him might be mentioned Mr. *Ralphſon*, a learned man, and a fellow-ſufferer with Mr. *Delaune* in Newgate. On the 10th of December, a bill was found againſt him by the grand jury of London; on the 13th of the ſame month he pleaded not guilty at the Old Bailey. On the 16th of January he was called to the *ſeſſions-houſe*, but other trials proving tedious, his did not come on. The next day he was brought to the outer bar; and after an attendance of divers hours in a place not very agreeable, and in the ſharpeſt winter that had been known, he contracted a violent cold, which iſſued in a fever, that carried him as well as Mr. *Bampfield* beyond the reach of tyrants, or the reſtraint of *bail-docks* and *preſs-yards*, to the manſions of everlaſting reſt.† Mr. *Philips*, partner with Mr. *Bampfield*, ſuffered eleven months impriſonment in Ilcheſter gaol, in a naſty ſtinking hole, to the great hazard of his life. Mr. *French*, of Town-Maulin, was confined ſix months in Maidſtone common gaol, in a hard winter, without fire or candle, or any private apartment.

Mr. *Salkeld*, the ejected miniſter of Worlington in Suffolk, was fined one hundred pounds, and committed to the common gaol of St. Edmundſbury,‡ for ſaying, *popery was coming into*

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 260. † Calamy's Abridg. vol. ii. p. 259—377.

‡ It aggravated the iniquity as well as ſeverity of this ſentence, that many hundreds of Mr. *Salkeld*'s hearers could teſtify that what he ſaid was not ſaid as his own language, but that of the parliament. During his confinement he was helpful to his fellow-priſoners both as a miniſter and a chearful

into the nation apace, and no care taken to prevent it. He lay in priſon three years, and was not diſcharged till the year 1686.

Mr. *Richard Stretton* ſuffered ſix months impriſonment this year, for refuſing the Oxford oath, in company with ten miniſters more, who were alſo his fellow-priſoners.* Moſt of the diſſenting miniſters were forced to ſhift their places of abode to avoid diſcovery, and travel in long nights and cold weather, from one village to another, to preach to their people. If at any time they ventured to viſit their families in a dark night, they durſt not ſtir abroad, but went away before morning. Some ſpent their time in woods and ſolitary places; others, being excommunicated, removed with their effects into other dioceſes—great numbers of the common people, taken at private meetings, were convicted as rioters, and fined ten pounds a-piece; and not being able to pay, were obliged to remove into other counties, by which they loſt their buſineſs, and their families were reduced to want. I forbear to mention the rudeneſs offered to young women, ſome of whom were ſent to bridewell, to beat hemp among rogues and thieves: others, that were married and with child, received irreparable damages; even children were terrified with conſtables and halberdeers breaking open houſes, of whom I myſelf, (ſays Mr. *Peirce*) being very young, was one example; and the writer of this hiſtory could mention others.

In the midſt of theſe violent proceedings, the divines of the church of England publiſhed the London *caſes* againſt the non-conformiſts, as if the danger of religion aroſe from that quarter; they were twenty-three in number, and have ſince

chearful chriſtian. His table was furniſhed by his friends at Bury, and his fine afterwards remitted by king *William*. But his eſtate was much weakened, and his health almoſt ruined by his impriſonment. After his liberation he continued his miniſtry at Walſham in the Willows, and died December 26, 1699, aged 77. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. ii. p. 442, 43. ED.

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 676.

† It is to be obſerved, that notwithſtanding all the attempts uſed to ſuppreſs Mr. *Delaune*'s Tract, to obſtruct its reception, and to prevent its effect on the publick mind, by ſeverities againſt its author, and by committing the piece itſelf to the flames, there was a great demand for it, and before the year 1733, there had been ſeventeen impreſſions of it. ED.

been

been abridged by Dr. *Bennet*. Theſe champions of the church were very ſecure from being anſwered, after Mr. *Delaune* had ſo lately loſt his life,* for accepting ſuch a challenge.† They muſt therefore have the field to themſelves, for if their adverſaries wrote, they were ſure to be rewarded with fines, and a priſon; but ſince the return of liberty, they have been anſwered ſeparately by Mr. *Nathaniel Taylor*, Mr. *James Peirce*, and others.

This year [1683] died Dr. *John Owen*, one of the moſt learned of the *independent* divines; he was educated in Queen's college, Oxford, but left the univerſity in 1637, being diſſatisfied with *Laud*'s innovations.§ He was a ſtrict *calviniſt*, and publiſhed his *Diſplay of Arminianiſm* in 1642, for which the committee of religion preſented him to the living of Fordham in Eſſex. In 1643 he removed to Coggeſhall in the ſame county, where he firſt declared himſelf an *independent*, and gathered a church according to the diſcipline of that people. He often preached before the long parliament, even about the time the king was beheaded, but always kept his ſentiments in reſerve upon ſuch a ſubject. Soon after, lieutenant-general *Cromwell* took him into his ſervice as a chaplain in his expedition to Ireland; and when the general marched to Scotland, he obtained an order of parliament for the doctor to attend him thither. Upon his return, he was preferred to the deanery of Chriſt-church, and next year to the vice-chancellorſhip of Oxford, where he preſided with great reputation and prudence for five years. He always behaved like a gentleman and ſcholar, and maintained the dignity of his character. The writer of his life ſays, that though he was an *independent* himſelf, he gave moſt of the vacant livings in his diſpoſal among the *preſbyterians*, and obliged the epiſcopal party, by conniving at an aſſembly of about three hundred of them, almoſt over againſt his own doors. The Oxford hiſtorian,‡ after having treated his

† Peirce, p. 259.

§ Calamy, vol. ii. p. 58. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. i. p. 152—58.

‡ Mr. *Wood* repreſents Dr. *Owen* as a perjured perſon, a time-ſerver, a hypocrite, whoſe godlineſs was gain, and a blaſphemer; and, as if this were not ſufficient, he has alſo made him a fop. "All which," obſerves Mr. *Granger*, with equal judgment and candour, "means no more than "this;

his memory with moſt opprobrious language, confeſſes, that he was well ſkilled in the tongues, in rabbinical learning, and in the *jewiſh* rites and cuſtoms, and that he was one of the moſt genteel and faireſt writers, that appeared againſt the church of England. The doctor had a great reputation among foreign proteſtants; and when he was ejected by the act of uniformity, was invited to a profeſſorſhip in the United Provinces. He was once alſo determined to ſettle in New-England, but was ſtopt by expreſs order from the council. He was paſtor of a conſiderable congregation in London, and died with great calmneſs and compoſure of mind, on Bartholomew-day 1683. His works are very numerous, and ſtill in eſteem among the diſſenters; though his ſtile is a little intricate and perplexed.

[In this year died aged 72, Dr. *Benjamin Whichcote*, the friend of *Tillotſon*. He was of an antient and honourable family in the county of Salop, and was born at Whichcote-hall in the pariſh of Stoke, March 11, 1609. He was admitted in Emanuel college, Cambridge, 1626, and graduated

" this; that when Dr. *Owen* entered himſelf a member of the univerſity of " Oxford, he was of the eſtabliſhed church, and took the uſual oaths; that he " turned *independent*, preached and acted as *independents* did, took the oath " called the Engagement, and accepted of preferment from *Cromwell*; " that he was a man of good perſon and behaviour, and liked to go well " dreſſed."—" We muſt be extremely cautious," adds this author, " how " we form our judgments of characters at this period; the difference of a " few modes or ceremonies in religious worſhip, has been the ſource of " infinite prejudice and miſrepreſentation. The practice of ſome of the " ſplenetick writers of this period, reminds me of the painter, well known " by the appellation of *helliſh Brueghell*, who ſo accuſtomed himſelf to " painting of witches, imps, and devils, that he ſometimes made but little " difference between his human and infernal figures." To Mr. *Neal*'s delineation of Dr. *Owen*'s character may be added, that he was hoſpitable in his houſe, generous in his favours, and charitable to the poor, eſpecially to poor ſcholars, ſome of whom he took into his own family, maintained at his own charge, and educated in academical learning. When he was at Tunbridge, the duke of *York*, ſeveral times, ſent for him, and converſed with him concerning the diſſenters. On his return to London king *Charles* himſelf ſent for him, and diſcourſed with him two hours; aſſuring him of his favour and reſpect, expreſſing himſelf a friend to liberty of conſcience, and his ſenſe of the wrong done to the diſſenters. At the ſame time he gave him a thouſand guineas to diſtribute among thoſe who had ſuffered moſt. Granger's Hiſtory of England, vol. iii. p. 301, 2, note; and Palmer's Noncon. Mem. vol. i. p. 154, 5. Ed.

bachelor

bachelor of arts 1629, maſter of arts 1633, and bachelor in divinity 1640. In the ſame year that he took his ſecond degree, he was elected fellow of the college, and his tutor, Mr. *Thomas Hill*, leaving the univerſity the year after, Mr. *Whichcote* took pupils, and became very conſiderable for his learning and worth, his prudence and temper, his wiſdom and moderation, in thoſe times of trial; nor was he leſs famous for the number, rank, and character of his pupils, and the care he took of them. *Wallis*, *Smith*, *Worthington*, *Cradock*, &c. ſtudied under him. In 1626, he ſet up an afternoon lecture in Trinity church at Cambridge, which he ſerved twenty years. In 1643, the maſter and fellows of his college, preſented him to the living of North-Cadbury, in Somerſetſhire. But he was ſoon called back to Cambridge, and admitted provoſt of King's college, March 19, 1644.* In 1649, he was created doctor in divinity. Here he employed his credit, weight, and influence, to advance and ſpread a free and generous way of thinking, and to promote a ſpirit of ſober piety and rational religion. Many, whoſe talents and learning raiſed them to great eminence as divines, after the reſtoration, were formed by him. To his predeceſſor in the provoſtſhip he was generous. His ſpirit was too noble, ſervilely to follow a party. At the Reſtoration he was removed from this poſt, on accepting of which he had reſigned the living of Cadbury, and he was elected and licenſed to the cure of St. Anne's Blackfriars, Nov. 1662. This church was burnt down in the fire of 1665, and he retired for a while to Milton, a living given to him by his college. He was after this preſented, by the *crown*, to the vicarage of St. Lawrence Jury, which was his laſt ſtage. Here he continued, in high and general eſteem, preaching twice every week, till his death in 1683. One volume of his ſermons, intitled "Select Diſcourſes," was publiſhed, after his death, by the earl of *Shafteſbury*, author of the "Characteriſticks," in 1698. Three others by Dr. *John Jeffery*, archdeacon of Norwich, in 1701 and 1702, and a fourth by Dr. *Samuel Clarke*. A collection of his "Apho-

* See before, vol. iii. p. 113, text and note, where we have already made reſpectful mention of Dr. *Whichcote*.

riſms,"

riſms" was printed by Dr. *S. Salter*, in 1753. See the ſecond preface to which, p. 16—27.] EDITOR.

This year the king, by the aſſiſtance of the *tories* and *roman catholicks*, compleated the ruin of the conſtitution, and aſſumed the whole government into his own hands. The *whigs* and *non-conformiſts* were ſtruck with terror, by the ſevere proſecutions of the heads of their party.* Mr. *Hampden* was fined forty thouſand pounds, Sir *Samuel Barnadiſton* ten thouſand pounds, for defaming the evidence in the Rye-houſe *plot*. Mr. *Speke* two thouſand, and Mr. *Braddon* one thouſand pounds, for reporting that the earl of *Eſſex* had been murdered in the Tower. Mr. *John Dutton-colt* one hundred thouſand pounds, for *ſcandalum magnatum* againſt the duke of *York*, who now ruled all at court. *Oates* was fined for the ſame crime one hundred thouſand pounds, and never releaſed till after the Revolution. Thirty-two others were fined or pilloryed for libelling the king or the duke of *York*. In ſhort, the greateſt part of the hiſtory of this year conſiſts of proſecutions, penalties and puniſhments, (ſays Mr. *Eachard.*) At the ſame time the earl of *Danby* and the *popiſh lords* were releaſed out of the Tower on bail, the garriſon of Tangier was brought over into England, and augmented to a ſtanding army of four or five thouſand reſolute men, fit for any ſervice the court ſhould employ them in. And the corporations throughout England, having been prevailed with, by promiſes or threatenings, to ſurrender their charters,† after the example of London, the whole kingdom

* Rapin, p. 733, and note. Eachard, p. 1043, 1044.

† Among others, the charter of the city of Cheſter was ſurrendered, and a new one joyfully accepted, by which a power was reſerved to the crown to put out magiſtrates and put in at pleaſure. This is mentioned to introduced an inſtance of the conduct of the *diſſenters* of that day, which reflects honour on their integrity, and ſhews how far they were from the affectation of power; as it was alſo a proof of a diſintereſted and inviolable attachment to the rights and liberties of their country. About Auguſt 1688, one Mr. *Trinder* was ſent to Cheſter to new-model the corporation according to the power above-mentioned. He applied to Mr. *Henry*, in the king's name, and told him that "his majeſty thought the government of the city needed reforma-"tion, and if he would ſay who ſhould be put out, it ſhould be done." Mr. *Henry* ſaid, "he begged his pardon, but it was none of his buſineſs, "nor would he in the leaſt intermeddle in a thing of that nature." *Trinder*, however,

kingdom was diveſted of its privileges, and reduced to an abſolute monarchy.* Whole peals of anathemas were rung out againſt thoſe *patriots*, who ſtood in the gap againſt this inundation of power. The ſcriptures were tortured to prove the divine right of tyrants. The abſolute government of the *jewiſh kings* was preached up as a pattern for *ours*.† And heaven itſelf was ranked on that ſide, by ſome who pretended to expound its will. Inſtead of dropping a tear over our expiring laws, liberties, and parliaments, fulſome panegyricks were made upon their murderers, and curſes denounced on thoſe who would have ſaved them from deſtruction.

In this melancholy ſituation of publick affairs, the proſecution of the *non-conformiſts* was continued, and egged on with an infatuation hardly to be paralleled in any proteſtant nation. Dr. *Barlow*, biſhop of Lincoln, publiſhed a letter for ſpiriting up the magiſtrates againſt the diſſenters, in concurrence with another drawn up by the juſtices of peace of Bedford, bearing date Jan. 14, 1684. Many were cited into the *ſpiritual courts*, excommunicated, and ruined. Two hundred warrants of diſtreſs were iſſued out upon private perſons and families, in the town and neighbourhood of Uxbridge, for frequenting conventicles, or not reſorting to church.‡ An order was made by the juſtices of Exeter, promiſing a reward of forty ſhillings to any one who ſhould apprehend a non-conformiſt miniſter, which the biſhop of

however, got inſtructions from others. The charter was cancelled, and another of the ſame import was made out and ſent down, nominating to the government *all the diſſenters of note* in the city, the ſeniors to be aldermen, and the juniors common-council men. When the perſons named in it were called together to have notice of it, and to have the time fixed for their being ſworn, like true Engliſhmen, they refuſed it, and deſired that the antient charter might be re-eſtabliſhed, though they knew that none of them would come into power by that, but many of thoſe who were their bitter enemies would be reſtored. Accordingly the old charter was renewed in the ſame ſtate wherein it was when the tories ſurrendered it.

Mr. Thompſon's MSS. Collections, under the word *Cheſter*. ED.

* Welwood's Memoirs, p. 130.

† Mr. *Waldron*, of Exeter, has written here in his copy of Mr. *Neal*'s work the following note: "The publick orator of Cambridge, in a ſpeech "to the king at Newmarket, told him, that they hoped to ſee the king "of England as abſolute as the kings of Iſrael: as *Thomas Quicke*, eſq; "told me, who ſtood behind him. J. W."

‡ Howe's Life, p. 80.

the

the dioceſe, Dr. *Lamplugh*, commanded to be publiſhed in all the churches, by his clergy on the following Sunday. The reverend Dr. *Bates*, Dr. *Anneſley*, and many of their brethren in the miniſtry, had their goods ſeized and confiſcated. Mr. *Robert Mayot* of Oxford, a moderate conformiſt, having left Mr. *Baxter* ſix hundred pounds to diſtribute among ſixty poor ejected miniſters; the lord keeper *North* took it from him, as given to a *ſuperſtitious uſe*; but it lying unappropriated in the court of Chancery till after the Revolution, it was reſtored by the commiſſioners of the *great ſeal* under king *William*. Soon after the juſtices ſent warrants to apprehend Mr. *Baxter*, as being one in a liſt of a thouſand names, who were to be bound to their good behaviour upon *latent convictions*, that is, without ſeeing their accuſers, or being made acquainted with their charge.* Mr. *Baxter* refuſing to open his doors, the officers forced into his houſe, and finding him locked up in his ſtudy, they reſolved to ſtarve him from thence, by ſetting ſix men at the door, to whom he was obliged next day to ſurrender. They then carried him to the Seſſions-houſe two or three times, and bound him in a bond of four hundred pounds, ſo that if his friends had not been ſureties for him, contrary to his deſire, he muſt have died in priſon, as many excellent perſons did about this time.

Jefferies, now lord chief juſtice of Engand, who was ſcandalouſly vicious, and drunk every day, beſides a drunkenneſs of fury in his temper that looked like madneſs, was prepared for any dirty work the court ſhould put him upon.† Sept. 23, 1684, Mr. *Thomas Roſewel*, the diſſenting miniſter at Rotherhithe, was impriſoned in the Gatehouſe Weſtminſter, for high treaſon; and a bill was found againſt him at the quarter-ſeſſions, upon which he was tried Nov. 8 at the King's-bench bar, by a Surry jury, before lord chief juſtice *Jefferies*, and his brethren, (*viz.*) *Withins*, *Holloway*, and *Walcot*. He was indicted for the following expreſſions in his ſermon, Sept. 14. *That the king could not cure the king's evil, but that prieſts and prophets by their prayers could heal the griefs of the people—That we had had two wicked kings*, (meaning the preſent king and his father) *whom we can reſemble to no*

* Baxter, part iii. p. 198. † Burnet, vol. ii. p. 444, 5.

other

other perſon but to the moſt wicked Jeroboam; and that if they (meaning his hearers) *would ſtand to their principles, he did not doubt but they ſhould overcome their enemies,* (meaning the king) *as in former times, with ram's-horns, broken platters, and a ſtone in a ſling.* The witneſſes were three infamous women, who ſwore to the words without the *inuendoes*; they were laden with the guilt of many perjuries already, and ſuch of them as could be found afterwards were convicted, and the chief of them pilloryed before the Exchange. The trial laſted ſeven hours, and Mr. *Roſewel* behaved with all the decency and reſpect to the court that could be expected, and made a defence that was applauded by moſt of the hearers. He ſaid it was impoſſible the witneſſes ſhould remember, and be able to pronounce ſo long a period, when they could not ſo much as tell the *text*, nor any thing elſe in the ſermon, beſides the words they had ſworn: ſeveral who heard the ſermon, and wrote it in ſhort hand, declared they heard no ſuch words. Mr. *Roſewel* offered his own notes to prove it, but no regard was had to them. The *women* could not prove, (ſays *Burnet*) by any one circumſtance, that they were at the meeting; or that any perſon ſaw them there on that day; the words they ſwore were ſo groſs, that it was not to be imagined that any man in his wits would expreſs himſelf ſo, before a mixed aſſembly; yet *Jefferies* urged the matter with his uſual vehemence. He laid it for a foundation, that all preaching at conventicles was treaſonable, and that this ought to diſpoſe the jury to believe any evidence upon that head, ſo the jury brought him in *guilty;** *upon which* (ſays the biſhop*) *there was a ſhameful rejoicing;*

* As ſoon as Mr. *Roſewell* was convicted, Sir *John Talbot*, who was preſent at the trial, went to the king, and urged it on his majeſty, that if ſuch evidence as had appeared againſt Mr. *Roſewell* were admitted, no one of his ſubjects would be ſafe. Upon this, when *Jefferies* ſoon after came into the royal preſence, with an air of exultation and triumph to congratulate his majeſty on the conviction of a traitor, the king gave him a cold reception, which damped his ardour in the buſineſs. When the court met to hear Mr. *Roſewell's* counſel, this corrupt judge, who on the trial had intermingled with the examination of the witneſſes virulent invectives againſt him, and with his uſual vehemence had endeavoured to prejudice and inflame the jury, now aſſumed a tone of moderation, and ſtrongly recommended to the king's counſel caution and deliberation, where the *life* of a man was depending. See the Trial.* Ed.

* N. B. This Trial has been lately reprinted in the Proteſtant Diſſenter's Magazine.

and

and it was now thought, all conventicles muſt be ſuppreſſed, when ſuch evidence could be received againſt ſuch a defence. But when the words came to be examined by men learned in the law, they were found not to be treaſon by any ſtatute. So Mr. *Roſewell* moved an arreſt of judgment till council ſhould be heard; and though it was doubtful, whether the motion was proper *on this foundation* after the verdict, yet the king was out of countenance at the accounts he heard of the *witneſſes*, that he gave orders to yield to it; and in the end he was pardoned.† The court loſt a great deal of reputation by this trial, for beſides that *Roſewell* made a ſtrong defence, he proved that he had always been a loyal man even in *Cromwell*'s days, that he prayed conſtantly for the king in his family, and that in his ſermons he often inſiſted upon the obligations to loyalty.

Among other ſufferers for non-conformity, we muſt not forget the reverend Mr. *William Jenkyns*, M. A. the ejected miniſter of Chriſt-church, who died this year in Newgate; he was educated in St. John's college, Cambridge; and about the year 1641 was choſen miniſter of this place, and lecturer of Flack-friars, both which pulpits he filled with great acceptance till the deſtruction of monarchy, after which he was ſequeſtered, for refuſing to comply with the orders of parliament.‡ He was ſent to the Tower for *Love's plot*, but upon his humble petition, and promiſe of ſubmiſſion to

* Page 446.

† Calamy, vol. ii. p. 756. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. ii. p. 512.

‡ Mr. *Jenkyn* was, by his mother, the grandſon of Mr. *John Rogers*, the proto-martyr in the reign of queen *Mary*. The order of parliament, to which he refuſed obedience, was one that enjoined a publick thankſgiving. The brethren, with whom he was keeping a faſt, when he was apprehended in 1684, were Mr. *Reynolds*, Mr. *Keeling*, and Mr. *Flavel*, who made their eſcape, which Mr. *Jenkyn* might have done, had it not been for a piece of vanity in a lady, whoſe long train hindered his going down ſtairs; Mr. *Jenkyn*, in his great civility, having let her paſs before him. At his funeral, which was attended by many eminent perſons, and ſome ſcores of mourning coaches, his ſon gave rings with this motto, "William Jenkyn "murdered in Newgate." Upon his death, a nobleman ſaid to the king, "May it pleaſe your majeſty, *Jenkyn* has got his liberty." On which he aſked with eagerneſs, "Aye, who gave it him?" The nobleman replied, "a greater than your majeſty, the King of kings;" with which the king ſeemed greatly ſtruck, and remained ſilent. Granger, vol. iii. p. 317. Palmer, vol. i. p. 98—100, and Hiſtory of the Town of Taunton, p. 157. ED.

the

the *powers in being*, he was pardoned, and his ſequeſtration taken off, but he carefully avoided meddling in politicks afterwards. He was ſummoned before the council Jan. 2, 1661, and reprimanded, becauſe he forgot to pray for the king;* and being ejected with his brethren in 1662, he retired into the country; but upon the indulgence in 1671, he had a new meeting-houſe erected for him in Jewin-ſtreet, where he preached to a crouded audience. He was one of the merchants' lecturers at Pinner's-hall. And when the indulgence was revoked, he continued preaching as he could till this year; but September 2, 1684, being at a private faſt with ſome of his brethren, the ſoldiers broke in, and carried Mr. *Jenkyn* before two aldermen, who treated him very rudely, and, upon his refuſing the Oxford oath, committed him to Newgate; while he was there, he petitioned the king for a releaſe, his phyſicians declaring, that his life was in danger from his cloſe confinement; but no ſecurity would be accepted. So that he ſoon declined in his health, and died in Newgate in the ſeventy-third year of his age, Jan. 19, 1684-5, having been a priſoner four months and one week. A little before his death he ſaid, *a man might be as effectually murdered in Newgate as at Tyburn.* He was buried by his friends in Bunhill-fields with great honour, many eminent perſons, and ſome ſcores of coaches, attending his funeral.

This was the uſage the diſſenters met with from the church of England at this time, which has hardly a parallel in the chriſtian world: remarkable are the words of the earl of *Caſtlemain*, a *roman* catholick, on this occaſion, "'Twas "never known, (ſays he) that *Rome* perſecuted, as the biſhops "do, thoſe who adhere to the ſame faith with themſelves; "and eſtabliſhed an inquiſition againſt the profeſſors of the "ſtricteſt piety among themſelves; and, however the prelates "complain of the bloody perſecution of queen *Mary*, it is "manifeſt that their perſecution exceeds it, for under her there "were not more than two or three hundred put to death, "whereas, under their perſecution, above treble that number "have been rifled, deſtroyed, and ruined in their eſtates, "lives, and liberties, being (as is moſt remarkable) men for "the moſt part of the ſame ſpirit with thoſe proteſtants who "ſuffered under the prelates in queen *Mary*'s time."†

* Kennet's Chron. p. 601. † Peirce, p. 259. This

This year died Mr. *Benjamin Woodbridge*, M. A. the ejected minister of Newbury. He was bred up in Magdalen-hall, Oxford; from thence he went to New-England, and was the first graduate of the college there. On his return to England, he succeeded Dr. *Twisse* at Newbury, where he had a mighty reputation as a scholar, a preacher, a casuist, and a christian. He was a great instrument of reducing the whole town to sobriety, and to family as well as publick religion. Upon the *restoration*, he was made one of the king's *chaplains in ordinary*, and preached once before him. He was one of the *commissioners* at the Savoy, and very desirous of an accommodation with the church party. He was offered a canonry of Windsor, but refused it, and afterwards suffered many ways for his non-conformity, though he was generally respected and beloved by all who were judges of real worth. He had a sound judgment, and was a fine preacher, having a commanding voice and aspect. His temper was chearful, and his behaviour obliging; he was exemplary for his moderation, and of considerable learning. When the five-mile act took place, he removed from Newbury to a small distance, where he preached as he had opportunity.* He was liberal to the poor, and in all respects a good and great man. He died at Inglefield, November 1, 1684, in a good old age, after he had been a minister in those parts almost forty years.

The sufferings of the presbyterians in Scotland run parallel with those of England, during the whole course of this reign, but the people were not quite so tame and submissive:† the same or greater acts of severity, than those which were made against the non-conformists in England, were enacted in Scotland. Episcopacy was restored May 8, 1662, and the *covenant* declared to be an unlawful oath. All persons in office were to sign a *declaration of the unlawfulness of taking up arms against the king, or any commissioned by him, on any pretence whatsoever.* The English act against conventicles was copied, and passed almost in the same terms in Scotland. The *bishops* were some of the worst of men, and hated by the people as they deserved, for their deportment was unbe-

* Calamy, vol. ii. p. 956. Palmer's Non. Mem. vol. i. p. 229.

† Vol. i. p. 206—211.

coming

coming their function, (ſays biſhop *Burnet*‡;) ſome did not live within their dioceſes, and thoſe who did, ſeemed to take no care of them: they ſhewed no zeal againſt vice; the moſt eminently vicious in the country were their peculiar confidents; nor had they any concern to keep their clergy to their duty, but were themſelves guilty of levity, and great ſenſuality.

The people were generally of the preſbyterian perſuaſion, and ſtood firm by each other. In many places they were fierce and untractable, and generally forſook the churches;† the whole country complained of the new epiſcopal clergy, as immoral, ſtupid, ignorant, and greedy of gain; and treated them with an averſion that ſometimes proceeded to violence. Many were brought before the council, and *eccleſiaſtical commiſſion*, for not coming to church; but the proofs were generally defective, for the people would not give evidence one againſt another. However, great numbers were caſt into priſon, and ill uſed; ſome were fined; and the younger ſort whipt publickly about the ſtreets; ſo that great numbers tranſported their families to Ulſter in Ireland, where they were well received.

The government obſerved no meaſures with this people; they exacted exorbitant fines for their not coming to church, and quartered ſoldiers upon them till they were ruined. The truth is, (ſays *Burnet*‡) the whole face of the government looked more like the proceedings of an *inquiſition*, than of legal courts. At length, in the year 1666, Sir *James Turner* being ſent into the Weſt, to levy fines at *diſcretion*, the people roſe up in arms, and publiſhed a manifeſto, that they did not take arms againſt the king, but only *that they might be delivered from the tyranny of the biſhops, and that preſbytery and the covenant might be ſet up, and their old miniſters reſtored.* *Turner* and all his ſoldiers were made priſoners, but marching out of their own country, they were diſperſed by the king's forces, about forty being killed, and one hundred and thirty taken; many of whom were hanged before their own doors, and died with great firmneſs and joy.§ Mr. *Maccail* their miniſter underwent the torture, and died with great conſtancy; his laſt words were, *Farewell ſun,*

† Page 317. ‡ P. 307. ‡ P. 309, 310. § Burnet, vol. i. p. 348.

moon

moon and ſtars; farewell kindred and friends, world and time, and this weak and frail body; and welcome eternity, welcome angels and ſaints, welcome Saviour of the world, and God the judge of all! which he ſpoke in ſuch a manner as ſtruck all who heard him. The commander of the king's forces killed ſome in cold blood, and threatened to ſpit others and roaſt them alive.

When the indulgence was publiſhed in England the Scots had the benefit of it, but when it was taken away, the perſecution revived, with inexpreſſible ſeverity, under the adminiſtration of duke *Lauderdale*. Conventicles abounded in all parts of the country; the preſbyterian miniſters preached in their own houſes, to numbers of people that ſtood without doors to hear them; and when they were diſperſed by the magiſtrates, they retreated into the fields with their miniſters to hear the word of God; and to prevent being diſturbed, carried arms ſufficient for their defence. Upon which a very ſevere act was paſſed againſt *houſe conventicles* and *field conventicles*, declaring them treaſonable; and the landlords in whoſe grounds they were held, were to be ſeverely fined, unleſs they diſcovered the perſons preſent. But ſtill this did not terrify the people, who met together in defiance of the law.* Writs were iſſued againſt many who were called *Cameronians*, who were outlawed, and therefore left their houſes, and travelled about the country, till at length they collected into a body, and declared that *the king had forfeited the crown of that kingdom by renouncing the covenant*; but the duke of *Monmouth*, being ſent to diſperſe them, routed them at Bothwell bridge, killing four hundred, and taking twelve hundred priſoners; two miniſters were hanged, and two hundred baniſhed to the plantations, who were all loſt at ſea.† *Cameron* their preacher fell in battle, but *Hackſton* and *Cargil*, the two other preachers, died with invincible courage; as did all the reſt, who were offered their lives if they would ſay, *God bleſs the king! Hackſton* had both his hands cut off, which he ſuffered with a conſtancy and rapture that was truly amazing. When both his hands were cut off, he aſked whether they would cut off his feet too? And notwithſtanding all his loſs

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 64, 155, 182, 266, 268, 269. † P. 223, 4.

of

of blood, after he was hanged, and his heart taken out of his body, it was alive upon the hangman's knife.

At length, (ſays biſhop *Burnet**) things came to that extremity, that the people ſaw they muſt come to church or be undone; but they came in ſo aukward a manner, that it was viſible they did not come to ſerve God, but to ſave their ſubſtance, for they were talking or ſleeping during the whole ſervice. This introduced a ſort of atheiſm among the younger people. But the *inquiſition* was ſo terrible, that numbers fled from their native country, and ſettled in the plantations. Theſe methods of converſion were ſubverſive of chriſtianity, and a reproach to a proteſtant church and nation; but oppreſſion and tyranny had overſpread the Engliſh dominions; the hearts of all good men failed them for fear, and for looking after thoſe things that were coming on the land; the clouds were gathering thick over their heads, and there was no other defence againſt an inundation of popery and ſlavery, but the thin ſecurity of the king's life.

To return to England: when the king had made way for a popiſh ſucceſſor, by introducing an arbitrary and tyrannical government, his majeſty began to think himſelf neglected, all the *court* being made to the riſing ſun; upon which he was heard to ſay in ſome paſſion, that *if he lived a month longer he would find a way to make himſelf eaſy for the remainder of his life.*† This was interpreted as a deſign to change hands, by ſending abroad the duke of *York*, and recalling the duke of *Monmouth*; which ſtruck terror into the popiſh party, and is thought to have haſtened his death, for he was ſeized with a kind of apoplexy Feb. 2, and died on the Friday following, Feb. 6, 1684-5, in the fifty-fourth year of his age, not without violent ſuſpicion of poiſon, either by ſnuff, or an infuſion in broth, as biſhop *Burnet* and others of undoubted credit have aſſured us, the body not being ſuffered to be thoroughly examined. ‡

King CHARLES II. was a gentleman of wit and good-nature,§ till his temper was ſoured in the latter part of his life by his popiſh counſellors. His court was a ſcene of luxury

* P. 341. † Welwood's Mem. p. 123, 6th ed. ‡ Burnet, vol. ii. p. 460.

§ *Charles* the ſecond, "as a gentleman," ſays Dr. *Warner*, "was liked "by every body, but beloved by no-body; and as a prince, though he "might be reſpected for his ſtation, yet his death could not be lamented

and all kinds of lewdneſs, and his profuſe expences upon unlawful pleaſures, reduced him to the neceſſity of becoming a *penſioner* of France. If he had any religion, it was that of a *diſguiſed papiſt*, or rather a *deiſt*; but he was ſtrangely entangled, during his whole life, with the obligations he had been brought under by the *roman catholicks*. He aimed at being an abſolute monarch, but would be at no farther trouble to accompliſh it, than to give his corrupt miniſtry liberty todo what they pleaſed. The king had a great many vices, (ſays *Burnet**) but few virtues to correct them.† Religion was with him no more than an engine of ſtate. He hated the *non-conformiſts*, becauſe they appeared againſt the prerogative, and received the fire of all the enemies of the conſtitution and of the proteſtant religion, with an unſhaken firmneſs. His majeſty's chief concern at laſt was for his *brother's ſucceſſion*; and when he came to die, he ſpoke not a word of religion, nor ſhewed any remorſe for his ill-ſpent life: he expreſſed no tenderneſs for his ſubjects, nor any concern for his queen, but only recommended his miſtreſſes and their children to his brother's regard. So that no Engliſhman, or friend of his country, could weep at his death, from any other motive, than his keeping out a ſucceſſor who was worſe than himſelf.

" by a lover of his country, upon any other motive, but that it introduced " a much worſe monarch on the throne than he was himſelf." There was ground, in this view, for the remark of Dr. *Gregory Sharpe*; " that if the " Engliſh were in tears, when the king died in 1685, it was more to lament " the ſucceſſion, than the funeral." Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, vol. ii. p. 929 Sharpe's Introduction to Univerſal Hiſtory, p. 256. 2d ed.

† Burnet, vol. ii. p. 165.

* To this it may be added, that *Charles* II. was characteriſed, as *having never ſaid a fooliſh thing, nor done a wiſe one*. A late writer of dramatical hiſtory, Mr. *Thomas Davis*, is ſuppoſed to have contradicted this by an anecdote he has given. Mrs. *Marſhall*, the firſt actreſs on the king's theatre, and a woman of virtue, having been tricked into a ſham marriage by a nobleman, king *Charles* II. obliged him to ſettle an annual income on her. This indicated equity of mind as well as wiſdom. Roſcius Anglicanus, p. 19, 24, in the Literary Muſeum, 8vo. printed 1792. Ed.

† Long ſince Mr. *Neal*'s hiſtory was publiſhed, it has appeared that there was a deſign in the reign of *Charles* II. to place a biſhop in Virginia; and that the letters patent for that purpoſe were actually made out, and are extant. The deſign failed, becauſe the whole endowment was fixed on the cuſtoms. Secker's letter to Mr. Horatio Walpole, p. 17. Ed.

SUP-

SUPPLEMENT

TO

CHAPTERS IX. *and* X.

SECT. I.

The Hiſtory *of the* Baptiſts.

THE period through which the two preceding chapters lead the reader, comprehends ſome new circumſtances in the hiſtory of the *Quakers* and the *Baptiſts*.

At the beginning of it a controverſy aroſe among the latter denomination about *laying on of hands*, called by the clergy *confirmation*. It created not a little trouble. Till then, it appears that this rite was practiſed by them as an apoſtolical ordinance, and was accompanied with prayer over the newly baptized. A treatiſe, entitled "A Search after Schiſm," was publiſhed in oppoſition to it. This was anſwered by Dr. *John Griffith*, in a piece called "The "Searchers after Schiſm ſearched," and it drew from Mr. *Grantham* his "Sigh for Peace; or, the Cauſe of Diviſion "diſcovered." The appearance of this piece occaſioned a meeting between Mr. *Grantham* and Mr. *Ives*, when the ſubject was debated with temper and good-humour; and Mr. *Ives* is reported, on finding himſelf gravelled, to have broken up the meeting in a friendly and peaceable manner. About three years after, Mr. *Danvers* publiſhed a treatiſe againſt *laying on of hands*, which was anſwered by Mr. *Benjamin Keach*, and alſo by Mr. *Grantham*, who annexed to his anſwer, "A "Treatiſe of the Succeſſors of the Apoſtles."

In 1674, the *Baptiſts* were engaged in a controverſy with the *Quakers*, which created a noiſe, and was conducted, as is uſual, by mutual criminations. Mr. *Thomas Hicks*, a miniſter of the former, publiſhed ſeveral pamphlets in ſucceſſion,

ceſſion, under the title of "A Dialogue between a Chriſtian "and a Quaker." The title theſe pieces bore was certainly invidious, and held up the *quakers* as not deſerving to be ranked among chriſtians. It was alſo complained of, that the deſign of them was not ſo much to inveſtigate truth as to repreſent the *quaker* a deformed, ridiculous, and erroneous being. The great *Penn*, on this occaſion, became the advocate of the people to whom he had joined himſelf, in two books; the firſt entitled "Reaſon againſt Railing;" and the other "The counterfeit Chriſtian detected." But as Mr. *Hicks* had reflected upon ſome particular members by name, an appeal was made to the *baptiſts*, in and about London, for juſtice againſt him. A meeting was accordingly appointed to hear the charges againſt him; but they are cenſured for fixing the time when the complainants, *Penn* and *Whitehead*, were abſent from the city at a diſtance too remote to be apprized of the intended meeting. It was urged in defence of the *baptiſts*, that they were informed that *Penn* was not far from London ſeveral days after the notice of the meeting was ſent, and even at his own houſe at no great diſtance from the town the very day preceding: and that they had invited others of the ſociety, particularly *John Oſgoods*, to be preſent, who declined it. The meeting took place, and Mr. *Hicks* was examined by his own friends only on the charges brought againſt him by the *quakers:* and he endeavoured to eſtabliſh the repreſentations he had made of their principles and doctrines, by quotations from their own writers. Theſe were pronounced by nineteen of his own denomination to be truly recited, and the church, to which he belonged, in publick print, cleared him from the charge which the *quakers* alledged againſt him. This deciſion was deemed partial. On the face of it, though the buſineſs was ſaid to be conducted with great fairneſs, it was open to objection. The baptiſts refuſed to defer the meeting, though ſolicited. No *quaker* was preſent to be heard on the grounds of the charges. And though the paſſages might be quoted with verbal exactneſs, which Mr. *Hicks* brought as his authorities, yet they were detached from their connection, and a meaning affixed to them which probably the writers, if they had been there to explain themſelves, would not have admitted as their ſenſe.

ſenſe. New complaints were brought forward againſt the *baptiſts*; and juſtice again demanded. A meeting for a *rehearing* was obtained; but Mr. *Hicks* would not attend it, but ſent ſome others with Mr. *Ives*; "who" (ſays *Croſby*) "ſo managed the *quakers*, that they were obliged to break "up without any further proceedings in the matter." "By "clamours and rudeneſs," ſays *Gough*, "they diverted the "complainants from proſecuting the charge againſt *Hicks*, "and carried their point ſo far as to prevent its being heard, "though frequent attempts were made to read it."

The *baptiſts* publiſhed an account of theſe meetings, under the title of "A Conteſt for Chriſtianity." Mr. *Tho. Welwood*, in behalf of his friends, appealed to the publick, firſt in a ſingle ſheet, entitled "A freſh Purſuit;" and then, in reply to the "Conteſt," which was written by Mr. *Thomas Plant*, in a piece entitled "Forgery no Chriſtianity." The iſſue of this controverſy is repreſented, on the one hand, to be, that the *quakers* were ſo chafed in theſe diſputes, that they did not only brand the *baptiſts* with infamy, but denounced curſes and judgments upon them. On the other ſide, it is is ſaid, "that the aim of this unprovoked aſſault upon the "principles and reputation of this ſociety was remarkably "fruſtrated; and theſe dialogues, with their ungenerous and "unequitable method of defending them and their author, "promoted what they were deſigned to prevent; for not a "few of their members, offended at their proceedings, de-"ſerted their meetings and ſociety, went over to the injured "party, and joined them in religious fellowſhip."*

In the year 1677, the *baptiſts* publiſhed "a Confeſſion of "their Faith, ſet forth by the elders and brethren of many "congregations of chriſtians, baptized upon profeſſion of "their faith, in London and the country." Their avowed deſign in this publication was not only to give an account of themſelves on the points wherein they differed from other chriſtians, but alſo to inſtruct and eſtabliſh others in the great principles in which there was a mutual agreement between them. They aimed to expreſs themſelves, on the former heads, with a modeſty and humility that would

* Croſby's Hiſtory of the Engliſh Baptiſts, vol. ii. p. 294—310. Gough's Hiſtory of the Quakers, vol. ii. p. 368—371.

render

render the freedom with which they declared themſelves inoffenſive to thoſe whoſe ſentiments were different from their own. The general plan of their confeſſion was after the order and method obſerved in that of the aſſembly of Weſtminſter, and afterwards adopted by the congregational churches; and in the margin they affixed ſuch texts as, in their opinion, confirmed each article. Two things they earneſtly deſired: that full credit might be given to their declaration of contention being moſt remote from their deſign in all that they did in this matter; and that all into whoſe hands this piece might come "would follow that never-"enough commended example of the noble *Bereans*, who "ſearched the ſcriptures daily, that they might find out "whether the things preached to them, were ſo or not." This Confeſſion of Faith was reprinted in the year 1689; and was approved and recommended by the miniſters and meſſengers of above an hundred congregations, met in London from the third to the eleventh day of the ſeventh month. It was ſigned by thirty-ſeven perſons, in the name and behalf of the *whole aſſembly*. It has continued to be generally received by thoſe congregations that hold the doctrine of perſonal election, and the certainty of the ſaints' final perſeverance.* In 1790 it was reprinted, by Dr. *John Rippon*, with a liſt of the thirty-ſeven miniſters who recommended it; and to this edition were added the places where they all laboured. In 1791, there appeared a new edition of the tranſlation of it in Welſh, reviſed by the reverend *Joſhua Thomas*, of Leominſter.† The firſt edition, beſides an introductory advertiſement to the judicious "and impartial "reader," was accompanied by an Appendix; a judicious, candid, and conciliating piece; in which they diſcuſs the arguments alledged againſt their diſtinguiſhing ſentiment and practice, and give the reaſons, with brevity and plainneſs, why they could not acquieſce in them.‡

This denomination greatly increaſed. Their arguments weighed with many; their exemplary lives ſpoke in their

* Croſby, vol. ii. p. 317; vol. iii. p. 258; and Appendix, No. ii.

† Rippon's Baptiſt Annual Regiſter, p. 124, 191.

‡ See it at length in Croſby, vol. ii. p. 317—344.

favour:

favour: but the number of their converts excited againſt them a ſpirit of jealouſy and reſentment, and they were the objects of clamour and defamation. Many books were publiſhed, miſrepreſenting them, and their chiefs were reproached, as jeſuits and hereticks. This induced them to publiſh many confeſſions of faith; ſome in vindication of particular churches, others of particular perſons. In 1678 one was agreed to, and ſigned by fifty miniſters and meſſengers in the ſeveral counties of Bucks, Hertford, Bedford and Oxford, in behalf of themſelves and many others, containing fifty articles. It was ſoon publiſhed under the title of "An Orthodox Creed; or, a Proteſtant Confeſſion of "Faith; being an eſſay to unite and confirm all true pro-"teſtants in the fundamental articles of the chriſtian religion, "againſt the errors and hereſies of the church of Rome."* As the *baptiſts* conſiſted of two parties, diſtinguiſhed by the names *general* and *particular*, when one publiſhed a declaration of their principles, the other ſoon after did the ſame.†

In this period may be placed ſeveral who made a diſtinguiſhed figure as miniſters among the baptiſts, the time of whoſe deaths is not aſcertained.

The firſt was Mr. *William Dell*, A. M. famous in the time of the civil wars; he received his education at the univerſity of Cambridge, and held the living of Yeldon in the county of Bedford, worth about 200l. a year. About the year 1645 he became chaplain to the *army*, conſtantly attending Sir *Thomas Fairfax*, and preaching at the head-quarters. In 1649, when ſeveral were turned out of the univerſities for refuſing to take the oaths to the government, he was made maſter of Caius college at Cambridge, which preferment he held with his living at Yeldon, till he was ejected by the act of uniformity. Party prejudice fixed on his memory the charge of glaring contradictions and inconſiſtencies of conduct, from which more candid poſterity has vindicated him. The fact was, that he was at firſt ſatisfied with epiſcopacy and the ceremonies; but when the change in the ſtate brought on a reformation in religion, he was one of the firſt and moſt zealous to promote it, and would have carried it

* Croſby, vol. iii. Appendix, No. i. † Ibid. vol. ii. p. 344, 5.

farther

farther than was agreeable to the principles and views of many others. He was obnoxious to the rigid *preſbyterians*, whoſe attempts to monopolize all power, in civil and eccleſiaſtical affairs, he oppoſed. A ſermon at Marſton occaſioned him much trouble, and another on a faſt-day, before the houſe of commons, led him into a controverſy with Mr. *C. Love*, and who oppoſed him in the afternoon of the ſame day; they thus were made the heads and champions of the two contending parties of the nation. Mr. *Love* juſtified the puniſhing of hereticks and ſchiſmaticks, and vindicated the authority of the civil magiſtrate, in impoſing articles of faith and a form of worſhip; in a word, pleaded for *perſecution*. Mr. *Dell* was the advocate of *liberty:* he preached againſt making a whole kingdom a church; he thought that no power belonged to the clergy but what is ſpiritual; he proteſted againſt blending the civil and the eccleſiaſtical power together, as the conſtant method of ſetting up a ſpiritual tyranny; he pleaded that all perſons ought to have liberty to worſhip God in the manner they think moſt agreeable to his word; and argued, that the impoſition of uniformity and all compulſion in matters of religion were antichriſtian. Theſe principles created him enemies, who blackened his character by odious names. But, though he was tinctured with the enthuſiaſm of the times, he was a man of ſubſtantial learning, of real piety, and a noble defender of the rights of conſcience. Beſides ſeveral ſermons and a tract written in this cauſe, he was the author of a tract in quarto, 1648, entitled "the Doctrine of Baptiſm reduced from its antient and "modern corruptions."*

Another perſon of note was Mr. *Francis Cornwell*, M. A. who was ſometime ſtudent of Emanuel college, Cambridge, and commenced maſter of arts in that univerſity. When he left it, he was preferred to a living in the eſtabliſhed church; and, at the beginning of the civil wars, was miniſter at Orpington in Kent. In the reign of *Charles* I. he was impriſoned for non-conformity, refuſing to wear the ſurplice, to kneel at the ſacrament, and to uſe the ſign of the croſs in baptiſm. His companion in Maidſtone gaol was Mr.

* Croſby, vol. i. p. 323—333. Palmer's Non-conformiſt's Memorial, vol. i. p. 201, and p. 225, note.

Wilſon,

Wilſon, of Otham near that town. Among the viſitors who came to ſee them was a woman, who had ſome doubts in her mind whether the baptiſm of infants could be proved from ſcripture. Mr. *Cornwell* endeavoured, by the beſt ſcriptural arguments he could produce, to reſolve her doubts, but found he could not do it ſo well to her or his own ſatisfaction as he could wiſh. When his viſitant had left him, he converſed on the ſubject with his fellow-priſoner Mr. *Wilſon*, who aſſured him he never thought that infant-baptiſm could be proved from ſcripture, but had its authority from human tradition, being handed down from primitive times as a practice generally received from the church. Mr. *Cornwell*, taking the ſcriptures to be the only rule of faith, and conſidering that on this principle only all the proteſtant churches vindicated their ſeparation from the church of Rome againſt all her impoſitions, founded on pretended primitive antiquity, was induced to make a more diligent ſearch. The reſult was, that infant-baptiſm did not appear to him to derive its authority from the ſcriptures, but to have had its dependence, in all ages, on the decrees, canons, and councils of the church. Entering into theſe views of the ſubject, he relinquiſhed the doctrine of infants' baptiſm, and adopted the opinion of thoſe who think that believers only, making profeſſion of their faith and repentance, are the proper ſubjects of this inſtitution.* In 1643, he publickly avowed this principle, and wrote in defence of it a tract, entitled "The Vindication of the royal Commiſſion of "Jeſus." After the publication of this book, he went on to preach and propagate his opinion. In 1644, in a viſitation ſermon preached at Cranbrook in Kent, from Mark vii. 7, before the miniſters of thoſe parts, he took the liberty of freely declaring his ſentiments, and aſſerted, that *pædobaptiſm* was an antichriſtian innovation, a human tradition, and a practice for which there was neither *precept*, or *example*, or *true deduction* from the word of God. This, as might be expected, much ſtartled the clergy who were preſent, but greatly offended ſeveral of them. The matter was debated between them, and the argument in ſupport of

* Mr. Thompſon's Collections, MSS. under the words STAPLEHURST and SMARDEN.

antipæ-

antipædobaptiſm was ſtrongly puſhed by Mr. *William Jeffery*, of Sevenoaks, who had baptized Mr. *Cornwell*, and to whom he had referred them, till Mr. *Chriſtopher Blackwood*, one of the miniſters, deſired them to deſiſt at that time, for he had taken down the ſermon in ſhort hand, and would return an anſwer in print, which he hoped might be to the ſatisfaction of them all.* His advice was adopted; it was agreed to poſtpone, for the preſent, the diſcuſſion of the queſtion, to re-examine the point, and to bring their collections together at the next meeting, which was to be within a fortnight. In the mean time Mr. *Blackwood* ſtudied the queſtion with great diligence and cloſe attention. The impreſſion made on his mind was very different from what was anticipated. He began to ſuſpect that infant-baptiſm was no more than an human tradition, and was attended with evil conſequences; and, when they met, he brought in his arguments againſt it. As no one produced any defence, one properly obſerving, that they ſought for truth and not victory, propoſed, that Mr. *Blackwood*'s papers ſhould be left with them for examination; to this motion he acceded: but when, after waiting a long time, no anſwer was given to his arguments, he ſent for his papers, and publiſhed them with corrections and enlargements. Thus the controverſy was revived in the county of Kent, and the ſentiments of the *baptiſts* gained ground. Mr. *Cornwell* ſoon after this withdrew from the *national* church, for he diſapproved both of *national* and *parochial* churches; and taught that a church was to conſiſt of ſuch only as profeſſed repentance from dead works, and faith in the Lord *Jeſus Chriſt*, and were baptized according to his commands after the pattern of the firſt churches in Judea. He quickly gathered a church in Kent, formed on this plan, of which he was paſtor to the day of his death, and was ſucceeded in that place and office by his ſon. It reflects honour on Mr. *Cornwell*'s name and memory, that he was a zealous oppoſer of perſecution and an impoſed uniformity. He wrote againſt the ordinance of parliament made to ſilence all *lay-preachers*, that is, ſuch as had not received *epiſcopal* or *preſbyterian* ordination, or who ſhould preach any thing contrary to the articles of faith and direc-

* Mr. Thompſon's Collections, MSS.

tory

tory for publick worſhip, ſet forth by the aſſembly. The piece which he publiſhed on this occaſion was intitled, "Two Queries worthy of conſideration."

Q. 1. Whether that miniſtry that preacheth freely the goſpel-faith, that the Lord *Jeſus* is the *Chriſt*, as the apoſtle *Peter* did, be not truly *orthodox?*

Q. 2. Whether it be agreeable to the word of God, contained in the ſacred ſcriptures, to ſilence or inhibit any miniſters of *Jeſus Chriſt* for preaching this goſpel freely?

He affirmed the *former*, and maintained it by ſeveral arguments; the *latter* he denied; and intimated, that they who were guilty of ſuch practices acted like the Jews of old, who caſt the blind man out of the temple, for confeſſing that *Jeſus* was the *Chriſt*.*

In cloſe connection with Mr. *Cornwell*'s hiſtory ſtands, as we have ſeen, that of Mr. *Blackwood*, who, in conſequence of his viſitation ſermon, became a proſelyte to believer's baptiſm, and with Mr. *Richard Kingsnorth*, who likewiſe was convinced by it, gathered a church at Staplehurſt in Kent; but his ſentiments being *calviniſtic*, and contrary to thoſe of the ſociety, he afterwards left it under the paſtoral care of Mr. *Kingsnorth*, who held univerſal redemption and final perſeverance.† Mr. *Blackwood* was poſſeſſed, at the beginning of the civil wars, of a parochial church in the county of Kent; from whence, it is probable that he was educated at one of the univerſities. After he changed his ſentiments on the queſtions concerning baptiſm, he did not continue long in the eſtabliſhed church; for he was as zealous againſt *national* churches as againſt *infant-baptiſm*. He was an advocate for liberty of conſcience, and oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of *preſbyterianiſm*. In the firſt piece he publiſhed, he joined together infant-baptiſm and compulſion of conſcience, and called them "the two laſt and ſtrongeſt "garriſons of antichriſt." He was reckoned among "thoſe "worthy guides, well qualified in all reſpects for the "miniſtry," who voluntarily left their benefices in the eſtabliſhment, by one who lived in thoſe times. He appears, in 1653, to have gone into Ireland with the army under the

* Croſby, vol. i. p. 334—349, and vol. iii. p. 6—9.

† Thompſon's Collections, MSS.

command

command of general *Fleetwood* and lieutenant *Ludlow*. He lived till after the Reſtoration, and ſigned the apology of the *baptiſts* in 1660, declaring againſt *Venner*'s inſurrection.

Another, who was reckoned among the worthies of this denomination at this period was Mr. *Benjamin Cox*, who made no mean figure in his time. He was the ſon of a biſhop,* was a man of great learning, and a graduate in one of the univerſities. He was, for ſome time, a miniſter in the eſtabliſhed church, had a parochial charge in the county of Devon, and was very zealous for the ſuperſtitious ceremonies that prevailed in biſhop *Laud*'s time. But when the affairs of ſtate led men to think more freely in matters of religion, Mr. *Cox* was among the firſt in promoting a reformation, and had before him flattering proſpects of eminence and preferment in this kingdom, when he rejected the *baptiſm* of *infants*, as it appeared to him not founded in the ſcriptures; but this obſtructed his advancement in the eſtabliſhed church, and prejudiced againſt him the divines who were at the head of eccleſiaſtical affairs. He preſerved, however, the character of a man of abilities and great learning. After *epiſcopacy* and the common-prayer were laid aſide, he was, for ſome time, miniſter at Bedford. In 1645 he came to London, and was one of the principal managers on the part of the *baptiſts* in a publick diſpute concerning *infant-baptiſm*, at Aldermanbury church, to which a ſtop was afterwards put by the government. In the year 1646, when ſeven churches in London, called *Anabaptiſts*, publiſhed a confeſſion of their faith, and preſented it to parliament, his name, in behalf of one of thoſe congregations, was ſubſcribed to it. Though, when the act of *uniformity*, in 1662, took place, he at firſt conformed; yet his conſcience ſoon after upbraiding him for that ſtep, he obeyed its dictates by throwing up his living, and died a *non-conformiſt* and a *baptiſt*, in a very advanced age; for Mr. *Baxter*, with whom he had a diſpute by word of mouth and by writing, called him at the beginning of the civil wars, *an antient miniſter*.

* It ſeems more probable that he was the grandſon of one, as Dr. *Richard Cox*, biſhop of Ely, who filled that ſee twenty years, died in 1580. Richardſon de Præſulibus.

He

He ſuffered impriſonment for his opinions concerning baptiſm, in the city of Coventry.*

Here is a proper place for obſerving, that at the Reſtoration ſeveral pariſhes were found to have *baptiſt* miniſters fixed in them. The cauſe of this was, that in the year 1653, when a certain number of men called *tryers* were authoriſed to examine and approve candidates for the miniſtry, Mr. *Tombes*, notwithſtanding his difference in opinion from the reſt, ſuch was the eſtimation in which his character was held, was appointed to be one of them. Among other good effects that followed upon this, one was, that the commiſſioners agreed to own the *baptiſts* as their brethren; and that if any ſuch applied to them for probation, and appeared in other reſpects duly qualified, they ſhould not be rejected for holding their ſentiments.†

* Croſby, vol. i. p. 353, 54. See alſo our Third Volume, p. 523, in the Supplement.

† Croſby, vol. i. p. 289.

SECT.

SECT. II.

The Hiſtory *of the* Quakers.

WHEN the king publiſhed his declaration of indulgence, the *Quakers*, who did not rank with any political party, merely to enjoy the eaſe and liberty to which peaceable and virtuous ſubjects have a right, accepted the protection it afforded. But thoſe who were at liberty, from that ſpirit of ſympathy and brotherly concern which pervades the ſociety, could not enjoy their own exemption from penal ſtatutes without exerting themſelves for the relief of their brethren who had been, for ſeveral years, kept immured in uncomfortable priſons. *George Whitehead*, *Thomas Moor*, and *Thomas Green*, invited by the preſent diſpoſition of government, waited on the king and council to ſolicit the diſcharge of their friends, who, convicted on tranſportation, or on præmunire, or for fines, confiſcations or fees, were ſtill in priſon: and they were ſo ſucceſsful as to obtain the king's letters patent, under the great ſeal, for their pardon and diſcharge. In the accompliſhing of this buſineſs, a difficulty aroſe from the amount of the fees to be paid in the ſundry offices through which the letters patent would paſs, as upwards of four hundred perſons would be included in them.* But when the lord keeper, Sir *Orlando Bridgeman*, generouſly and voluntarily remitted his fees, they applied to the king to moderate the reſt, who accordingly iſſued his order, "that the pardon, though comprehending "a great number of perſons, do yet paſs as one pardon, "and pay but as one."

Their ſucceſs gave them an opportunity to ſhew the univerſality of their charity to other diſſenters, many of

* The patent, when made out, contained eleven ſkins of vellum.

whom

whom were confined in priſon, and whoſe ſolicitors, obſerving the happy iſſue of the *quakers'* ſuit, applied to *Whitehead*, for his advice and aſſiſtance, to have the names of their own friends inſerted in the ſame inſtrument. In conſequence of his advice they petitioned the king, and obtained his warrant for that purpoſe. "This I was glad of," ſays *Whitehead*, "that they partook of the benefit through our induſtry. "And indeed I was never backward to give any of them "my advice for their help, when any of them in ſtraits have "applied for it; our being of different judgments and ſocieties "did not abate my ſympathy or charity, even towards them "who, in ſome caſes, had been our oppoſers." The *quakers* were thus freed, for a time, from the ſeverities of perſecution. The publick teſtimony which they continued, in the ſevereſt times, to bear to the principles they received as truth, and the firmneſs with which they held their meetings at the appointed times and places, or, when kept out of their places of worſhip by force, aſſembled in the ſtreets, baffled the ſcheme of eſtabliſhing uniformity, countenanced and aſſiſted by the temporiſing conduct of other diſſenters, and abated the heat of perſecution, and blunted the edge of the ſword before it reached the other ſects; the more ingenuous of whom, therefore, eſteemed their intrepidity, regarded them with gratitude as the bulwark that kept off the force of the ſtroke from themſelves, and prayed that they might be preſerved ſtedfaſt, and enabled to break the ſtrength of the enemy. Some of the *baptiſts*, eſpecially, expreſſed an high opinion both of the people and their principles, which ſuſtained them in undergoing ſufferings that others thought of with terror.*

When the revocation of the indulgence, and the diſpleaſure of the court againſt the diſſenters, let looſe the whole tribe of informers, and gave freſh ſpirit to perſecuting magiſtrates; proſecutions, in every mode of diſtreſs, were renewed againſt this people, at the capricious will of every juſtice. Severe proceedings againſt them were grounded on the ſtatute of præmunire of *James* I. for refuſing to ſwear; on the obſolete ſtatute of twenty pounds per month, for abſence from the pariſh church, which penalty, or two-thirds of a perſon's eſtate, were ſeized by exchequer proceſs; and for tithes, to

* Gough's Hiſtory of the Quakers, vol. ii. p. 364—368.

excom-

excommunication and procuring writs *de excommunicato capiendo* to be iſſued, to throw them into priſon. They became a prey to idle and profligate informers, encouraged and inſtigated by their ſuperiors. And, inſtead of obtaining durable and effectual relief, their ſufferings became heavier and more aggravated during the remainder of this reign to the end of it.*

In 1675, *William Hall* of Congleton, being fined 20l. for a meeting at his houſe, had his houſe broken open, and two cart-loads of goods to the worth of 40l. beſides a mare, were carried away. About the ſame time cattle and goods to the value of 100l. were taken from ſundry perſons in and about Nantwich; and from one perſon the bed on which he lay, and even the dunghill in his yard.†

In the next year, proſecutions on the conventicle act ſubſided in London, but the rigorous enforcing of the eccleſiaſtical laws was rarely or never ſuſpended. The number plundered, excommunicated, impriſoned, and of thoſe who died in priſon, was too large to be recited.‡ But while the penal laws were ſuffered to lie dormant in London, they were enforced with rigorous ſeverity in other parts of the nation. In one inſtance a poor man, with a wife and five children, had little to pay the fine for being at a meeting, but his bed, which the compaſſion of the officers would not permit them to ſeize: but the obdurate magiſtrate commanded them to take it. The wife, endeavouring afterwards to maintain her children by baking a little bread, and ſelling it in the market, it was ſeized at one time to the value of nineteen-pence, and at another to the value of fourteen-pence. From another perſon for a fine of 7l. goods to the worth of near 18l. were taken.§ The diſtreſſes made this year in Nottinghamſhire, upon the members of this ſociety, for their religious aſſembles only, amounted to 712l. and upwards. In the city of Hereford, as proſecutions on the law were ineffectual to ſuppreſs their meetings, lawleſs violence and groſs abuſe were offered by the populace; the windows of their meeting-houſes were broken by ſtones, and ſometimes the roof was untiled, their aſſemblies were interrupted by the ſound of the horn,

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 392—97. † Ibid. p. 406. ‡ P. 414.
§ Vol. ii. p. 416, 17.

ſhouting

ſhouting and caſting ſtones and filth, and their perſons aſſaulted. The mob, inſtead of being reſtrained and puniſhed for theſe outrages, were, if not ſtimulated to them, abetted and encouraged in them by the magiſtrates and clergy. Appeals to the quarter-ſeſſions for redreſs againſt exorbitant exactions were unſucceſsful; as the juries were overawed, or their verdicts for the appellants rejected.*

In the year 1677, the officers, encouraged by the magiſtrate, who acted the part of an informer, took away from ſix friends in Cheſhire, for one meeting, 200l. In Glouceſterſhire a juſtice of the peace, beſides indicting at the ſeſſions twenty-ſeven for abſence from the national worſhip, who had ſuffered deeply before on the conventicle act, and levying heavy fines, unmercifully beat ſome with his own hands, plucked two out of the meeting by the hair of their heads, and drew his knife, if he had not been prevented by his ſervants, to wound others. At Plymouth, their meetings were forcibly interrupted and diſperſed: their property ſuffered by fines and diſtreſſes, and their perſons were abuſed by the rabble, and by the officers and ſoldiers of the garriſon, who, among other inſults, threw ſquibs of fire and hot burning coals upon them. In many other parts they were treated with no leſs ſeverity. The pariſh officers were ſometimes inſtigated by menacing letters, or impelled to act againſt their inclinations by the clergy exciting the juſtices to puniſh by fines and impriſonment, for neglect of duty, ſuch, whoſe moderation and humanity rendered them reluctant to proſecute or plunder their conſcientious neighbours.*

Through the ſucceeding years they continued to be harraſſed with proſecutions on all the variety of penal laws; which were rigorouſly enforced on great numbers of this ſociety; who ſuffered all the hardſhips impoſed on them by unreaſonable men, with pious fortitude and reſignation. In 1682, the perſecution of this people broke out and was carried on with uncommon outrage and cruelty at Briſtol. The damage done to their meeting-houſes was computed at 150l. A rabble of rude boys was encouraged to inſult and abuſe the female part of the aſſembly, even women of repute and conſideration, and to tear their dreſs. The ſignal for this attack

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 420—424. § Id. p. 426—29, 438.

was, "Have a care of your hoods and ſcarfs." Many of them were thrown into priſon, where their health was endangered for want of room; many beds being crouded into one ſmall apartment, and ſome were obliged to lie on the ground, in a filthy place which had been a dog-kennel. The remonſtrances of the priſoners to the magiſtrates on the ſtraitneſs and noiſomeneſs of their priſon, and the certificates of phyſicians on the ſubject, were treated with equal diſregard. "As their conſtancy in the great duty of aſſembling to wor-"ſhip God, while at liberty, was invincible; ſo a priſon "could not confine the freedom of their ſpirits, or the im-"pulſe of their conſciences: they continued the practice of "this duty in their impriſonment." This drew on them groſs abuſe, even from the ſheriff, who fell furiouſly on ſeveral, threw one headlong down to the great hazard of his life, and commanded another to be ironed and put down into the condemned felon's place. Many ſuffered, as in former years, and other places, by heavy fines and grievous diſtraints: goods to the value of 155l. being ſeized to diſcharge a fine of 79l. When moſt or all of the men were impriſoned, the women kept up the religious meeting, till they alſo were caſt into gaol. When their parents were in confinement, the children, after their example, regularly held their meetings, behaving on thoſe occaſions with much gravity and compoſure, and undergoing many abuſes with patience. Their age exempted them from the laſh of the law, but their minority could not ſcreen them from furious aſſaults; ſome were put in the ſtocks, others were unmercifully beaten with twiſted whalebone-ſticks. Perſecution was not at this period peculiar to Briſtol; but carried on, in moſt parts, with great animoſity: and many families were ruined in their circumſtances. In 1683, about eighty perſons were, at one time, committed to Cheſter caſtle; where they could find neither rooms nor lodgings for ſuch a number, ſo that they were obliged for two nights, ſome of them to walk about, others to lie on tables and benches, and ſome on flags ſpread on the floor. At length thirty of them were put into a filthy dungeon, out of which the felons were then removed. In Somerſetſhire, informers were encouraged againſt them, and protected in perjury; their meeting-houſes were defaced, and

they

they were, in great numbers, impriſoned, fined, diſtrained, and excommunicated. When ſhut out of their meeting-houſes for divers years, in and about the city of London, they aſſembled in the ſtreets in all weather; this they did in the year 1683, for three months together, when the river Thames was ſo frozen that horſes, coaches, and carts, could paſs to and fro upon it, and a ſtreet be erected and ſtand over it.* There was computed to be upwards of ſeven hundred members of this ſociety in the different priſons of England, this year. Sir *Chriſtopher Muſgrave*, though a zealous churchman, expreſſed his utter diſlike of the ſevere uſage of this people, ſaying, "the priſons were filled with "them, that many of them had been excommunicated and "impriſoned for ſmall matters, and that it was a ſhame and "ſcandal for their church to uſe the quakers ſo hardly on "very trivial occaſions."† Severe proſecutions, ſimilar acts of injuſtice, oppreſſion, violence and cruelty, againſt this ſociety, marked the year 1684, which were the diſgrace of the preceding years.‡

Among thoſe who ſuffered from bigotry armed with power, the name of *George Fox* takes the lead. After his return from America, in 1673, as he was on the road to viſit his mother on her death-bed, *Fox* and *Thomas Lower* who was his wife's ſon-in-law, were ſeized, as they were in converſation in a friend's parlour at Tredington in Worceſterſhire, and ſent to the county goal. They applied, by letter, to the lord lieutenant and deputy lieutenants of the county, for the interpoſition of their authority for their releaſe; ſtating their caſe, the illegality of their commitment, and *Fox*'s ſolicitude for liberty to pay the laſt debt of affection and duty to his dying parent. But the application was ineffectual. *Lower*, by the interpoſition of his brother, who was the king's phyſician, might have obtained his liberty; as a letter to lord *Windſor* for his releaſe was procured: but, bearing too great a reſpect to his father-in-law, to leave him in priſon alone, he ſuppreſſed the letter, and voluntarily continued his companion there. At the quarter-ſeſſions they were produced in court, when, on the examination, it ap-

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 522—25. 528—532, 547, 8. † Id. p. 536, 508.

‡ Gough, vol. iii. p. 24—30.

pearing that they had been cauſeleſsly impriſoned, and had a right to an immediate releaſe, the oaths of allegiance and ſupremacy were tendered to *Fox*, and on his refuſing to take them, he was remanded. But *Lower*, on account of his powerful connections, was diſcharged. Soon after *Fox* was removed by an *habeas corpus* to the King's-bench bar at Weſtminſter. The judges, influenced by the reports and repreſentation which *Parker*, the juſtice who firſt apprehended him, had diſperſed, remanded him to Worceſter goal; only indulging him with liberty to go down his own way, and at his leiſure, provided he would not fail to be there by the following aſſizes, in April 1674. He accordingly appeared, when the judge *Turner*, who had before paſſed ſentence of præmunire againſt him at Lancaſter, referred the matter back again to the ſeſſions. He was then charged with holding a meeting at Tredington from *all parts of the nation, to the terrifying of the king's ſubjects*. Though *Fox* vindicated himſelf from this miſrepreſentation, yet, as he again refuſed the oaths, an indictment was drawn up and delivered to the jury; who, under the inſtruction of the chairman, found the bill againſt him. This he determined to traverſe: and on refuſing to give bail, or any other ſecurity for his appearance but his promiſe, he was ſent back to priſon. By the interpoſition of ſome moderate juſtices, however, in about two hours after he had liberty given him to go at large till the next quarter-ſeſſions. In the mean time he attended the yearly meeting in London, and delivered before ſome of the juſtices of the King's-Bench a declaration of his fidelity to the king, and denial of the pope's ſupremacy and power: but as his caſe was under cognizance of the quarter- ſeſſions at Worceſter, the judges were unwilling to meddle with it, not being regularly before them. At the next ſeſſions he appeared to traverſe the indictment: but when he proceeded to ſhew the errors which were ſufficient to quaſh it, the oath was again required of him, and upon his refuſal to take it, the jury found him guilty. An admonition of the conſequence of a præmunire being given him in court, this was, after he was ſent out of court, clandeſtinely recorded in his abſence, for the ſentence thereof; and under it he was remanded to priſon. Here he was

ſeized

ſeized with a great ſickneſs, which reduced him to great weakneſs, and made his recovery doubtful. His wife came from the North to attend him, and ſolicit his diſcharge: after continuing with him three or four months, and her endeavours to procure his releaſe proving unſucceſsful, ſhe went to London, and ſolicited the king in perſon, who would have releaſed him by a pardon; but *Fox* declined obtaining his liberty in this mode, as he conceived that it would be a tacit acknowledgment of guilt; and he declared, "he had rather "lie in priſon all his days, than come out in any way diſ- "honourable to the truth he made profeſſion of." He preferred having the validity of his indictment tried before the judges, and with this view procured an *habeas corpus* to remove him to the king's-bench bar. On his appearing before four judges, his counſellor, Mr. *Thomas Corbet*, advanced a new plea in his favour, and gained himſelf great credit, by ably urging, "that by law they could not impriſon a man "upon præmunire." The judges required time to conſult their books and ſtatutes on this plea; and poſtponed the hearing until next day. They then proceeded, though they found the advocate's opinion well-founded, to examine the indictment, in which the errors were ſo many and ſo groſs, that they were unanimous in judgment, "that the indict- "ment was quaſhed and void, and that *George Fox* ought to "be ſet at liberty." Thus he honourably obtained his diſcharge, after an unjuſt impriſonment of a year and almoſt two months. Some of his enemies, inſinuating "he was a "dangerous man to be at liberty," moved the judges, that the oaths might be tendered to him: but Sir *Matthew Hale* would not conſent to it; ſaying, "he had indeed heard "ſome ſuch reports of *George Fox*, but he had alſo heard "more good reports of him."*

He appears to have been unmoleſted after, till the year 1681, when he and his wife were ſued in ſmall tithes in the exchequer, although they had in their anſwer to the plaintiff's bill proved, that no ſuch tithe had been demanded or paid off her eſtate during forty-three years ſhe had lived there: yet becauſe they could not anſwer upon oath, they were run up to a writ of rebellion, and an order of court was iſſued to take them both into cuſtody. *Fox*, underſtanding

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 377—391.

ing this, laid the caſe before the barons of the exchequer. On the hearing of the cauſe a ſequeſtration was earneſtly pleaded for, on the ground of his being a *publick man*, as if that affected the merits and juſtice of the cauſe; and was obtained, though, at firſt, two of the barons declared that he was not liable to tithes: but one of them was afterwards brought over to decide with the adverſe barons: the ſequeſtration was, however, limited to the ſum proved due, to the great diſappointment of the proſecutor's aim, who wanted it without limitation, that they might be their own carvers in making diſtraint. In the courſe of this trial was produced an engagement under the hand and ſeal of *George Fox*, that he would never meddle with his wife's eſtate: this raiſed the admiration of the judges, as an inſtance of ſelf-denial rarely to be met with in theſe ages.†

In 1680, *George Whitehead* and *Thomas Burr*, as they were on a journey from different quarters to pay a religious viſit to their friends, happened to meet at Norwich. As the former was preaching on the ſucceeding firſt day of the week, a rude company, chiefly of informers, ruſhed into the meeting with tumult and violence, and pulled him down; to the requiſition to ſhew ſome legal authority for their proceedings, they returned abuſive language, only with an inſinuation to the people, "That he might be a Jeſuit." The ſheriff, coming afterwards, took them priſoners, and carried them before the recorder, *Francis Bacon*, eſq; who was a juſtice. He examined them of their names, habitations, and trades; "if they were in orders, or had orders from Rome." A fine of 20l. each was demanded of them; on refuſing to pay this, the oath of allegiance was propoſed. While the examination was going on, the informer, with the ſanction of the juſtice, went to ſeize their horſes, but was diſappointed in his attempt, as they had been removed without the knowledge of the priſoners. The recorder poured out his bitter invectives, and threatened to have them hanged, if they did not abjure the realm, and if the king would by his orders enforce the execution of a ſtatute made in the reign of queen *Elizabeth*. They were then committed to goal till the enſuing ſeſſions. Then, after the recorder had, by taunting reflections and partial proceedings, expreſſed his averſion

† Gough, vol. ii. p. 514, 515.

to

to them, they were diſcharged by the court from the charges exhibited in the mittimuſes; but as they refuſed again the oath, which he inſiſted upon adminiſtering to them, they were recommitted to priſon till the following ſeſſions. In the mean time he was deprived of his office; in conſequence of which change and the interpoſition of friends, they were, at the ſeſſions, cleared by proclamation, and diſcharged from their impriſonment, after a confinement of ſixteen weeks. It ſhewed the prejudice and enmity of this man, that he firſt inſinuated that they were probably papiſts; and when they procured certificates to the contrary, he would not permit them to be read in the court.*

In the next and ſucceeding year, *George Whitehead* was fined three or four times: and the loſs he ſuſtained by diſtraints and by the expences of inefficacious appeals, beſides the damage done to his houſe and goods, amounted to 61l. 7s. The evil of thoſe ſeizures was aggravated by a particular inſtance of injuſtice in the diſtrainers; who would not ſuffer an inventory to be taken, or the goods, chiefly in grocery ware, to be weighed or appraiſed. On one occaſion two friends, for perſuading the conſtables to moderation and to ſuffer an inventory to be taken, were apprehended and proſecuted for a riot, on the evidence of one conſtable; for which they were fined, committed to Newgate, and confined there ten weeks.‡

The fines levied on this people, on the ſtatute of 20l. for abſence from the national worſhip, amounted in the year 1683, to the enormous ſum of 16,400l. for which ſeveral were diſtrained; but how much of theſe fines was actually levied, is not certainly known.

In this year the caſe of *Richard Vickris* deſerves particular notice. He was the ſon of Mr. *Robert Vickris*, a merchant and alderman of Briſtol; he embraced the ſentiments of the *quakers* in his youth: but to divert him from joining them, his father ſent him abroad to travel in France. Here he was a witneſs to the ſuperſtitions of the ceremonious religion of that country; which created a diſguſt, and confirmed him in the adoption of one that rejected ceremony and vain ſhow. His father's views were diſappointed, and on his return home, he openly profeſſed himſelf a quaker,

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 501—505. ‡ Id. p. 520, 21.

at the riſk of a variety of ſufferings and hardſhips. In 1680 he was impriſoned upon an excommunication: he was afterwards, for attending meetings, ſubject to frequent fines and diſtraints, and at laſt he was proceeded againſt on the ſtatute of the 35 *Elizabeth*. At the ſeſſions before Eaſter, in 1683, he was indicted on that ſtatute; demurring to the juriſdiction of the court, and refuſing to plead, he was committed to priſon. At a following ſeſſions he was admitted to bail: and at the Midſummer ſeſſions procured an *habeas corpus*. His trial was haſtily brought on in Auguſt, though he ſolicited time to prepare his defence. He found means, however, to retain counſel, who ably pleaded his cauſe, aſſigned a variety of errors in his indictment, and ſhewed that the witneſſes had not eſtabliſhed the charge againſt him. The court over-ruled every plea, and the jury (ſelected from men of mean occupation) found their verdict *guilty*; and ſentence was paſſed on him to conform, or abjure the realm in three months; or ſuffer death as a felon without benefit of clergy. He lay in priſon under this ſentence till the next year; when the time for his abjuring the realm being expired, he was liable to the execution of it, to which his enemies ſeemed determined to proceed. That they might give ſome colour to their deſign, they blackened and calumniated his character; repreſenting him as a perſon diſaffected to government, and endeavouring, before they took away his life, to deſpoil him of his good name. His wife, in her diſtreſs, determined on a perſonal application to government; with this view, ſhe took a journey to London, and by the aſſiſtance of her friends got admiſſion to the duke of *York*, who bore the chief ſway at court, and laid her huſband's hard caſe before him. When he had heard it, he replied, "that neither his royal "brother nor himſelf deſired that any of his ſubjects ſhould "ſuffer for the exerciſe of their conſciences, who were of "peaceable behaviour under his government." Accordingly, effectual directions for his diſcharge were given. He was removed by *habeas corpus* from Newgate in Briſtol to London, and brought to the king's-bench bar: there, upon the errors in the indictment aſſigned by counſellor *Pollexfen*, he was legally diſcharged by Sir *George Jefferies*. His father ſurvived his return only three days, by whoſe will he ſucceeded

to

to his eſtate and ſeat at Chew-Magna; in which he fixed his reſidence, and lived in honour, conſpicuous for his virtue and benevolcnce, and an ornament to his place and ſtation.*

The *quakers*, under the ſevere ſufferings to which their body in general, and ſome individual members of their ſociety in particular, were expoſed, were not wanting in lawful and commendable meaſures to procure an exemption from theſe grievous evils. In the year 1674, application was made to the judges, before they went their ſeveral circuits, for their compaſſionate attention to the hard caſes of ſeveral of the ſufferers, and to interpoſe their authority to ſecure them relief, in the following addreſs:

" To the king's juſtices appointed for the ſeveral circuits " throughout England.

" Many of our fricnds, called *Quakers*, being continued " priſoners, many proſecuted to great ſpoil by informers, " and on *qui-tam* writs, and by preſentments and indict- " ments for 20l. per menſem, in divers counties throughout " England, only on the account of religion and tender con- " ſcience towards Almighty God, we eſteem it our duty to " remind you of their ſuffering condition, as we have done " from time to time, humbly intreating you in the circuits " to enquire into the ſeveral cauſes of their commitments, " and other ſufferings, which they lie under, and to extend " what favour you can for their eaſe and relief; praying " the Almighty to preſerve and direct you."†

But little redreſs could be obtained. In 1677, an account being taken, at the yearly meeting, of ſufferings by confiſcation to two-thirds of the eſtates of thoſe who had been proſecuted on the 23d of *Elizabeth*, a ſpecification of this grievance was drawn up and laid before the parliament then ſitting, with a petition for relief, but without effect.‡ Towards the cloſe of this year *George Fox*, having returned from Holland, and viſited the meetings of his friends in various parts of England, on coming to London, found them engaged in freſh ſolicitations for relief from proſecutions on the laws made againſt popiſh recuſants only; and he joined them in theſe applications; but a ſudden prorogation of parliament put a ſtop to their proceedings. When it met again, he, *Wm. Penn*, *George Whitehead*, and others, renewed

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 539—544. † Id. p. 394. ‡ Id. p. 425. their

their ſuit, and they conceived ſome hopes of relief, as many of the members, convinced that they ſuffered grievouſly and unjuſtly, and were much miſrepreſented by their adverſaries, manifeſted a tender and compaſſionate regard towards them. But the attention of parliament was ſoon called off by the diſcovery of what was called the popiſh plot; an advantage was taken of the alarm this occaſioned, to increaſe the rigorous perſecution of a people of oppoſite principles and conduct, under the pretext of the neceſſity, at this ſeaſon of danger, to exert additional vigilance in guarding againſt ſeditious aſſemblies; and ſome members, whoſe reſidence, occupation, and manner of life, were well known, were impriſoned under a pretended ſuſpicion of being papiſts or concealed jeſuits.* *Penn* had, ſeveral years before this, been happily ſucceſsful in his ſolicitations for friends ſuffering by heavy fines and impriſonments in Ireland: for at an half-yearly meeting held at his houſe in 1670, an account of their ſufferings was drawn up in an addreſs to the lord-lieutenant, which was preſented to him, and an order of council obtained for the releaſe of thoſe who were impriſoned.† In Scotland the perſecuted members of this ſociety met with an advocate in *Barclay*, and owed ſome relief to his powerful exertions. In 1676, the magiſtrates of Aberdeen made an handle of the declaration iſſued by the council at Edinburgh, reinforcing former acts of parliament againſt conventicles, to oppreſs the *quakers*, many of whom were ſeized, committed to priſon, detained near three months without being called before the commiſſioners, and, notwithſtanding the able defence they ſet up, were fined in different ſums, but in general to an heavy amount, and remanded to priſon till the fines were paid. *Robert Barclay*, being then in London, gained admittance to the king, delivered to him a narrative of the ſevere and irregular proceedings of the magiſtrates, and interceded with him to recommend their caſe to the favourable notice of the council of Scotland. On this the king ordered the earl of *Lauderdale* to recommend the narrative to their conſideration. The matter was referred to the former commiſſioners in conjunction with three others; but their liberty was not obtained, till the fines were diſcharged by exorbitant and oppreſſive diſtraints!‡

* Id. p. 433—35. † Id. p. 479 ‡ Id. p. 460—470. When,

When, in 1680, the *quakers* were maliciouſly repreſented as concerned in the popiſh plot, *George Fox* publiſhed a declaration, addreſſed to the parliament, in defence of himſelf and friends, to remove ſuch ſuſpicions, profeſſing it to be "their principle and teſtimony to deny and renounce all "plots and plotters againſt the king or any of his ſubjects; "that in tenderneſs of conſcience they could not ſwear or "fight, but that they would uſe every endeavour in their "power to ſave the king and his ſubjects, by diſcovering all "plots and plotters that ſhould come to their knowledge: "and praying not to be put on doing thoſe things, which "they had ſuffered ſo much and ſo long for not doing."† When in the ſame year a bill was brought into parliament *to exempt his majeſty's proteſtant ſubjects*, diſſenting from the church of England, *from the penalties of the act of the 35th of Elizabeth*, the *quakers*, with a laudable attention to their own eaſe, and from a generous ſympathy with their friends under perſecution, improved the favourable opportunity for promoting liberty of conſcience. Divers of them attended the committee, when the bill was committed, early and late, in order to ſolicit the inſertion of ſuch clauſes as might give eaſe to the tender conſciences of their friends, whoſe religious diſſent was ſcrupulous in ſome matters beyond other diſſenters; and they obtained a clauſe to be inſerted for accepting a declaration of fidelity inſtead of the oath of allegiance. Although this deſign failed, by the bill being loſt, yet a foundation was laid for reviving and completing it in the ſucceeding reign of king *William* III. But in the following year an event took place, which muſt be conſidered as giving a turn to the fortunes of this ſociety, and advancing them, in the event, to a peculiar degree of reſpectability and influence. Sir *William Penn* had, at the time of his death, a conſiderable debt due to him from the crown, either for arrears or advances made to government in the ſundry expeditions in which he was engaged, while he was employed as an admiral, both under *Oliver Cromwell* and king *Charles* the ſecond. To diſcharge this debt the king, by letters patent bearing date the 4th of March 1680-1, granted to his ſon *William Penn*, and his heirs, that province lying on the weſt of the river of Delaware, in North-America, formerly

† Gough, vol. ii. p. 506.

formerly belonging to the Dutch, and then called the New Netherlands. This grant, by which *Penn* and his heirs were made governors and abſolute proprietors of that tract of land, was owing to the influence of the duke of *York*, with whom admiral *Penn* was a peculiar favourite. In the ſummer of 1682, *Penn* took poſſeſſion of this province, and he formed a government in it on the moſt liberal principles, with reſpect to the rights of conſcience. The leading article of his new conſtitution was this: "That all perſons living "in this province, who confeſs and acknowledge the one "Almighty and eternal God, to be the creator, upholder, "and ruler of the world, and that hold themſelves obliged "in conſcience to live peaceably and juſtly in civil ſociety, "ſhall in no wiſe be moleſted or prejudiced for their religious "perſuaſion or practice in matters of faith and worſhip; "nor ſhall they be compelled at any time to frequent or "maintain nay religious worſhip, place or miniſtry whatſo-"ever." This ſettlement, in the firſt inſtance, afforded an aſylum to many of his friends, who were glad to remove to a government formed on principles of humanity, and with a religious regard to juſtice and equity.* When the ſyſtem of legiſlation was matured and completed, it excited the admiration of the univerſe. This oppreſſed ſociety, in a few years, had the happineſs and honour of ſeeing its tenets fixed on the other ſide of the Atlantic in ſecurity and peace, and itſelf extending through a wide territory, which enlarged the domains of their native country, and made a principal figure in the new world. The wiſdom and virtues of the founder of this government, the excellent principles on which it was formed, and the proſperity to which it roſe, reflected credit on the *quakers*, and gave them weight in the political ſcale. Civil ſociety has felt its obligations to them. And from this time their religious profeſſion became more and more ſecure and reſpectable. The prognoſtications of *William Penn*, it hath been obſerved, have been remarkably verified. "If friends here keep to God, and in the juſtice, "mercy, equity, and fear of the Lord, their enemies will "be their footſtool."

* Gough, vol. ii. p. 515, and vol. iii. p. 131—147.

END OF THE FOURTH VOLUME.